PERSISTENCE OF ETHNICITY
A STUDY OF SOCIAL AND SPATIAL BOUNDARIES
ON THE EASTERN LOWER NORTH SHORE: 1820 - 1970

FRANK WILLIAM REMIGGI

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by

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ABSTRACT

The study is concerned with the settlement history and social geography of the five eastern-most settlements of the Lower North Shore of Québec. It focuses primarily on the social, spatial, and demographic evolution of the ethnic communities, including Francophone Catholics, Anglophone Catholics, and Anglophone Anglicans, which have been established there since the 1820s. The changing nature of the social and spatial boundaries which characterize inter-ethnic group relations on the Shore is examined, through analysis of the shifting roles of language and religion as the major criteria of ethnicity and ethnic group identity. Special attention is paid to marriage as the principal mechanism through which the ethnic composition of the Lower Shore is altered.

The recent work of Frederik Barth is appraised as a major advancement in the field of ethnicity and, as such, is subsequently deployed as the basic theoretical framework of the study. Following the core analysis of the thesis, a concluding section reviews the concept of ethnicity as it pertains to the Lower North Shore, emphasizing the theme of persistence. It is contended that a need exists for an interdisciplinary approach between geographers and other social scientists in the study of ethnicity and ethnic social and spatial boundaries.

RESUME

Cette étude traite de l'établissement et de la géographie sociale de cinq villages situés les plus à l'est de la Basse-Côte-Nord du Québec. Elle portera surtout sur l'évolution sociale, spatiale et démographique des collectivités ethniques, comprenant les catholiques francophones, les catholiques anglophones et les anglicans anglophones qui sont établies dans cette région depuis les années 1820. La nature changeante des frontières sociales et spatiales qui caractérisent les relations entre les groupes ethniques de la Côte fait l'analyse des rôles mobiles de la langue et de la religion en tant que critères les plus importants d'ethnicité et l'identité des groupes ethniques. Le mariage, qui constitue le facteur clef des changements de la composition ethnique de la Basse-Côte, fait l'objet d'une étude plus approfondie.

La charpente de la théorie de cette étude s'appuie sur le récent ouvrage de Frederik Barth, écrivain qui a grandement contribué à l'avancement de la recherche sur l'ethnicité. L'analyse principale de la thèse est suivie par une section qui revoit en détail le thème de continuité duquel prévaut le concept d'ethnicité tel qu'il se présente sur la Basse-Côte-Nord: Il ressort de ce travail que la géographie et les autres sciences sociales pourraient bénéficier d'une entraide interdisciplinaire dans leurs recherches au sujet de l'ethnicité et des frontières socio-ethniques et spatiales.

PREFACE

Data for this study were obtained through both archival and field research. The archival research included an extensive review of published and unpublished historical and modern works on the entire southern coast of the Labrador Peninsula, as well as an examination of existing census material, parish records, and personal papers and diaries. The earliest parish records for the study area were found in the Archives of the (Catholic) Diocese of Québec City and cover the years 1847 and 1848. Later parish records were found on the Lower North Shore: the Catholic records, dating back to 1849, are located in Lourdes-du-Blanc-Sablon; the Anglican parish records for the years 1873 to 1965 are in Harrington Harbour, while those covering the 1965–1970 period are held in St. Paul's River. These records provided the bulk of the data necessary to reconstruct the genealogies and marriage patterns, at least for the period after the 1840s. Gravestone evidence and family bibles yielded further information.

Fieldwork was vital in providing missing links in the genealogies, and more importantly, in providing essential data on local attitudes to language, religion, and ethnic group relations. Information on such aspects as visiting patterns, out-migration, settlement patterns and segregation were likewise obtained in this fashion. The primary informants were usually found amongst the older resident population of the study area. Over sixty such informants, both male and female, were interviewed at least once; several were questioned more frequently.

Fewer interviews were conducted among the younger, male and female residents, who were usually helpful in establishing the more recent attitudes to language and religion and, more generally, in explaining why these attitudes have changed in the past fifteen years. Observations and participation in everyday life constituted another important source of information.

There were two periods of fieldwork: the first extended from May to September, 1973, during which most of the data was collected. A second trip was made in March, 1974, to gather missing genealogical data and to allow the writer to observe how the social and spatial boundaries between the three communities on the Shore function during the winter season, traditionally the period of greatest socialization and interaction on all of the southern Labrador coast.

I am indebted to Dr. John Mannion, Department of Geography, Memorial University of Newfoundland, whose constant supervision and help throughout the past three years were invaluable in the formulation and completion of this study.

My thanks are due to all the participants in the Harlow Seminar (England, May 1974), whose criticisms and suggestions regarding a paper on the ethnic diversity and permanent settlement of the Lower North Shore from 1820 to 1920 were a great source of encouragement and stimulation. Special thanks are due to three participants: Miss Patricia A. Thornton, who provided valuable insights based on her own research on the Strait of Belle Isle; and Ms. Rosemary E. Ommer and Mr. Lewis MacLeod who read and commented extensively on the finished draft.

The cooperation of the Anthropology Department of the Université Laval, Québec City, and in particular that of Mr. Paul Charest, helped in preparing the original thesis proposal and initial fieldwork. Miss Mary Whiteley,

St. John's, graciously lent the entire collection of William H. Whiteley's personal papers and diaries, on which much of the second chapter is founded; Mr. Albert H. Whiteley, Ottawa, provided further invaluable information and insights through frequent and detailed correspondence. I should also like to thank Father M. Mongeau, o.m.i., Rev. J. Neal, and Rev. J. Faris of Lourdes, Harrington Harbour, and St. Paul's River for permission to examine the parish records of the Lower North Shore; Mgr. René Bélanger, f.d., for information on the early schools and churches in the study area; and Professor Cyril Byrne, St. Mary's University, who kindly supplied genealogical data.

The first period of fieldwork was made possible through a research grant from the Institute of Social and Economic Research, Memorial University; the second phase was facilitated by a fellowship from Bell Canada.

Miss Gina Remiggi and Miss Suzanne Wilkinson helped prepare the original typescript; Mr. André-Michel Clouthier drew the many maps and diagrams, while Miss Lynn Beaudoin and Miss Donna Hawthorne contributed to the typing of the final draft.

Finally, I must express my deepest debt to all the residents of the St. Paul's-Blanc-Sablon region without whose cooperation this study would have been impossible. Their warm hospitality, patience, and vivid interest in my work proved a refreshing and invaluable source of encouragement. It is impossible to list here all those who gave me shelter, provided me with data, or generally made me feel at home in this isolated region of the country, however, special mention must be made of some: Manuel Lavallée, Albert Letemplier, and Luke Walsh of Blanc-Sablon;

Léon Jones and Pauline Morency-Jones of Lourdes; Georgie Hobbs and Eddie Jones of Bradore; Emily Buckle-Joncas of Middle Bay; and Hollis Fequet, Fred Goddard, Cyril Griffin, and Tom Keats of St. Paul's River. The latter's extensive knowledge of their own ancestry and of the Lower North Shore generally can only be described as remarkable.

Frank William Remiggi

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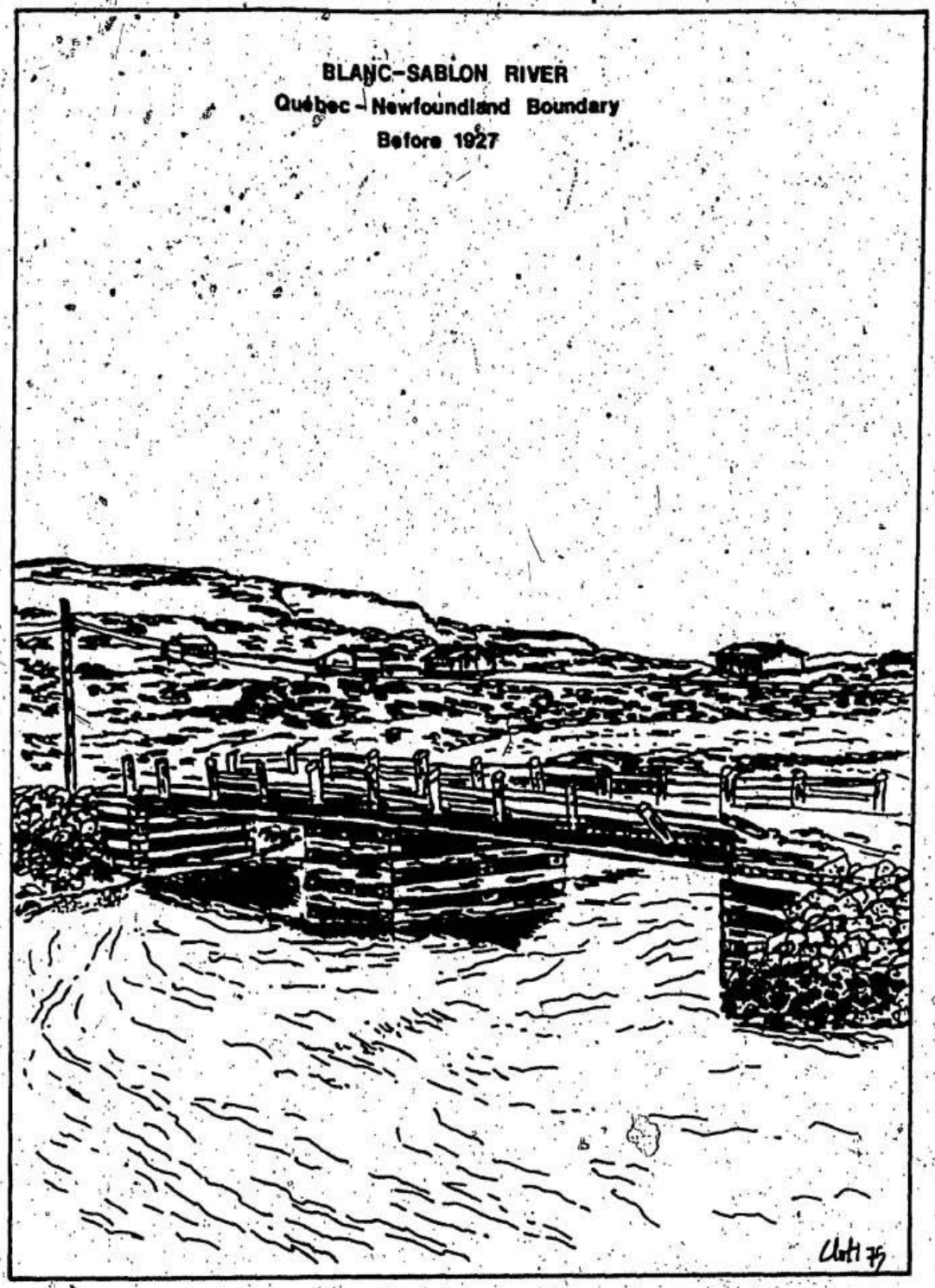
BLANC-SABLON RIVER
Québec - Newfoundland Boundary
Before 1927

CHAPTER I

ETHNICITY: TRADITIONAL AND MODERN CONCEPTS AND APPROACHES

Although the literature on ethnicity and ethnic groups is extensive and includes various works by anthropologists, sociologists, geographers, historians and linguists, among others, to date research on this topic remains relatively unsophisticated and simplistic. This point is emphasized by Kolm in a recent paper in which he complains that the most important questions related to the field of ethnicity have not yet been answered or treated adequately (1974: 59). For example, according to Kolm, we have yet to define the essential meaning(s) of ethnicity and its relationship to personality, society, and culture, as well as its practical and functional implications for contemporary societies. There is also a need to examine the nature and persistence of ethnic groups, taking into consideration all the adverse forces of urbanization, industrialization, and mobility in a modern society such as that of North America.

The Traditional Approach

Essentially, the two major weaknesses of most of the existing literature dealing with the concept of ethnicity and with ethnic groups are (i) the lack of a clear, theoretical framework - i.e. a working definition of ethnicity; and (ii) an overemphasis on what may be termed 'negative attitudes' toward ethnicity - acculturation, assimilation, and loss of ethnic identity. Kolm argues that the traditional literature has emphasized such concepts as "prejudice, discrimination, stereotyping,

social distance, and inter-group conflict, [and] thus on problematic and dysfunctional aspects of ethnicity, with almost total neglect of its functional aspects in society" (1974: 60). In the sociological literature, Westie has suggested that the development of research and theory on ethnicity has been built upon such concepts as prejudice and discrimination, since the latter "refer to phenomena which can be specifically conceptualized and observed" (1964: 580-581). On the other hand, he claims that concepts such as social solidarity, integration, and harmony are too "abstract and general," encompassing a range of phenomena that is too wide to allow the design of a research project around any one of them. Although discriminatory practices and inter-group conflict are usually overt and easily identifiable, the traditional literature has frequently ignored those features which can be used as indices of social harmony: for example, marriage and visiting patterns, settlement patterns and the like. The latter are usually as explicit as those factors that lead to conflict, and they need not be viewed necessarily as agents leading to assimilation and acculturation. Significantly, the traditional approach to the study of specific ethnic groups needs to be seen in terms of the traditional definition of ethnicity.

Traditional definitions have usually cast ethnic groups as minorities surrounded by a numerically dominant group whose culture and way of life are different and with whom, consequently, the ethnic group is in constant conflict (Narroll 1964; Morris 1968; Elliott 1971). Morris maintains that the members of an ethnic community "are, or feel themselves, or are thought to be, bound together by common ties of race, nationality, or culture"; and he further argues that the study of ethnic groups must follow along the lines set out by Ruth Benedict for the study of race conflict:

> . . . it is not race that we need to understand, but conflict [Morris' emphases]; so, for an understanding of ethnic groups in a social system, it is not on racial or cultural differences that we need to focus our attention, but on group relations. (1968: 167)

According to the traditional literature, when the isolation of ethnic groups is broken, either as the result of migrations or through the outward, territorial expansion of some groups, the process of maintaining social ethnic boundaries leads initially to conflict, either overt and/or disguised. Elliott, for example, writes that minority groups "may be either passively neglected or actively discriminated against by the larger society" (1971: 2). Where harmony has replaced conflict in the relationship between ethnic minorities and the majority group, the traditional literature has further emphasized the themes of acculturation and assimilation (e.g., Park 1950). This is best exemplified by the popularity of such concepts as the American 'melting pot', which argues that immigrant groups in the United States invariably experience either voluntary or forced integration and ultimate assimilation into the dominant culture. Levine explains that the concept of the 'melting pot' was popularized in the period after World War II when "the focus was primarily on American unity, [and] on those forces which contributed towards holding us together as we recovered from the wartime experience." (Levine 1972: n.p.). As a result of this attitude, several American studies on ethnicity have produced what amounts to a recording of 'dying cultures' and their agents of death (e.g. Eichoff 1970). Even in countries like Canada, where the concept of the 'ethnic mosaic' has long been popular, the anthropological and sociological literature has frequently been concerned with demonstrating the eventual disappearance of this mosaic

(e.g. Dawson 1936; Breton 1968).

While the processes described above may provide an accurate assessment or interpretation of the nature of inter-ethnic group relations in some societies, especially where there has been much miscegenation (Smith 1957) or where "fiscal appropriation may tend to favour integration" (Kennedy 1973), the major criticism inherent in the traditional approach to ethnicity is the prevalent view that assimilation is a predictable outcome of pluralism. The traditional literature has failed to examine the theme of persistence, except where conflict, in its most overt form (e.g. Indian reservations in North America; black ghettos in urban centres such as Detroit), has led to social isolation. Barth has argued that the traditional definition of ethnicity hinders our understanding of the very nature of ethnic groups and their place in human society and culture

> . . . because it begs all the critical questions: while purporting to give an ideal type model of a recurring empirical form, it implies a preconceived view of what are the significant factors in the genesis, structure, and function of such groups.
>
> Most critically, it allows us to assume that boundary maintenance is unproblematical and follows from the isolation which the itemized characteristics imply: racial difference, cultural difference, social separation and language barriers, spontaneous and organized enmity. (1969a: 11)

In the North American context, the traditional emphases on conflict and other problematic aspects of ethnicity have further meant that many social scientists have ignored the white, European ethnic groups who have settled this continent without experiencing much prejudice and discrimination. For example, Spiro (1955), Dégh (1968), Bernard (1972), and Kolm (1973) have each complained of the paucity of anthropological and sociological studies on the ethnic groups in the United States. Similarly, Vecoli (1969) and Thompson (1953) have criticized, respectively, the failure of historians and

folklorists to study systematically the role of European ethnic groups in the founding and developing of American society and culture.

Despite extensive empirical work on ethnic groups, the traditional geographical literature has produced even fewer statements on the conceptual and theoretical aspects of ethnicity.[1] According to Jakle and Wheeler, North American geographers, for example, have long been interested in the ethnic minorities of Canada and the United States, but they have proceeded largely incognizant of the theoretical literature derived from anthropology and sociology (1969: 442-443). Most of the traditional geographical literature has been concerned with the settlement history and morphology of diverse ethnic groups, or with cultural landscapes and their evolution (e.g. Clark 1959; 1969). Several other works have taken the form of simple cartographic or chorographic exercises in which certain cultural phenomena have merely served to delineate the distribution of ethnic (or cultural) groups and traits. Pillsbury's (1970) paper on the urban street patterns in Pennsylvania, Kniffen's (1936; 1965) work on folk houses, and Nostrand's (1970) use of Spanish surnames to define the Hispanic culture region of the American southwest are only a few studies which exemplify the traditional approach to ethnicity. Although the latter have contributed to a greater understanding of such processes as cultural

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[1] For bibliographies on the geography of ethnic group settlement in North America see: John A. Jakle and Cynthia Jakle, Ethnic and Racial Minorities in North America: A Selected Bibliography of the Geographical Literature (Monticello, Ill.: Council of Planning Librarians), 1973; John J. Mannion, Irish Settlements in Eastern Canada: A Study of Cultural Transfer and Adaptation (Toronto: Department of Geography Research Publication No. 12, University of Toronto Press), 1974: 184-208.

transfer and adaptation, acculturation, and persistence of ethnic traits, they have not contributed significantly to increasing the human geographer's, or the social scientist's, understanding of the complex problem of ethnicity, ethnic group identity, and social inter-ethnic group relations. By their scant investigation into such topics as social organization, land tenure, and work organization (Brookfield 1964: 289), geographers have failed to examine and explain how social processes may influence ethnic groups in their spatial distributions and interactions, and equally important, how spatial phenomena and changes may affect the social characteristics of ethnicity. More generally, Brookfield attributes this gap in geographical research to a number of factors, including, primarily, the nature of the questions which geographers have traditionally asked (1964: 299-300).

The Modern Approach

In the past decade or so, a new trend in the field of ethnicity has begun to emerge which is characterized by its attempt to elaborate on a more realistic and useful definition of the concept of ethnicity and by its more positive outlook on ethnic groups. The latter are no longer seen as temporary societies that are destined to disappear unless they remain in continual conflict with neighbouring groups; but rather, they are viewed as viable social organizations whose structures, cultures, and boundaries (both social and spatial) are constantly undergoing change. Characteristic of this new trend is the re-evaluation of, and the subsequent modification of, old notions of inevitable assimilation and acculturation (Ablon 1964; van den Berghe 1968; Kleivan 1969; Kennedy 1973). For example, in the American anthropological and sociological literature, concepts such as that

of the 'melting pot' have been disproven and abandoned.

> The notion that the intense and unprecedented mixture of ethnic and religious groups in American life was soon to blend into a homogeneous end product has outlived its usefulness, and also its credibility. In the meanwhile the persisting facts of ethnicity demand attention, understanding, and accomodation.
>
> The point about the melting pot . . . is that it did not happen. (Glazer and Moynihan 1963: v)

And again:

> It is evident today that [American] society is gradually altering its views, both theoretically and practically. The old concept of the "melting pot" which mysteriously transmitted alien dross into native American gold, has been abandoned, as has the glib idea of pure assimilation, which divested ethnic strangers of every shred of their past cultural identity and reclothed them in the shining garb of the 150% Americans. Instead, the various meanings of cultural pluralism are being explored. (Bernard 1972: 6)

As a valid and realistic alternative to assimilation, Bernard proposes the concept of 'integration', which he defines as the acquisition, by the immigrant ethnic groups, of some of the host society's behaviour patterns and attitudes, and their acceptance into the host society such that they move around freely and participate in most of its functions without any hindrance. Implicit in the concept of integration is that the ethnic group does not give up all of its original culture; but rather, that much of the native ethnic identity is retained intact. Integration, therefore, is seen as "an earlier stopping point on the road to assimilation", beyond which most immigrants and ethnic groups never get (Bernard 1972: 2-3). Recent studies such as those by Dégh (1968) and Darroch and Marston (1973) have similarly postulated the theme of persistence of ethnic groups, while admitting the loss of some cultural traits or features and recognizing the importance of change. Dégh writes that American ethnic communities

should be seen as somewhere "in between the old country ways and the American pattern, retaining and modifying the old as well as absorbing the new" (1968: 100).

A milestone in the new approach to the study of ethnicity is recent work by Barth, in which he defines ethnic identity as one's "basic, most general identity, presumptively determined by his origin and background" (1969a: 13 ff.). Barth argues that all ethnic groups erect social boundaries by which they are able to reveal and emphasize their identity and by which they are also able to differentiate themselves clearly from others (essentially a we-they distinction). He writes at length of the self-ascription and ascription (recognition of one's own identity and recognition of that identity by others) of ethnic groups; and he emphasizes that all ethnic groups can interact constantly with other groups. Barth maintained that this interaction - which may be social, political, economic and/or ecological in nature (e.g. Barth 1969b; Eidheim 1969; Haaland 1969) - does not necessarily lead to a breakdown of ethnic boundaries. On the contrary, ethnic boundaries persist despite a flow of personnel across them, and stable, persisting, and often vitally important social relations are maintained across such boundaries and are frequently based on the dichotomized ethnic statuses. Consequently, it is not so much that ethnic distinctions depend on an absence of mobility, contact, and interaction, but rather that they entail processes of exclusion and incorporation whereby discrete categories are maintained. Given this point of view, Barth concludes that the critical focus of investigation in the field of ethnicity "becomes the ethnic boundary [Barth's emphasis] that defines the group, not the cultural stuff that it encloses. The boundaries to which we must give our attention are of course social boundaries, though

they may have territorial counterparts" (1969a: 15). Barth does not suggest that processes of acculturation and assimilation are non-existent, since he recognizes that the cultural features that signal the boundary between groups may change. In this respect, his view does not conflict with the concept of integration or the fact that immigrant ethnic groups may undergo considerable change. However, Barth also argues that the persistent dichotomization between the members of an ethnic group and outsiders allows us to specify the nature of continuity, and investigate the changing cultural form and content. Stated otherwise, Barth's suggested approach to ethnicity welcomes a 'positive' rather than a 'negative' viewpoint on the part of social science researchers, or a theme of persistence of ethnic identity and survival of ethnic groups as opposed to the more common, traditional theme of loss of ethnic identity and total assimilation.

Although a step in the right direction, the new approach to ethnic studies has yet to answer several important questions. Kolm, for example, delineates at least eight major areas in the field of ethnicity that urgently require careful examination, including studies on the demography and ecology of ethnic groups, their size, composition, and distribution (1973: 67). A major criticism of much of the recent anthropological and sociological literature has been of insufficient investigation into the temporal and spatial dimensions of ethnicity. Indeed, many anthropologists and sociologists, including Barth, have largely dismissed the possible effects that spatial boundaries may have on the nature of the social boundary and on ethnic boundary-maintenance systems generally. More significantly, the new trend has not yet resulted in general agreement as to how one can define ethnic groups. While Barth's approach to the study

of ethnicity may be intuitively sound and appealing, there is need for more empirical research before it can gain universal acceptance by social scientists.

Contemporaneously with the development of the modern approach to the study of ethnicity, geographers have emphasized increasingly the need for a greater understanding of the social and cultural processes that have traditionally been viewed as essentially non-geographical and, hence, outside the realm of geographical research (Brookfield 1964; Mikesell 1967; Sopher 1973; Sunderland 1974). Consequently, the more recent geographical studies on ethnicity have been increasingly interdisciplinary in nature, and they have exhibited a greater understanding of, and reliance on, concepts developed by anthropologists and sociologists (e.g. Bjorklund 1964; Doeppers 1967; Jakle and Wheeler 1969; Cybrinsky 1970; Meinig 1971). Bjorklund states that examination of the spatial context and the relatedness of culture forms, features, and other expressions of people reflecting distinctive ways of life, yields evidence of the value of a geographical appraisal of culture (1964: 227). Similarly, Doeppers suggests that the study of ethnicity is a fascinating theme for the cultural geographers since it provides a ready set of geographical questions, such as that of the spatial expression of an ethnic community, and how areal patterns might reinforce the identity of a social group.

Meinig's study of the American Southwest is perhaps as important in the modern geographical approach to ethnicity as is Barth's in the recent anthropological literature. In the former work, the author attempts to understand and reconcile the role of both social and spatial boundaries in

the retention of ethnic identity. For example, although he notes that the Pueblo Indian identity has been reinforced by strong spatial boundaries, initially imposed by the American government in the form of reservations, he also recognizes that the Indians' determination and willpower have been equally significant in their survival as an ethnic group (1971: 131,89). Meinig's emphasis on both social and spatial group interactions constitutes a significant deviation from the traditional geographical approach to ethnicity which did not go beyond the mapping of correlations between the changing distribution of diverse ethnic groups and cultural features in the landscape and settlement pattern. Given the need for a better understanding of how demographic and spatial factors can affect ethnicity and ethnic groups, Meinig's study is a model upon which future geographical research could possibly be built. Unlike Meinig, whose study was conducted at a macro-level, it is essential, however, that future research on ethnicity be approached at a micro-scale.

Work conducted primarily at a micro-level better facilitates the task of establishing criteria useful in defining ethnic groups and in describing more precisely local ethnic boundaries and shifts. For example, Vallee has noted that the study of French-Canadian communities outside Québec can be greatly distorted if data are collected on a provincial scale. He adds that "in the study of ethnic groupings it is necessary in most cases to focus on much smaller units than provinces or groupings of provinces" (1971: 154-155). Moreover, data from micro-studies can be used more appropriately for cross-cultural comparison. Brookfield has already expressed the potential value of the comparative approach and the use of local studies in the general field of human geography (1962; 1964: 301). His conclusions are also undoubtedly applicable to the field of ethnicity, in which there is

still not enough research and information to lend universal support to Barth's hypothesis on ethnicity and ethnic group identity.

Much of the modern geographical research on ethnicity has been concerned with urban centres and the ethnic ghettos and neighbourhoods they contain. In the North American literature, there has been less research, and there is still not enough information on ethnic groups presently living in rural areas. Consequently there is a gap in the wider geographical understanding of ethnicity and of how spatial boundaries may variably affect ethnic groups. Without more research in all types of regions, it will be impossible to decipher whether spatial boundaries are critical in rural as well as urban settings. Finally, much of the present geographical literature is still overly concerned with describing ethnic distributions and not sufficiently with analyzing the social, cultural, and political processes involved in the genesis of these distributions and their subsequent modifications. Doepper's article, for example, limits itself largely to the level of spatial distribution of ethnic groups in Globeville, and the author deals only marginally with the conceptual framework of ethnicity. However, if ethnic research is to be developed in human geography, then clearly geographers will have to become more willing to grapple with such questions as how one defines an ethnic group.

The major objective of this thesis is to demonstrate the relevance to geography of Barth's thesis and the new approach to ethnicity, through an examination of the evolution of an ethnically diverse population on the isolated Lower North Shore of Québec from initial permanent settlement early

in the nineteenth century. The Lower North Shore is situated in the northeastern corner of the Gulf of St. Lawrence, between the villages of Kégashka and Blanc-Sablon, the eastern-most settlement in Québec (Fig. 1.1). The area has a present-day population of over 5,000 which is grouped in 15 discrete coastal settlements scattered over 224 miles of shoreline. The multi-ethnic background, the present bilingual (English/French) character and religious diversity of the Lower North Shore, and its continuing social and economic links with both mainland and island-Newfoundland, make it a unique area of study within the province of Québec, where more than 80% of the population is Francophone (compared to about only 20% on the Lower North Shore), and where the majority of the non-French population is concentrated mostly in the urban area of Montréal and its environs, largely the Eastern Townships. The long history of close, continual contact and interaction between the French- and English-speaking residents on the Lower North Shore, and their common involvement in the political and economic evolution of the region, provides a laboratory for the analysis of inter-ethnic group relations. There have been few attempts by either geographers or other social scientists to examine, at the local folk level, the historical development of French-English relations in Canada, despite the obvious importance of this theme in contemporary Canadian society.

Fieldwork for the present study was restricted to the five eastern-most settlements on the Shore, by the Newfoundland-Labrador boundary: Blanc-Sablon, Lourdes-du-Blanc-Sablon (commonly known as either Lourdes or Longue-Pointe), Bradore, Middle Bay and St. Paul's River (Fig. 1.2). These are the only five contiguous settlements on the Lower Shore connected by a road, although the bridge linking St. Paul's River to the end of the road

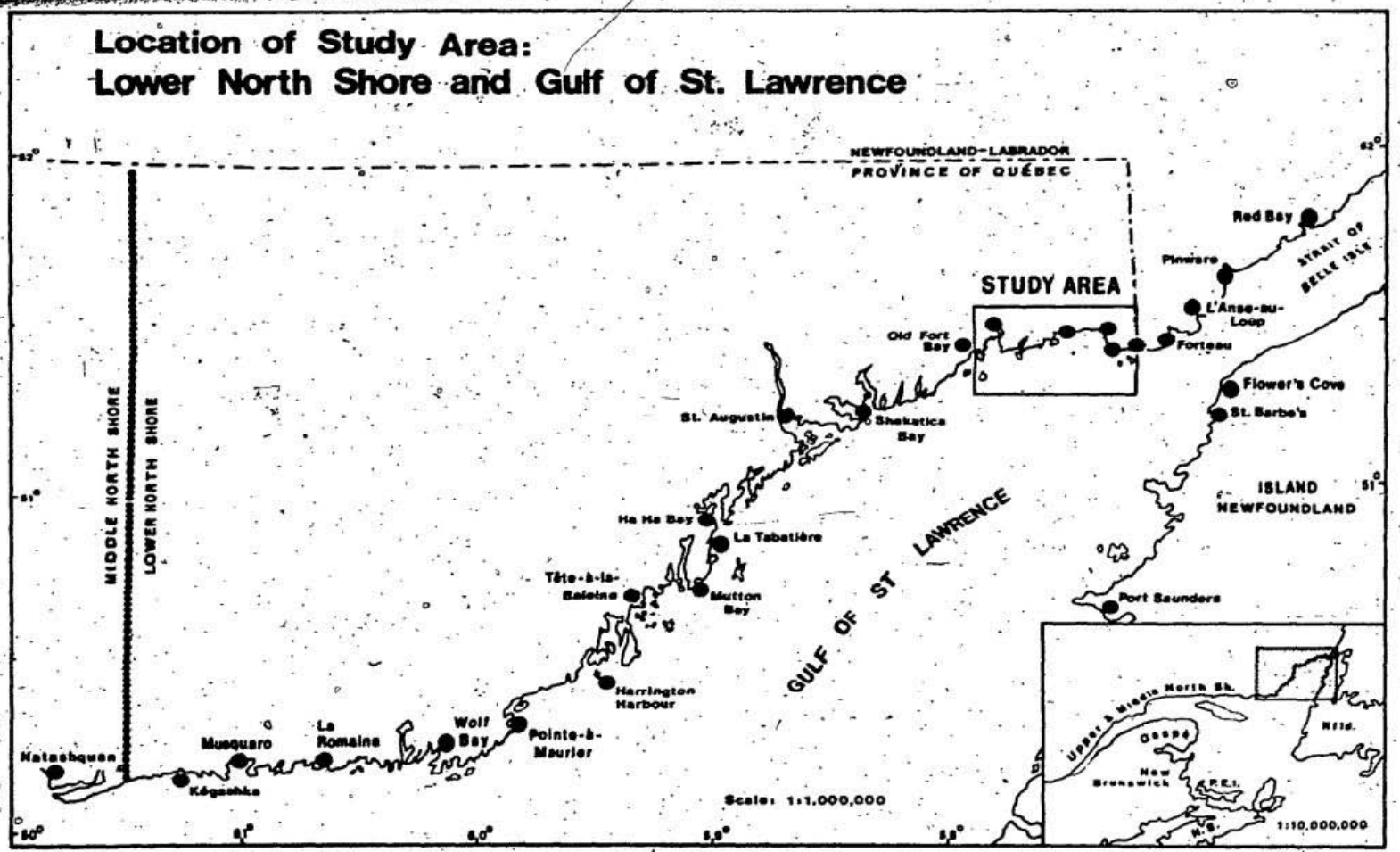
Location of Study Area:
Lower North Shore and Gulf of St. Lawrence
NEWFOUNDLAND-LABRADOR
PROVINCE OF QUÉBEC
STUDY AREA
MIDDLE NORTH SHORE
LOWER NORTH SHORE
GULF OF ST LAWRENCE
STRAIT OF BELLE ISLE
ISLAND NEWFOUNDLAND
Red Bay
Pinware
L'Anse-au-Loup
Forteau
Old Fort Bay
Flower's Cove
St. Barbe's
St. Augustin
Shekatica Bay
Ha Ha Bay
La Tabatière
Tête-à-la-Baleine
Mutton Bay
Port Saunders
Harrington Harbour
Wolf Bay
Pointe-à-Maurier
La Romaine
Musquaro
Natashquan
Kégashka
Scale: 1:1,000,000
1:10,000,000
Source: Dept. of Energy, Mines, and Resources, Ottawa.

Fig. 1.1

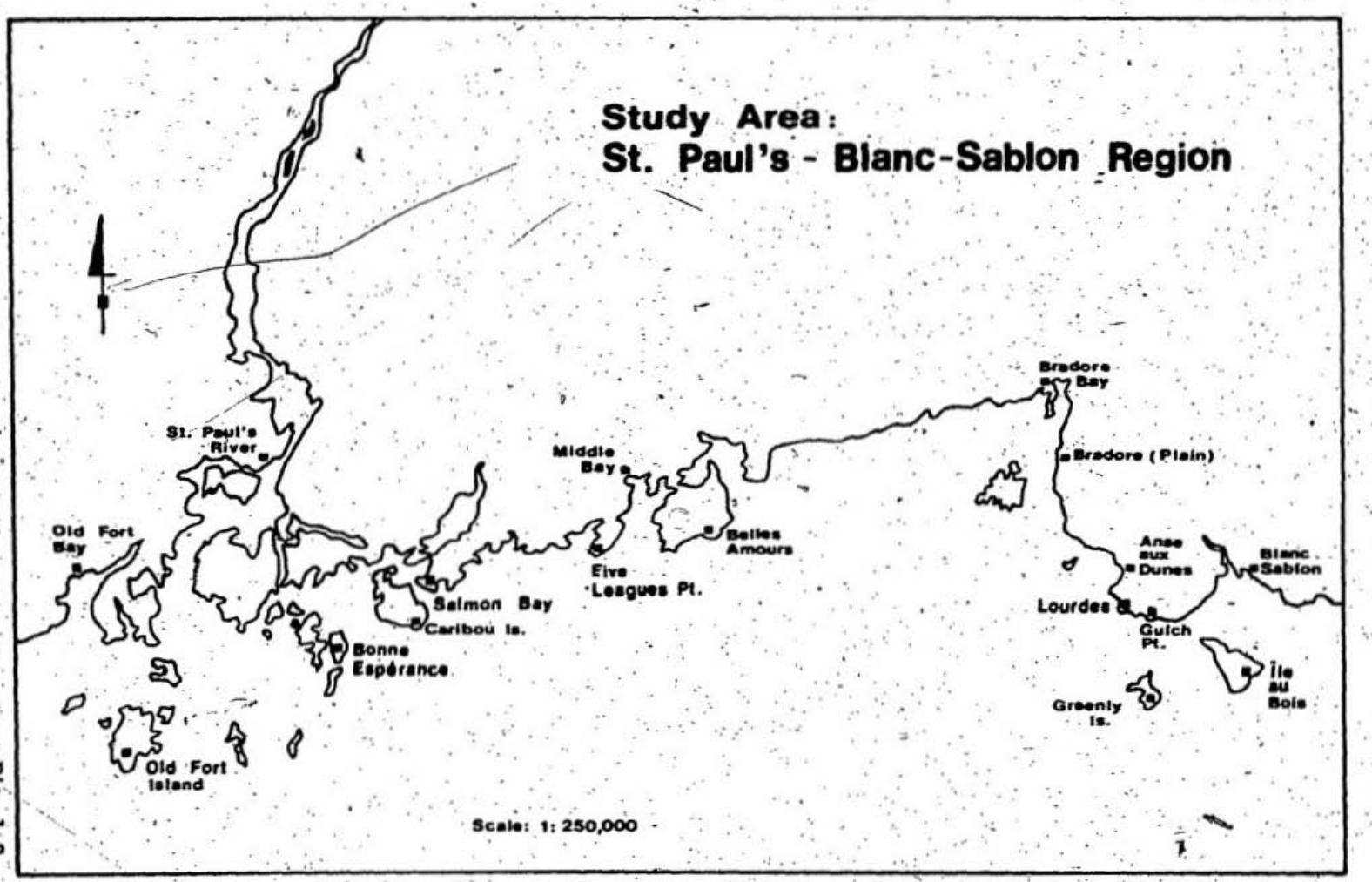
Study Area:
St. Paul's - Blanc-Sablon Region
St. Paul's River
Old Fort Bay
Middle Bay
Belles Amours
Eive
Leagues Pt.
Salmon Bay
Caribou Is.
Bonne Espérance
Old Fort Island
Bradore Bay
Bradore (Plain)
Anse aux Dunes
Blanc Sablon
Lourdes
Gulch Pt.
Greenly Is.
Ile au Bois
Scale: 1: 250,000

FIG. 1.2

on the east bank of the river had yet to be realized when the fieldwork was completed.[2] Each settlement mentioned includes not only that specific location, but also the surrounding posts whose populations eventually merged with those of the five principal settlements. Hence, Blanc-Sablon includes the posts of Pointe-au-Pot, Ile-à-Bois, and Greenly Island; Lourdes encompasses the posts of Gulch Point and l'Anse-aux Dunes; Bradore consists of Bradore Plain, Bassin Island, and Bradore Bay; while Middle Bay includes Belles-Amours. St. Paul's River encompasses all of the islands in the Archipelago as well as the mainland posts of Five Leagues, Little Fishery, and Salmon Bay. The population in this area includes elements of all three religio-linguistic groups present on the Lower North Shore today: Francophone Catholics, Anglophone Catholics, and Anglophone Anglicans. These three groups are partly an amalgam of a more culturally diverse population originally occupying this short strip of shore, giving an apposite background for an examination, at the micro-level, of the geography of ethnic group interaction.

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[2] Air travel is the only year-round means of travel on the Lower North Shore. Water-based transport is available in the summer months, and snowmobiles in winter. The availability of all forms of transportation is dependent on the weather. During the two month period of freeze-up and break-up of ice, there is usually no available means of transport.

CHAPTER II

THE FORMATION OF PERMANENT SETTLEMENT: 1820-1890

Pre-Settlement: 1470-1820

The first Europeans to frequent the Lower North Shore on a regular basis were Basque whalers and cod fishermen, who reportedly visited these waters from as early as 1470 (Chambers 1912: 12). They were joined later in the 16th century by migratory Spanish and French (including Breton and Norman) fishermen, who were also attracted to the Gulf of St. Lawrence by the area's reputed wealth of marine resources. The Spanish and Spanish-based Basque fisheries had already begun to decline by the end of the 16th century with the diminishing power of Spain in the North Atlantic (Bélanger 1971; Innis 1936). The French-based Basque fishery persisted much longer, but like its Spanish counterpart, it was affected by the hostility of the Eskimos on the Labrador coast, the competition of the English and the Dutch, and diminishing stocks of whales in the Gulf (Bélanger 1971: 96-97). The French fishery, on the other hand, continued to operate in some parts of the Gulf until the present century. Innis writes that the French fishery faded for a period after 1770, and that in 1778 it suffered badly from the destruction of the ports of St. Pierre and Miquelon. He adds that the retreat of the French from Cape Breton and other areas in the Gulf, including the Lower North Shore, resulted in the rapid occupation of these areas by the British (Innis 1954: 185). The English (West Country) fishery had until then been concentrated mostly on the Atlantic coasts of Newfoundland and Labrador, and only marginally in the waters of the Gulf. With the British takeover of most of the land

surrounding the Gulf, the English and the Jerseymen became the major European exploiters of the Gulf's marine resources, except along the "French Shore" of Newfoundland where the French continued to fish. The "French Shore" was first created in 1713, when the Treaty of Utrecht granted France the right to fish on a specific section of the Newfoundland coast; subsequent treaties altered the extent of this Shore until 1904 when it was abolished altogether (Thompson 1961; Prowse 1895: 539-564).

Although the extensive and highly productive Basque, Spanish, and French fisheries entailed the creation of posts along the entire southern coast of the Labrador Peninsula, from Sept-Iles on the present-day Upper North Shore to Red Bay on the Newfoundland-Labrador, it is essential to note that none ever led to permanent settlement. The migratory fishermen used the shore only in the production of dry-fish, constructing flakes and stages as well as structures that could accommodate the men who were involved in this process during the summer months. Some historians have postulated that the persistent confrontation between Eskimos and Europeans made it almost impossible to establish permanent structures. Chambers, for example, reports that the Eskimos continued to harass the Europeans stationed on the southern Labrador coast even after the Conquest.

> At that time, it is said the Esquimaux so infested the Straits of Belle Isle that it was not safe for a fishing vessel to go there alone. An organized band of Esquimaux came each summer from the north, ostensibly for the purpose of trading, but they generally contrived to obtain very much more of the coveted European goods by strategem and force than they did by fair means. Their plan was to creep along the coast endeavoring to find some unsuspecting fishermen . . . . to make a sudden descent upon them . . . in the hope that the fishermen would abandon their property and flee (Chambers 1912: 96-97).

More recently, Thornton has also suggested that the European migratory fisheries never managed to develop "an integrated, year-round pattern of resource exploitation which could effectively attract and maintain a resident population" (1974: 9). Since codfishing on the southern Labrador is restricted to a two to three month period in the summer, the early migratory fishermen were faced with a basic economic problem: how to survive through the long winter months on the income derived solely from the summer fisheries. Moreover, the migratory fishermen, regardless of their nationality, could not easily remove themselves from a seasonal pattern of resource exploitation that centred primarily on the codfishery. Indeed, the Basque, Spanish, French, as well as British fisheries had been permitted to develop and expand within a rigid framework that was controlled mainly from Europe and which officially precluded any involvement in such land-based activities as the fur trade. Black, for example, comments on the British and Newfoundland attempts to prevent permanent settlement on the Labrador coast; he suggests that British regulations, such as those proposed by Palliser, the Governor of Newfoundland, in 1765 were designed primarily to promote the British fishery, safeguard the interests of the British fish merchants, and provide the Royal Navy with a training school in the New World (1960: 267-268).

The French, who controlled much of the land-mass surrounding the Gulf throughout most of the 17th and early 18th centuries, were even more concerned to protect the migratory codfishery and separate it from the land-based exploitation of resources by French merchants and fur traders. Bélanger, for instance, writes:

> . . . avec les besoins croissants de la colonie de la Nouvelle-France, couverts en grande partie par les profits de la traite des fourrures, il fallait réglementer le commerce et éviter la concurrence. De plus, au début du XVIIIe siecle, un commandement militaire fut établi au Labrador pour faire observer certains réglements, protéger les pêcheurs et arbitrer leur disputes. L'ère de la grande liberté du commerce était révolue (1971: 79).

Although the (French) Basque fishermen had become involved in the fur trade with the Indian populations around the Gulf, they were officially prohibited from doing so after 1598 when France began to send governor and vice-rois to its newly-created colonies in the Gulf region and in the St. Lawrence valley (Bélanger 1971: 115-120).

On the southern coast of the Labrador Peninsula, the French were especially successful in separating the land-based exploitation of the region's resources from the ship-based, migratory fishery by establishing a series of seigneuries and concessions that eventually encompassed the whole length of the littoral. The first such seigneurie was the "Terre ferme de Mingan:, granted to François Bissot in 1661. It encompassed the Isle aux Oeufs and the mainland from Sept-Isles to "Grande Anse . . . où les Espagnols font ordinairement la pêche [present-day Bradore Bay]" (Great Britain, Privy Council 1927; vol. VII, 3715-3787). In 1702, Legardeur de Courtemanche was granted a ten-year concession that included the entire area between Kégashka on the present-day western Lower North Shore, and Hamilton Inlet, on the Newfoundland-Labrador.. This area was subsequently divided into smaller concessions which were usually given to merchants and traders from New France. Through their royal grants, the seigneurs and concession-holders of Labrador enjoyed "exclusive" rights to the fur trade and to the sedentary seal and salmon fisheries in their respective regions. Consequently, while the migratory French fishery was allowed to continue its operation in the

Gulf, it was difficult for any one individual to establish himself anywhere on the Shore since he was forbidden to exploit its resources. The seigneurs and concession-holders did hire "engagés" to work in the seal and salmon fisheries, but their contracts did not usually extend for more than two summers and one winter, and they were also subject to exclusive seigneurial rights and privileges. The engagés had to remain on the Shore during the winter months since the seal fishery (held in December-January and May-June) and the fur trade both required manpower during this period. In this respect, the failure of the French to establish permanent settlements on the Labrador coast as well as the nature of their activities in that region are perhaps linked to the loss of France's colonial empire in the Gulf and in the St. Lawrence Valley. Easterbrook and Aitken maintain that

> . . . concentration on the fur trade diverted resources away from other lines of activity and prevented New France from developing as a source of supply and a market for the rest of the French colonial empire. Rapid expansion into the interior was achieved only at the expense of consolidation and integration (1965: 90).

Indeed, had the French migratory fishery been allowed to flourish completely without hindrance from the land-based fur trade and the sedentary seal and salmon fisheries of the Labrador coast, permanent settlement on the Lower North Shore would likely have taken precedence over the creation of the trading and sealing posts. More importantly, the establishment of permanent settlements in that area would probably have assured France's continued possession of most of the Labrador Peninsula since it would also have created a direct economic (market) link between the agriculturally-based resident population of the St. Lawrence Valley and the maritime-based population of the Labrador coast, where the land is not suitable for large-scale cultivation (Easterbrook and Aitken 1965: 58-63; 107-108).

After the Conquest in 1763, the Labrador seigneuries and concessions initially passed into the hands of British merchants established in Montréal and Québec City. Eventually, however, most of these were held by only a few major companies such as Lymburner and Grant of Québec City who, by 1784, already held a monopoly on the fishing rights of all the sealing posts from Petit-Mécatina to Black Bay, in the Newfoundland-Labrador. When the latter firm expanded into the Labrador Company in 1807, the same fishing rights were retained on all the posts of the present Lower North Shore, with the major exception of St. Paul's River which was owned by the Lloyd Brothers (Chambers 1912: 103). According to Fortin, the Lloyd's purchased the salmon post of St. Paul's River in 1774. They held it until the death of Nathaniel Lloyd in 1826 when his adopted son, Louis Chevalier, inherited both the post and the rights to the salmon fishery. The Lloyd's also owned all the islands in the St. Paul's River Archipelago, but these were apparently abandoned to squatters in the 1820s (Fortin 1862: 87-89). The persisting monopolistic control of the Lower North Shore under the British régime effectively curtailed permanent settlement until 1820 when the Labrador Company went bankrupt and was forced to relinquish all its posts to its former employees or to squatters. Thus, after more than three centuries of European contact and exploitation, the Lower North Shore was finally opened up to free permanent settlement; over the next 70 years or so, the area saw a continued influx of population.

Permanent Settlement: 1820-1890

The settlement of the southern coast of the Labrador Peninsula, including the present-day southern Newfoundland-Labrador coast and the Lower and Middle North Shores, may be viewed as a geographical continuum

(Fig. 1.1). The Newfoundland-Labrador coast and the Middle North Shore constitute two well-defined poles at either end of this continuum, while the Lower North Shore serves as a borderland or intermediate zone. A trickle of settlers began to arrive on the Newfoundland-Labrador coast shortly after the start of the 19th century, whereas permanent settlement on the Lower North Shore was begun after 1820, and only after 1854 on the Middle North Shore.[1] Moreover, in terms of their origins, the new permanent settlers on the Newfoundland-Labrador coast included mostly Newfoundlanders and West Country English, together with a smaller number of Jerseymen; those on the Middle North Shore consisted largely of Acadiens from the Magdalen Islands and the Baie des Chaleurs, some French-Canadians, and a few Jerseymen. By contrast, the settlers on the Lower North Shore formed a more heterogeneous population that included members of all the groups listed above. On the Lower North Shore specifically, the characteristics of permanent settlement also differed from the eastern-most limits of the Shore to its present western limits.

As noted in Table 2.1, permanent settlement on the Lower North Shore was characterized by two distinct periods of in-migration. On the eastern Lower North Shore, from the present-day villages of St. Paul's River to Blanc-Sablon, the first forty years (1820-1860) saw a compound stream of mostly British-born (including Jersey) settlers and a smaller number of French-Canadians, whilst to the west of St. Paul's River

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[1] For an account of the settlement of the present-day southern Newfoundland-Labrador coast, see Patricia A. Thornton, "The Evolution of Initial Permanent Settlement on the Strait of Belle Isle" (Harlow, England: unpublished manuscript), 1974; for a similar account of the Middle North Shore, see Paul Charest, Ecologie culturelle de la Côte-Nord du Golfe Saint-Laurent (Québec: Université Laval), 1972.

Archipelago, the first period of in-migration featured a predominantly French-Canadian flow of immigration from the rural counties of Québec, primarily Berthier, Montmagny, and l'Islet (Lavoie 1877: 85).

Table 2.1

Origins of initial permanent settlers on the Lower North Shore: 1820-1890

	1820-1860		1860-1890	
	Study Area	Lower North Shore*	Study Area	Lower North Shore*
England and Scotland	15	5	2	0
Channel Islands	4	3	1	0
Newfoundland	1	1	23	33
Québec	12	37	1	1
Magdalen Islands	2	13	0	0
other areas	4	3	4	0
other parts of Lower North Shore	0	-	3	-
TOTALS	38	62	34	34

*Excluding study area; source: Charest 1970.
Immigrant families counted as one (1) unit.

In the second period of in-migration (1860-1890), the entire Lower North Shore, like the Newfoundland-Labrador coast at about the same time, was settled by English-speaking Newfoundlanders. However, west of the St. Paul's River Archipelago, this second period was marked by a general decline in the total number of new settlers whereas in-migration in the St. Paul's-Blanc-Sablon region remained relatively consistent with the earlier period of settlement. Indeed, in the last thirty years of in-migration, there were as many new arrivals in the St. Paul's-Blanc-Sablon region, which only comprises about 35 miles of coastline, as there were in the remaining 190-mile area to the west of the St. Paul's

River Archipelago. More importantly, the differing characteristics of permanent settlement along this east-west continuum were closely related to the changing economic conditions that variably affected the different regions along the extensive southern Labrador coast throughout the 19th century.

Prior to about 1860, the productive seal fishery along the entire Lower North Shore constituted the single, most important impetus to permanent settlement. For example, in a paper originally presented in 1841, Samuel Robertson, a native of the Labrador coast, reports:

> I have observed . . . that for the last ten years, there has been a considerable increase both in produce and settlers. There is now in the first, one hundred and fifty miles from the Province line, about fifty establishments, more or less extensive, chiefly sedentary seal fisheries . . . . (Robertson 1855: 35).

Similarly, in his fisheries report for 1857, Fortin remarks:

> Les pêches de loup-marin établies depuis longtemps dans la Baie de Bradore rapportent beaucoup, surtout celle de M. Randell Jones qui a produit quelquefois au-delà de 2,000 loup-marins (Fortin 1858: np.).

The salmon fishery, which was especially productive in the archipelagos of St. Paul's River and St. Augustin (Charest 1970: 73), followed the seal fishery as a secondary source of attraction whereas the cod fishery was only minimally important, at least as regards the formation of initial permanent settlement. Fortin, for instance, states that in 1862, the resident population of the Lower North Shore exploited principally the seal and salmon fisheries, and paid little attention to cod (1862: 76). There is no doubt that there was an abundance of cod along the Lower Shore throughout this period, but it is equally certain the cod fishery was not

as lucrative, at least on an individual or family basis, as were the seal and salmon fisheries which permitted the settlers to establish themselves more quickly "on their own account" - that is, to become economically viable and independent.[2]

The pattern of permanent settlement on most of the Lower North Shore before 1860 reflected the earlier spatial distribution of seigneuries and concessions during the French and British régimes. The new settlers usually established themselves individually in the same spatially extensive manner that characterized the preceeding period of non-permanent occupation and which took into account the amount of space required for an efficient exploitation of the seal and salmon fisheries, originally set by the French as about three leagues on either side of the seal or salmon post. This similarity is understandable since most of the settlers who arrived on the Shore between 1820 and 1860 were French-Canadians who had previously worked as engagés for the concession-holders. Charest also maintains that some of the new settlers had worked as sailors on ships which serviced the Lower North Shore and were therefore familiar with the area's wealth of seals and salmon (1972: 39). He adds that the emigrations from Berthier, Montmagny, and l'Islet were greatly affected by overpopulation in those rural parishes and that many of the emigrants opted for re-settlement on the Labrador coast rather than in the United States. The Acadien settlers who arrived in smaller numbers were similarly 'forced' to emigrate to the Labrador coast, but their major incentive for moving there came from an oppressive social

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[2] For data on the revenues obtained from the seal, salmon, cod, and other fisheries on the Lower North Shore in the mid-19th century, see Charest 1970: 75-78; 1972: 54-95.

and economic situation in the Magdalen Islands at about the same time (Hubert 1926: 108).

Contemporaneous with this initial phase of permanent settlement, there appeared a series of British-based mercantile establishments which were basically interested in exploiting the extensive cod fishery of the Labrador coast. These merchant firms were concentrated mostly on the eastern limits of the present-day Lower North Shore and on the western Newfoundland-Labrador coast (Fig. 2.1). Moreover, they were controlled primarily by Jerseymen, who operated either directly from Jersey Island or from other points within the Gulf, usually the Gaspé Peninsula (more specifically, the Baie des Chaleurs). According to most sources, the firm of DeQuetteville was first to operate on what is now the Lower North Shore. The Reverend Browne suggests that this was a branch opened in Blanc-Sablon in 1779, five years after DeQuetteville had begun a similar operation at Forteau, on the Newfoundland side of the border (1909: 52). Other Jersey firms became established in the 19th century, including those of Edouard Lefevbre, which was in operation at Gulch Point around 1822, and LeBouthillier et frères, which was opened in 1838. The firm of Robin and Company followed shortly thereafter with a branch of its important Gaspé-based operation in Longue-Pointe. By 1852, three other Jersey establishments were also in operation in the same area: Fruing and Company in Longue-Pointe, John Syvret at Gulch Point, and Philippe q and Company which had branches in both Blanc-Sablon and Longue-te (Fortin 1853: 14-15; Browne 1909: 52; Huard 1897: 172). The rsey firms remained in full operation until about 1873, when the crash the Banque Union of Jersey forced many of them into bankruptcy (Innis

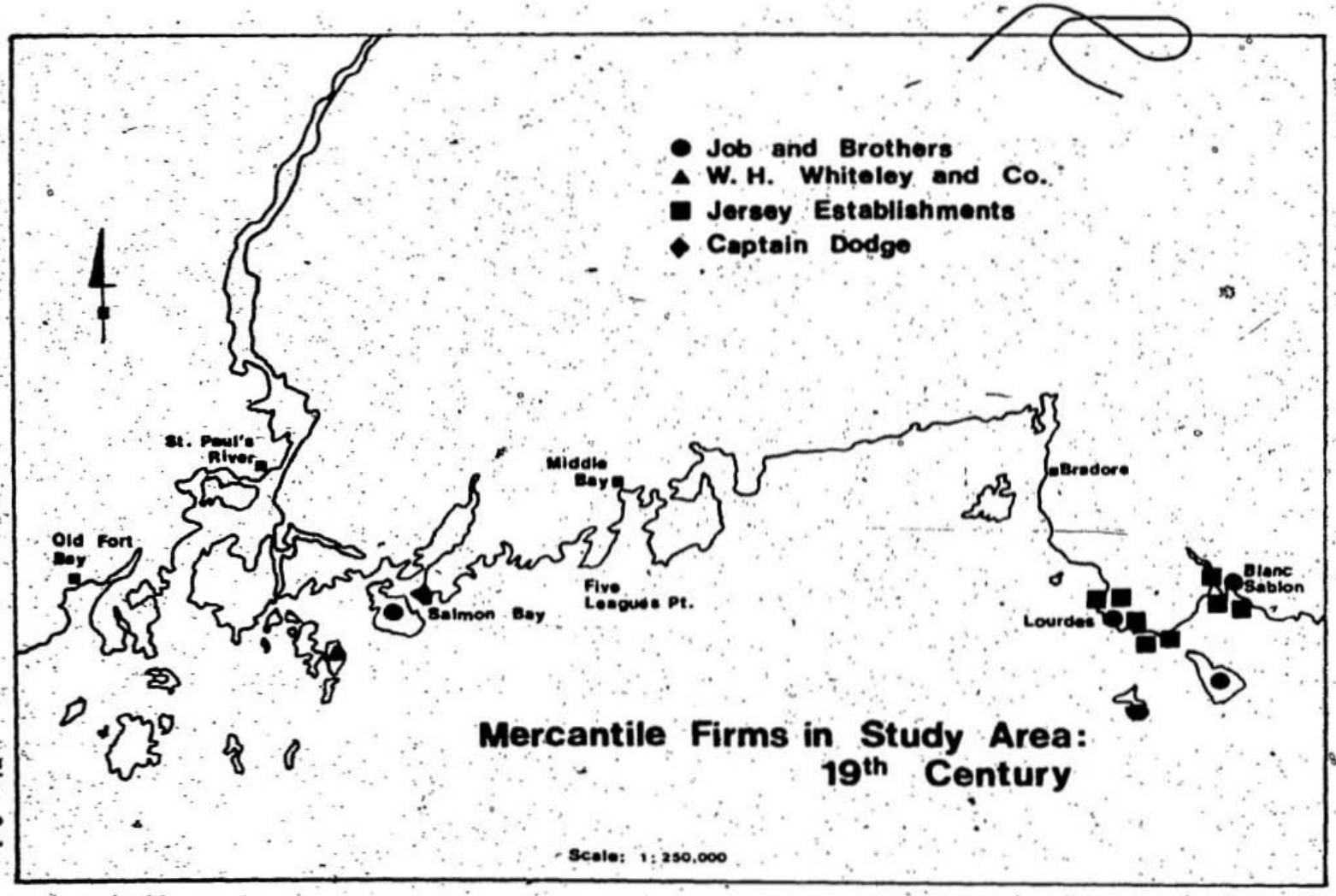

Job and Brothers
W. H. Whiteley and Co.
Jersey Establishments
Captain Dodge
St. Paul's River
Middle Bay
aBradore
Old Fort Bay
Five Leagues Pt.
Salmon Bay
Blanc Sablon
Lourdes
Mercantile Firms in Study Area:
19th Century
Scale: 1:250,000

Fig. 2.1

1954: 413). Hubert, for example, writes that DeQuetteville, whose operation on the Strait of Belle Isle had once had an annual turnover of more than $100,000, was completely ruined by the crash of the Banque Union, of which he was a principal stockholder (1926: 111). Many of the Jersey firms remained in operation after 1873, but this date signalled the start of a gradual abandonment of their large-scale fishing enterprises both on the Labrador coast and elsewhere in the Gulf, such that by the early 20th century, most of these firms had disappeared completely from the St. Paul's-Blanc-Sablon region.

During the years that they were in operation, the Jersey firms were both directly and indirectly responsible for attracting some permanent settlers to the Labrador coast. For example, in the 1849 Journals of the Newfoundland House of Assembly, it was estimated that "at the four Jersey houses in Blanc-Sablon, the principal fishing station on the Labrador . . . there were upwards of 300 inhabitants during the [summer fishing] season" (in Thornton 1974: 16). Breton states that much of the recruitment of these men was conducted in the Gaspé Peninsula, the Magdalen Islands, as well as Lévis and Montmagny, two of the riverine parishes of Québec (1968a: 31). Similarly, the abbé Ferland reports that during his voyage of 1858 the establishments of DeQuetteville and LeBrocq employed hundreds of French-Canadian and Jersey fishermen; he adds that by this time several "Canadian" families had already built houses in the "voisinage" and fished on their own account (1917: 96). Although it is obvious that not all of the men employed by the Jersey firms remained on the shore as permanent settlers, several informants in the St. Paul's-Blanc-Sablon region were able to specify a direct link between these

merchant establishments and the arrival and subsequent permanent residence of their first ancestor on the Lower North Shore. Thus, the original Letemplier's and Lavallée's of Blanc-Sablon, the Legresley's of Lourdes, and the Joncas's of Bradore all arrived on the Lower North Shore by initially working, either as cod fishermen or as agents, for one of the Jersey firms in the Blanc-Sablon area. The Letemplier's, Lavallée's, and Joncas's appear to have come to the Lower Shore via the Gaspé Peninsula, while the original Legresley apparently came directly from Jersey Island.

In the eastern-neighbouring region of the Strait of Belle-Isle, where English merchant firms were also in operation until around the 1840s, it would appear that a greater proportion of the permanent settlers arrived by means of mercantile establishments. For example, Thornton reports that by 1870 there were at least 55 British-born (including 41 English and 14 Jersey) settlers in this area (1974: 19, 34). On the other hand, it is estimated that throughout the entire period of in-migration on the Lower North Shore (1820-1890), there were only 22 British (including 17 English and 5 Jersey) settlers in the St. Paul's-Blanc-Sablon region, compared to 8 such settlers in the area between Kégashka and the St. Paul's River Archipelago (Table 2.1). Although it has already been stated that the Jersey firms also recruited French-Canadians and Acadiens from other regions in Québec and in the Gulf, it was shown earlier that the majority of the latter settled the Lower North Shore independently, having worked there either as engagés or as sailors during the period of non-permanent occupation. Hubert, for example, writes:

> Vers 1840, le capitaine LeScelleur, agent de Quetteville, s'avisa d'aller engager des pêcheurs des Iles de la Madeleine pour pêcher au cent. LeBouthillier suivit son exemple. Ils leur fournissaient barge, bouette, etc., et leur payaient . ... moitié en effets, moitié en argent . . . Un vaisseau les allait chercher aux Iles au commencement de juin pour les y ramener vers la fin d'août . . . Les Madelinots avaient ainsi l'avantage de connaitre toute cette partie de la Côte-Nord du Labrador et de Terre-Neuve; mais ils n'allaient pas au delà de Natashquan. Telle fut l'origine de leur émigration sur la Côte-Nord (1926: 112).

The British settlers, on the other hand, were relatively new to the Gulf of St. Lawrence, and it is believed that the majority of them arrived on the Labrador coast as employees of the Jersey and English establishments. Most of those who settled the area permanently subsequently abandoned their position with the merchant firms and became sedentary seal and salmon fishermen. Consequently, the Jersey establishments, and to a lesser degree the English merchant firms, played an integral role in the permanent settlement of the Lower North Shore. In the St. Paul's-Blanc-Sablon region, for example, these firms were crucial in changing the pattern of settlement, as it was occurring on the Lower North Shore generally, into a very localized process whereby British rather than French-Canadian settlers dominated the initial period of in-migration (1820-1860). Linguistically, these firms also contributed in turning the first period of permanent settlement in this region from a largely French-speaking to at least a 'bilingual' phase. Stated otherwise, the British merchant firms influenced the initial pattern of settlement on the entire southern coast of the Labrador Peninsula such that English-speaking settlers dominated the eastern-most reaches of the coast whilst French-speaking settlers concentrated mostly on the western limits of this region, at least throughout the first half of the 19th century.

Thornton further hypothesizes that for those settlers that came on their own, the merchant firms were an essential ingredient in "permitting" these settlers to remain on the coast the year-round. She writes:

> It is very doubtful if the individual seal fishermen who chose to remain and settle permanently at this time could have done so, if it had not been for the trading organization of the British Isles merchants in the area, to whom they could trade their seal oil for provisions and gear. A combination of factors was now coming into play which would allow the occupants to remain in the area and evolve the commercial initiative required for subsequent internal development, in place of a purely exploitive occupancy, directed from outside (1974: 17).

In the area west of the St. Paul's-Blanc-Sablon region, where there were only a few merchant firms established, it is doubtful that the Jersey and English establishments were as influential in this respect as they were on the Strait of Belle-Isle. However, itinerant traders and migratory fishermen frequented these waters annually and also possibly played a crucial role in supporting an efficient, year-round pattern of resource exploitation that facilitated the formation of permanent settlement west of the St. Paul's River Archipelago.

During the 1860s, the returns from the seal and salmon fisheries began to diminish greatly. Reduced catches in these fisheries resulted from the over-exploitation which followed increases in the population of the posts. Charest adds that climatic changes also greatly affected the seal fishery during this decade:

> Ces rendements inférieurs étaient attribuables principalement à des causes climatiques: prise des glaces hâtive, dégel tardif, permanence des glaces jusqu'à la fin de juin à certaines années (1970: 73).

After 1870, the cod fishery became the primary activity and the major source of revenue for all the settlers already established permanently on

the Lower North Shore. The seal and salmon fisheries were still exploited after this period, but they were clearly secondary forms of activity except in certain areas such as LaTabatière, where the Robertson's continued to prosecute the seal fishery as their chief occupation (Beaucage 1970), and in St. Paul's River, where the Chevalier family, the original owners of the post, persisted mainly as salmon fishermen until very recently.

The changing resource-base of the southern Labrador coast during the second half of the 19th century is closely related to the changing patterns of settlement on the Lower North Shore during this same period. Indeed, many of the French-Canadian and Acadien families who had settled the Lower North Shore as seal and salmon fishermen prior to 1860 emigrated from their posts and settlements after this date. Huard, for example, reports that the Acadien families of Kégashka abandoned that post in 1871 and 1872, and were replaced in the following year by several Newfoundland families (1897: 440). Similarly, Charest states that almost half the families of Tête-à-la-Baleine returned to their former home in Berthier in the early 1870s as a result of consecutively poor fishing seasons in the late 1860s (1970: 84). The Newfoundland settlers, who, for the most part, had been primarily active in the cod fishery in Newfoundland, were attracted to the Lower North Shore by the area's reputed abundance of cod, which had been until then an almost untapped resource for the permanent settlers of the pre-1860 period. The problem of overpopulation on the east coast of Newfoundland and the availability of land (much of it recently abandoned) on the Lower North Shore constituted additional motives (Charest 1970: 40; Thornton 1974: 49-50). In his report for 1874, Lavoie writes:

> On attend au printemps une nombreuse immigration de Terreneuve à Kegashka et à Bonne-Espérance, où de pêches abondantes et de bonnes terres offrent de grands attraits. Plusiers familles de Terreneuve s'y sont déjà établies depuis les deux dernières années (1875: 35).

On the eastern Lower North Shore, and more particularly on the present-day Newfoundland-Labrador coast, the continued presence of mercantile establishments also contributed to in-migration and to permanent settlement in the period after 1860. In the St. Paul's River Archipelago alone, there were at least two such establishments by the 1860s: the firm of Captain Dodge which was founded in Salmon Bay in 1865 and that of W.H. Whiteley and Company on the island of Bonne-Espérance. According to Fortin, Captain Dodge came from Newbury Port in New England, and had a total of 35 men, presumably Americans, in his employment during the 1865 fishing season. Although both Fortin and Charest maintain that his was an "important establishment", it is not known for how long Captain Dodge remained in operation, nor if his crews ever increased to proportions similar to those of the Jersey firms to the east (Fortin 1866: 17; Charest 1970: 70).

The Whiteley enterprise was founded in 1863 and continued to operate until 1947, when it was sold to the Standard Fish Company of Montréal. More importantly, it is certain that the latter firm played a critical role in the peopling of the St. Paul's River Archipelago. William Henry Whiteley was a native of Boston who arrived on the Lower North Shore as a child after his father's death in 1844. He initially resided in Belles-Amours, near Middle Bay, but later moved either to Goddard's Island or Buckle's Island, in the St. Paul's River Archipelago, where he lived with his mother and step-father, both natives of the Labrador coast. After his own marriage in 1859, Whiteley finally moved to Bonne-Espérance where he later founded his

company. Because of the familial nature of this enterprise, the Whiteley's employed only a few men in the early years of operation, many of whom were sent from Newfoundland. For example, in his 1874 diary, Whiteley made the following entry: "Sent to St. John's for 8 fishermen; 2 boys for stage (1 splitter; 1 salter); 1 girl for cook; 1 girl for stage" (Unpublished manuscript). By the 1880s, however, the family records indicate that there had been a considerable increase both in the size of the crews and in the returns from the cod fishery (Table 2.2). Huard maintains that the Whiteley's employed as many as 150 men in their fishing operation, but his figure seem exaggerated by comparison to the Whiteley family records (1897: 461). Moreover, it is important to note that the Whiteley crews, like those of the other firms on the Labrador coast, oscillated from year to year depending on the availability of men, the success of recruiting, as well as the success of the codfishery for both the preceeding year and the present year of operation.

Table 2.2

Whiteley operation on Bonne-Espérance: 1885-1900

Year	Total No. of Men	Sharemen	Boys	Girls	Total No. Employed	Catches of Fish in Quintals
1885	72	-	13	9	94	4773
1886	104	-	23	13	140	3878
1887	92	-	5	19	116	6849
1892	-	36	-	6	128	9051
1893	-	59	-	8	131	11300
1894	64	32	6	12	122	6700
1895	-	-	-	-	50	7100
1896	-	50	-	7	82	8900
1897	-	43	-	5	77	6000
1898	-	18	-	5	78	5618
1899	-	19	-	6	87	2300
1900	-	11	-	6	91	5200

(Data is available only for these years).

In 1882, Whiteley initiated the practice of moving to St. John's during the winter months, returning to the Lower North Shore only during the summer fishing seasons. Although motivated by a personal commitment that centred primarily on the education of his children, the deciding factor to reside in Newfoundland was "that the best fishermen came from that country and it was necessary to engage large crews to conduct [the] growing [family] business" (George Whiteley, unpublished manuscript). Thus, after this date the basic character of the Whiteley operation, which had had until then a primarily local, Lower North Shore orientation, shifted to one that was heavily influenced and dominated by Newfoundland interests and problems. Furthermore, it is clear from the family records that the large majority of the Whiteley employees, both during the 1880s and thereafter, came from island-Newfoundland, principally Trinity Bay (including such places as Heart's Content, Hant's Harbour, Spaniards Cove, and New Perlican). More significant is that several of these married and unmarried crewmen, and in some cases single females who worked as servants and cooks, remained in the St. Paul's River Archipelago as permanent settlers. Because of the inconsistent nature of the data, it is impossible to produce actual figures of settlers who arrived on the Lower North Shore through the Whiteley's. However, oral tradition suggests that the Whiteley operation was responsible for bringing many new settlers to the area of St. Paul's River, including the Tucker's of St. Augustin, the Spingle's of Bonne Bay, and the Thomas's, McAllister's, and Reed's from other areas in Newfoundland. Charest concurs with this view when he writes:

> . . . Whiteley fit bientôt un succès de son enterprise, ce qui attira un bon nombre de pêcheurs terreneuviens sur la Côte d'abord comme engagés à Bonne Espérance, ensuite à leur propre compte (1970: 84).

It was stated earlier that between 1860 and 1890 a greater proportion of Newfoundlanders settled the St. Paul's-Blanc-Sablon region rather than the more extensive area to the west of the St. Paul's River Archipelago; it is suggested here that the importance and large-scale operation of the Whiteley's was directly responsible for this east-west difference in the settlement pattern of the Lower North Shore during this second period of in-migration. Finally, it is interesting to note that in the period following the end of in-migration, the Whiteley's continued to employ several men and girls who were established permanently in the St. Paul's River Archipelago. This would suggest that the firm may therefore have played an essential part in retaining on the Lower North Shore those settlers who might otherwise have emigrated from the area as a result of diminishing fishing returns and an increasingly poor and fluctuating economy during the early years of the present century.

In the Blanc-Sablon area and further east on the present-day Newfoundland-Labrador coast, the Newfoundland merchant firm of Job and Brothers was also in operation at about the same time. By 1870, the latter had taken over the English and most of the Jersey establishments on either side of the Québec-Newfoundland border and, as such, it was the most prominent merchant firm on the entire Labrador coast throughout the last quarter of the 19th and early part of the 20th centuries. Thornton writes that the firm "effectively monopolized the Newfoundland-based Shore Fishery in the Strait" of Belle Isle where it had established in L'Anse au

Clair, Forteau and L'Anse au loup (1974: 51-52). On the Quebec side of the border, Job's were in operation in Longue-Pointe, Isle-au-Bois, Greenly Island and Blanc-Sablon (Fig. 2.1). Charest maintains that the firm also had a processing plant on Caribou Island, in the St. Paul's River Archipelago, and that it employed as many as 80 men, all of them Newfoundlanders, during the better fishing seasons (1970: 85).

In contrast to Whiteley's, it appears that few of the men who worked for Job's ever resided permanently on the Lower North Shore. Informants in Blanc-Sablon and Lourdes were consistent in their remarks that most of these men went there as "planters" who, by the Labrador definition of the term, returned to Newfoundland at the end of every fishing season. These men apparently owned their fishing gear but obtained their boats from Job's, to whom they subsequently sold their catches. The planters operated on a small-scale, employing both men and single girls who usually came from the same Newfoundland outports and regions as themselves, most likely Conception Bay and Trinity Bay. Thornton reports that a similar pattern existed on the neighbouring Strait of Belle Isle, but she suggests that the planters who were in operation there were influential in "channeling" other permanent settlers to that area (1974: 52). In the St. Paul's-Blanc-Sablon region, on the other hand, there is no evidence, either from parish records or oral tradition, that the planters ever played such a role in the establishment of permanent settlement, except in the case of those single females who worked for them as well as for Whiteley's. Indeed, between 1860 and 1890, there were at least 13 recorded marriages between these Newfoundland girls and the permanent male settlers of the Lower North Shore. Four of the female Newfoundland settlers originated from Conception Bay,

3 were from St. John's or neighbouring outports, 2 were from Trinity Bay, while the remaining 4 came from unknown areas in Newfoundland. Although this figure may actually have been slightly greater, it is doubtful that the number of female settlers on the eastern Lower North Shore was ever as large as that on the Newfoundland-Labrador coast where Thornton reports at least 47 female Newfoundland settlers in the period 1850-1880 (1974: 45). This would suggest that the importance of the planter system as well as that of Job and Brothers, at least in terms of permanent settlement, was greatest on the eastern-most section of the southern Labrador coast and diminished westward, in line with the general east-west trends outlined earlier.

Finally, it is important to note that throughout the entire period of in-migration on the Lower North Shore, the area continued to be frequented annually by hundreds of fishing vessels from the Maritime Provinces, the New England States, and other points within the Gulf of St. Lawrence, including the Gaspé Peninsula and the Magdalen Islands. For example, Innis writes that the United States, New Brunswick, and Nova Scotia sent "large numbers of vessels" to the Labrador coast as early as 1829 (1954: 284). Audubon confirms this statement with his own observation that there were about 150 schooners, mostly from Halifax and the eastern United States, in Bradore Bay in 1833 (1960: 413). Moreover, a forerunner of the Fishery Act of 1857 officially "permitted all British subjects to participate in" the fishery along the Labrador coast after 1853, while the Act itself further encouraged the entire Gulf fishery "by the introduction of numerous regulations" (Innis 1954: 357). As a result, the number of vessels fishing on the coasts of the Gulf of St. Lawrence, including the southern coast of the Labrador peninsula, continued to increase such that in his

report for 1862, Fortin writes:

> They [the coasts of the Gulf and the St. Lawrence River] are also frequented each year, between the opening and closing of the season of navigation, by more than 1500 fishing-schooners from Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, P. Edward's Island and the United States, manned by at least 20,000 sailors, who go there for the purpose of carrying on the cod, herring, and mackerel fisheries, either near the coasts or outside on the banks (Fortin 1862: 5).

In the same report, Fortin adds that Bradore Bay had been visited that year "by the usual number" of 200 to 250 schooners from Nova Scotia and Prince Edward Island, but he observes that there was "a smaller number than usual of American schooners" (1862: 61). These annual visits to the Lower North Shore persisted until about the turn of the century when the changing mode of transportation and the very nature of the three principal fisheries no longer made it a worthwhile endeavour (Innis 1954: 425-443).

Despite its long history, and its intensive as well as extensive nature, this non-sedentary exploitation of the marine resources of the Lower North Shore did not contribute to permanent settlement to any significant degree. As in the case of the planters, it is believed that the men who came to the Lower North Shore from neighbouring areas in the Gulf only remained for the summer fishing seasons, returning to their respective home-ports in the fall of the year. There is some oral evidence to suggest that a small number of these men married local girls, but with few exceptions, it would appear that most never remained on the Lower North Shore permanently after their marriage.

Ethnic Boundaries and Initial Residential Segregation

The permanent settlers who arrived in the St. Paul's-Blanc-Sablon

region during the period of in-migration included members of at least 6 ethnic groups: 44 English and Scots who came mainly from Britain, but some via Newfoundland; 14 French-Canadians from Québec; 7 Irish from Newfoundland; 5 Jerseymen; and 2 Acadiens from the Magdalen Islands. More importantly, the permanent settlers also constituted two distinct linguistic and two religious categories: the French-Canadians, Jerseymen, and Acadiens were French-speaking whilst the English, Scots, and Irish spoke English; the French-Canadians, Irish, and Acadiens were Roman Catholic whereas the Jerseymen, and most of the English and Scots were members of the Church of England. According to the official censuses of this period, there were also a few Presbyterians, Methodists, and Congregationalists, but these either left the area subsequently or were eventually absorbed by the Church of England. For example, included in the Whiteley papers is a Congregationalist parish register for the years 1867-1883, which includes the names of several inhabitants in the St. Paul's Archipelago whose names later reappear in the Anglican parish records of Harrington Harbour and St. Paul's River. Thus, from the earliest period of permanent settlement, the eastern Lower North Shore was a meeting place for members of diverse ethnic stocks who could be identified either by as sharing a common language or a common religion. Both these ethnic traits had two elements each: French and English, Catholic and Anglican.

Since the members of virtually all of these six ethnic groups were present on the Shore in such small numbers, none of the groups was ever biologically self-perpetuating in its own right. This resulted in a rapid process of integration whereby the new settlers aligned themselves

either along linguistic or religious lines, thereby providing the necessary ingredients for the present-day composition of the population: Francophone Catholics, Anglophone Catholics, and Anglophone Anglicans. No French-speaking Anglican community ever emerged since the few Jersey settlers were the only group possessing both these traits (Field 1849: 65). More importantly, since there were no known female Jersey settlers on the eastern Lower North Shore, all the Jerseymen had to marry either outside their linguistic community to find an Anglican spouse or outside their religious community to find a Francophone wife. The former practice led to their Anglicization; the latter implied their conversion to Catholicism. For example, the Fequet's and Robin's of Old Fort Island retained the Anglican religion but became English-speaking, as did most of the Jersey settlers on the Newfoundland side of the border, whereas the Legresley's and Letemplier's of Lourdes and Blanc-Sablon, respectively, converted to Catholicism after their marriages to French-Canadian women.

Table 2.3

Ethnic origins of resident population in district of 'Bonne-Espérance'

	1871	1881
English	176	241
Scots	15	1
Irish	12	11
French	61	86
Others	2	2
Totals	266	341

Sources: Census of Canada: 1870-1871, Volume I, Table 3, 306-397, Table 4, 390-391; Census of Canada: 1880-1881, Volume I, Table 3, 248-249, Table 4, 346-347.

Language and religion were, moreover, important criteria in determining residential segregation on all of the Lower North Shore. For example, in his report for 1858, the abbé Ferland writes that the posts around Blanc-Sablon and Lourdes were French-speaking whilst those to the west, between Bradore and St. Augustin, were all English-speaking. Elsewhere on the North Shore, he states that French was generally spoken in the area from St. Augustin to Mingan, on the present-day Middle North Shore (1917: 28). This form of segregation continued to be a determining characteristic of the settlement pattern in the St. Paul's-Blanc-Sablon region between 1860 and 1890 since only two of the English-speaking families (from the Newfoundland-Labrador) are known to have elected residence in the French-speaking enclave of Lourdes-Blanc-Sablon. Similarly, the only two known Francophone immigrants of the post-1860 period settled in Lourdes (Figs. 2.2 and 2.3). On the remainder of the Lower North Shore, the out-migration of many French-Canadians and Acadiens during the early 1870s and the subsequent arrival of the English-speaking Newfoundlanders contributed in changing the linguistic map of that region. However, by 1890, most of the settlers west of the St. Paul's River Archipelago were still segregated. The majority of the settlements was obviously English-speaking, with the exceptions of Tête-à-la Baleine and La Romaine, the only two that remained French-speaking; and Baie Rouge and St. Augustin which had bi-lingual populations that were later to become totally English-speaking (Charest 1970: 84).

Residential segregation along religious lines was also apparent in the St. Paul's-Blanc-Sablon region throughout the period of in-migration (Fig. 2.4). Despite incursions by both Catholic and Protestant settlers,

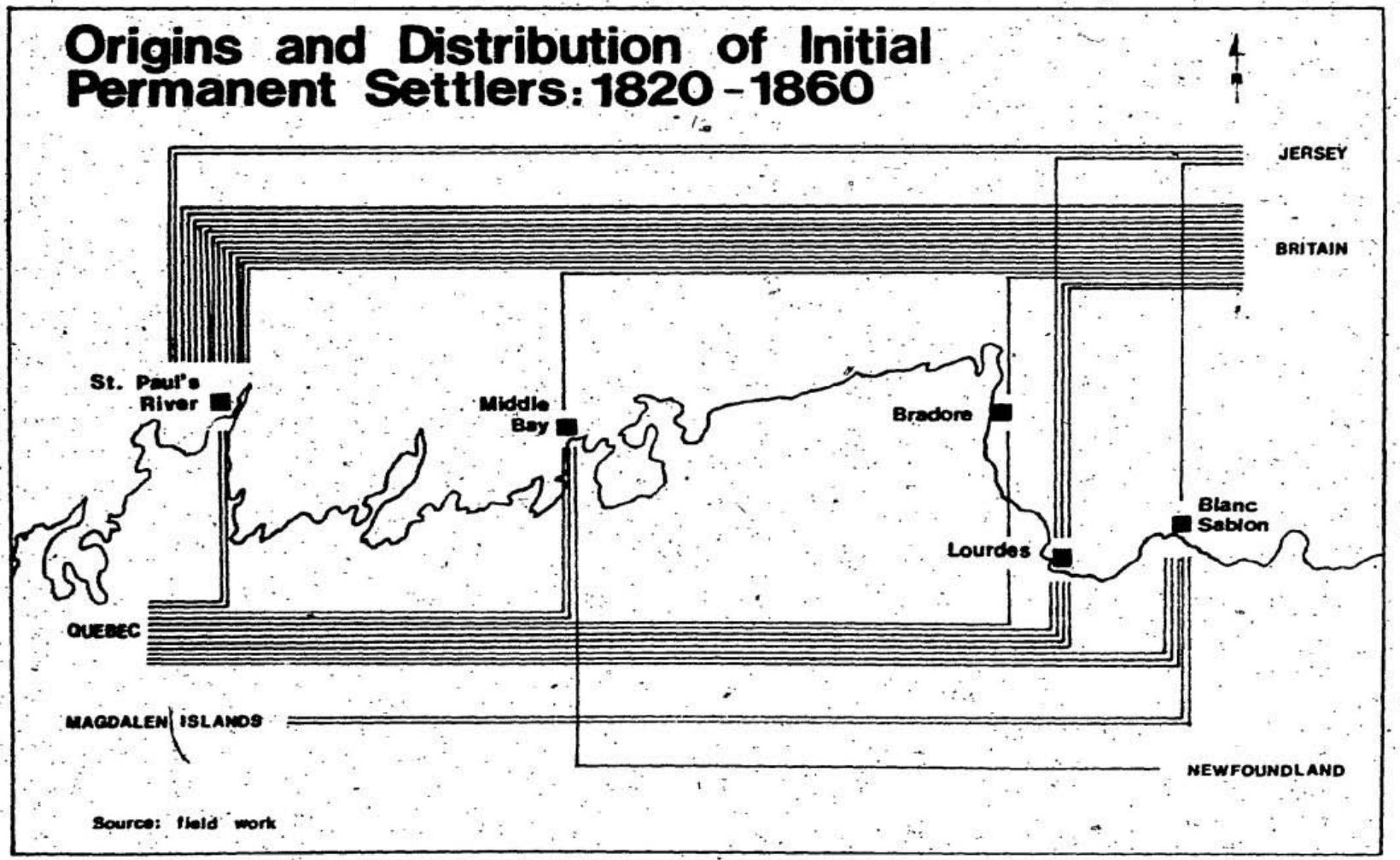

Origins and Distribution of Initial Permanent Settlers: 1820 - 1860
JERSEY
BRITAIN
St. Paul's River
Middle Bay
Bradore
Blanc Sablon
Lourdes
QUEBEC
MAGDALEN ISLANDS
NEWFOUNDLAND
Source: field work

Fig. 2.2

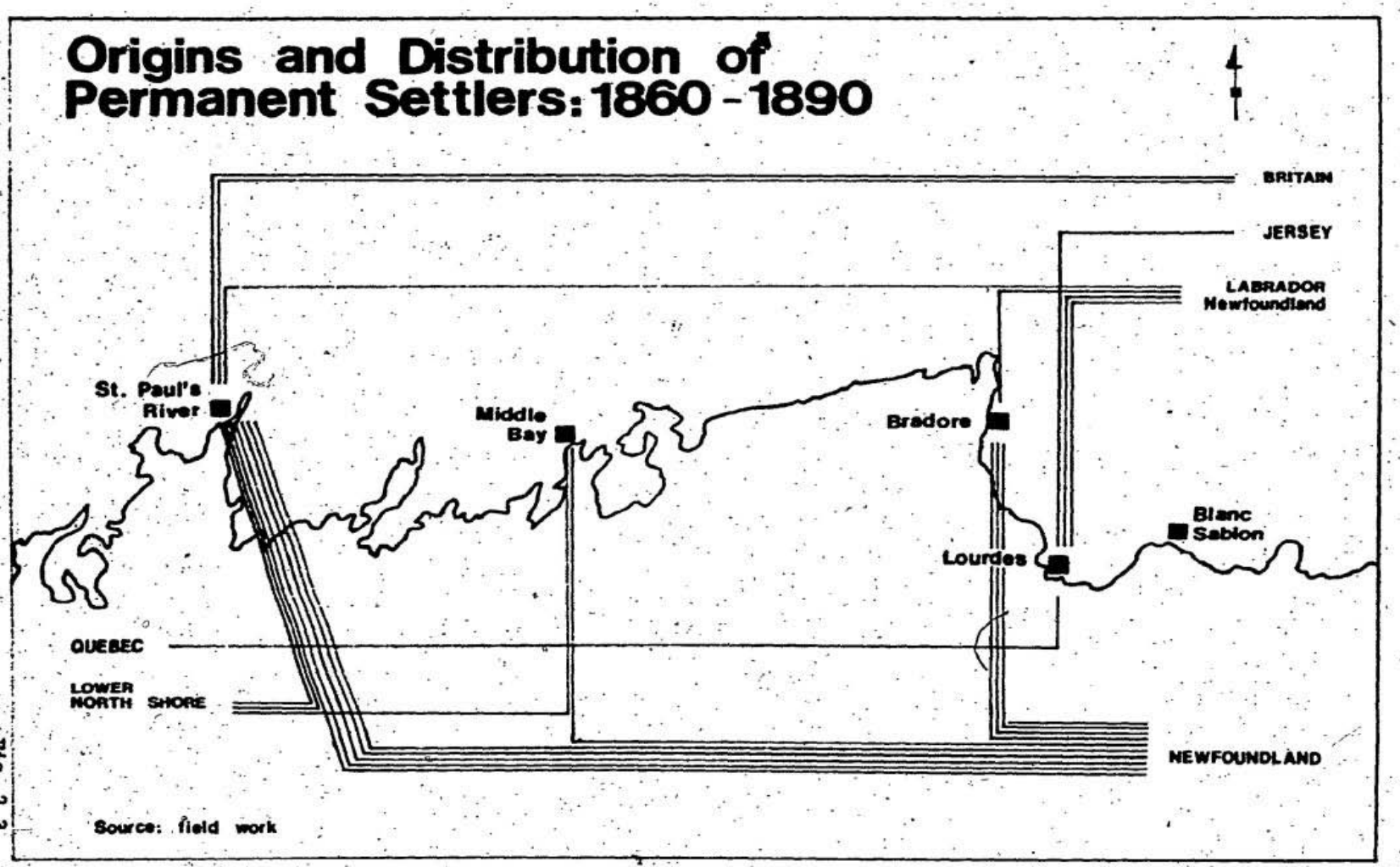

Origins and Distribution of Permanent Settlers: 1860 - 1890
BRITAIN
JERSEY
LABRADOR
Newfoundland
St. Paul's River
Middle Bay
Bradore
Blanc Sablon
Lourdes
QUEBEC
LOWER NORTH SHORE
NEWFOUNDLAND
Source: field work

Fig. 2.3

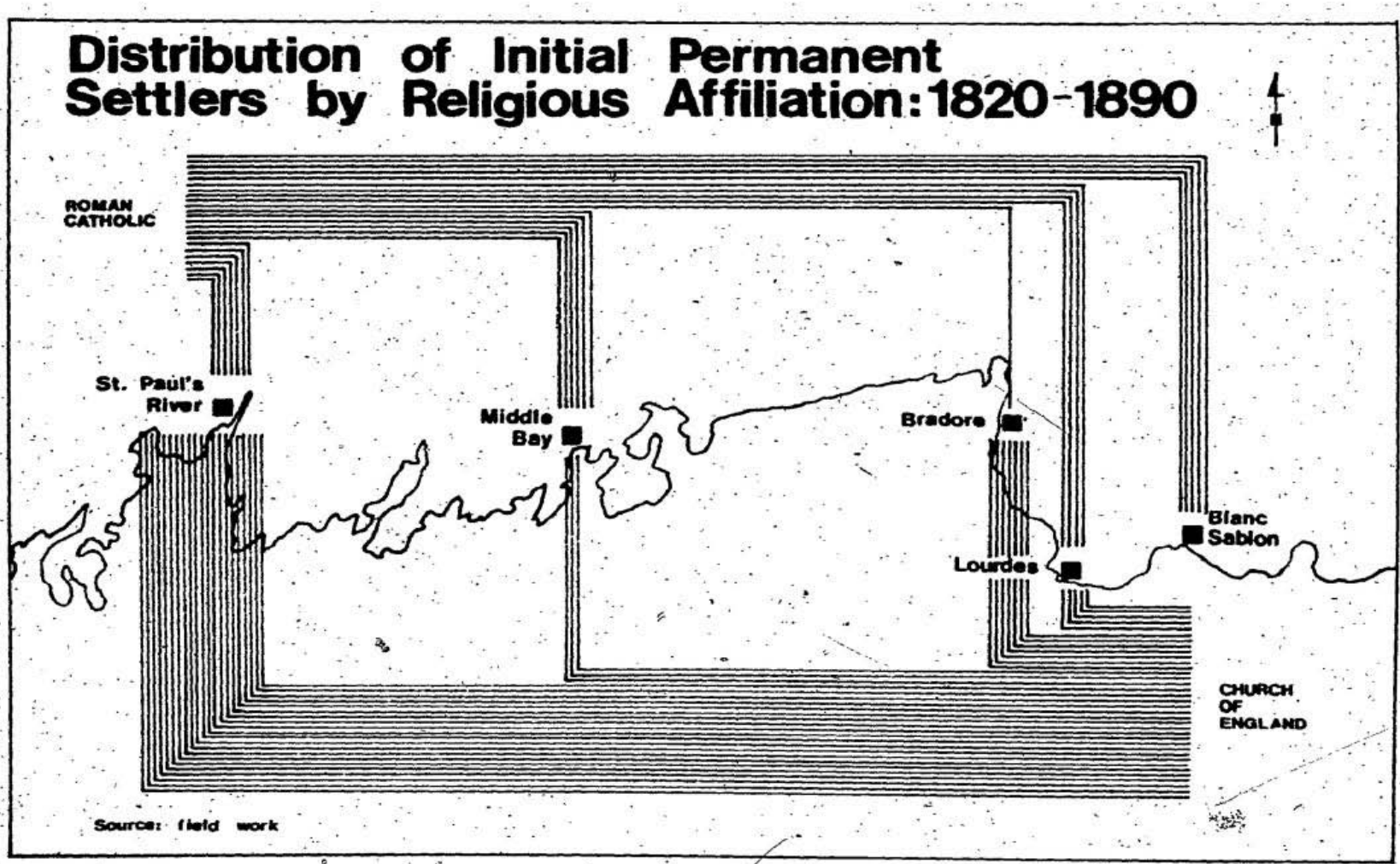

Distribution of Initial Permanent Settlers by Religious Affiliation: 1820-1890
ROMAN CATHOLIC
St. Paul's River
Middle Bay
Bradore
Blanc Sablon
Lourdes
CHURCH OF ENGLAND
Source: field work

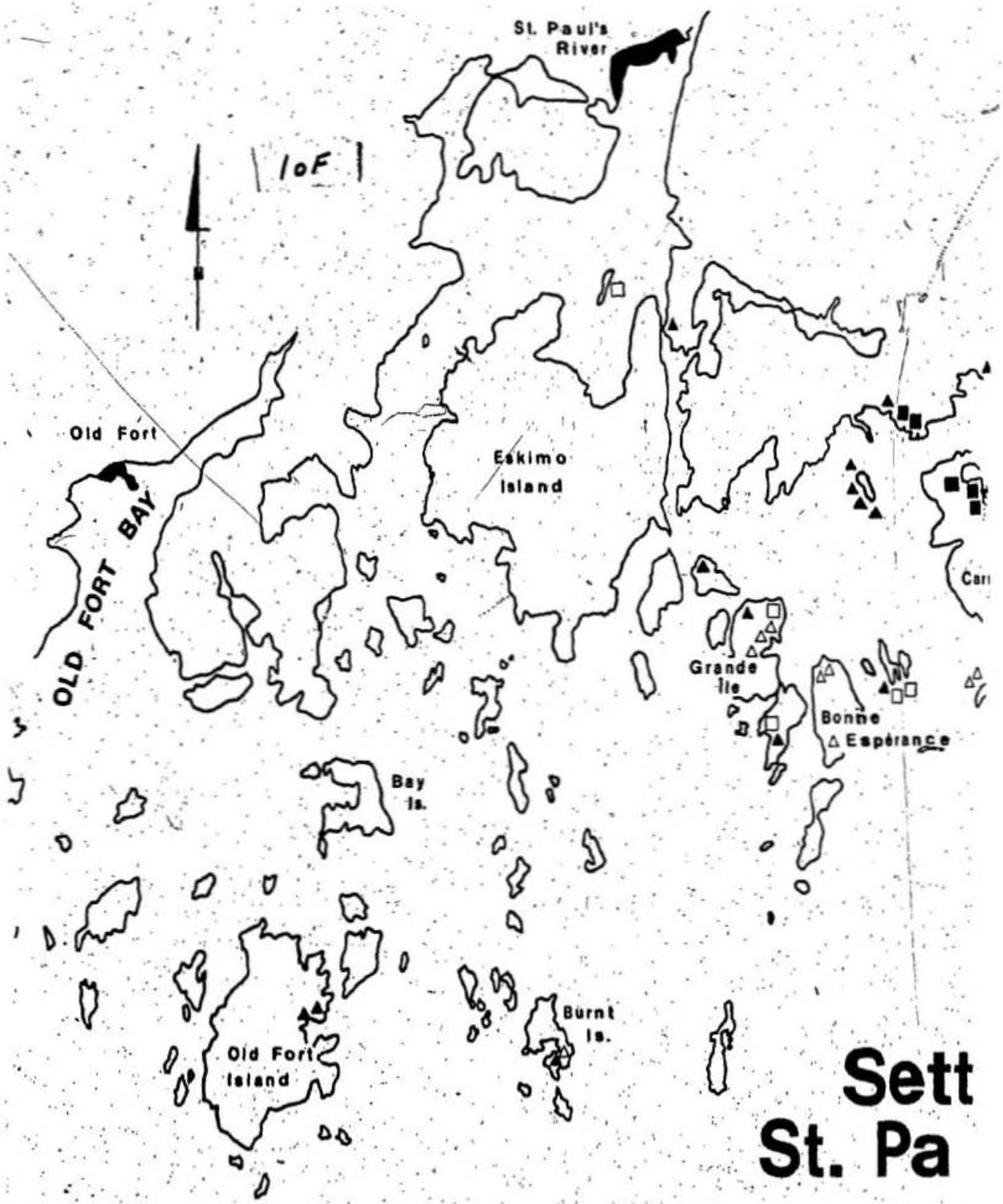
Fig. 2.4

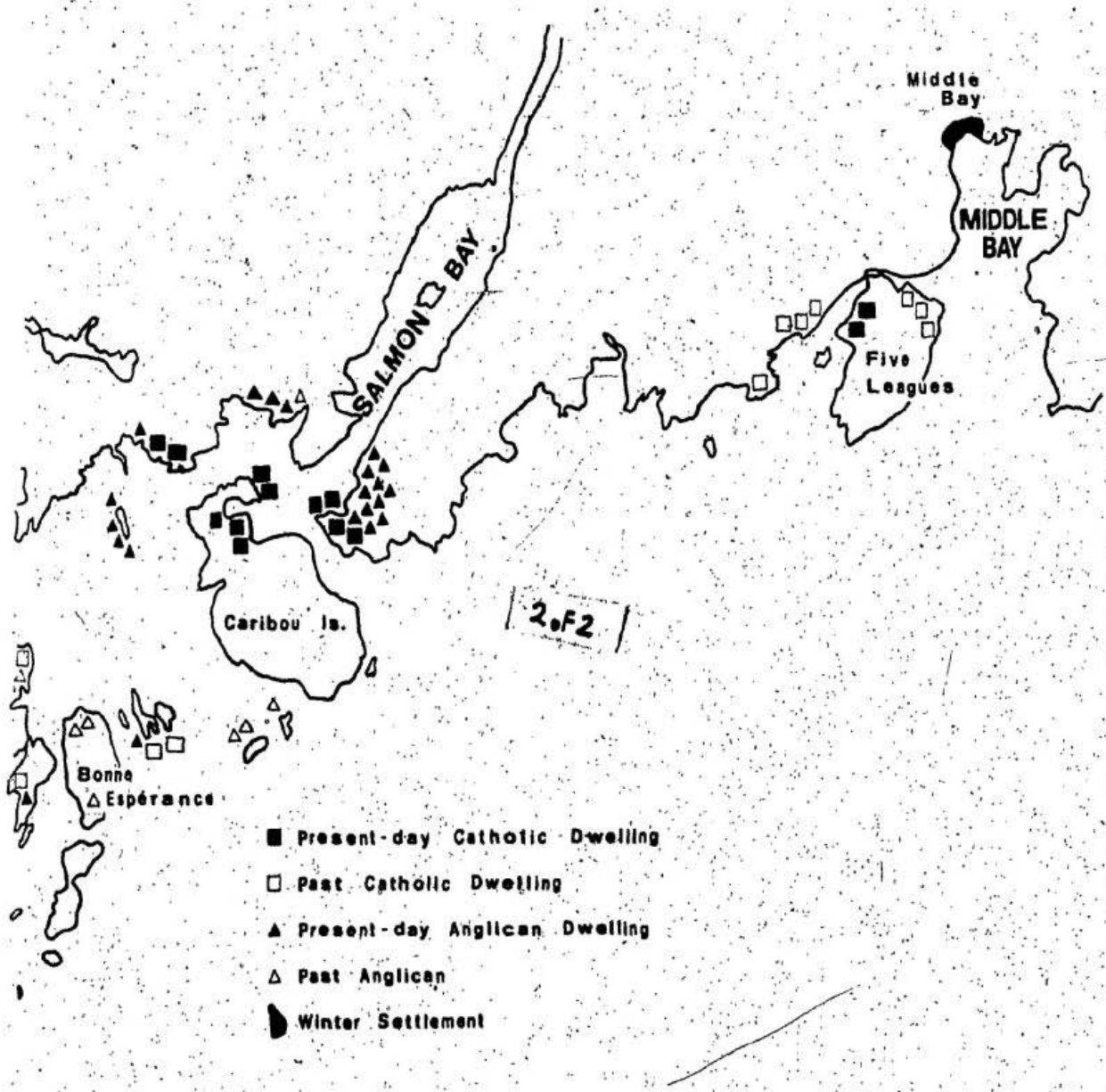
Blanc-Sablon, Lourdes and Middle Bay emerged at the end of this long period with basically Catholic populations. An estimated total of only 8 Protestants, 3 of whom are known to have married Catholics and eventually converted to Catholicism, moved to these three settlements in the 70-year period. On the other hand, Bradore and St. Paul's River were characterized by largely Anglican populations with a Catholic minority in both settlements. In Bradore, this minority consisted of only one French-speaking family of 9 persons whose descendants today still form the only Catholic population in that settlement. The Catholic population in St. Paul's River represented a larger, more readily identifiable group, constituting at least 10 of the 29 families (34.5%) who resided permanently in the St. Paul's Archipelago around 1890.

On a smaller scale, the high Protestant-Catholic ratio in the St. Paul's Archipelago provides a clear example of the spatial as well as the social boundaries which separated the two religious factions on the eastern Lower North Shore. Oral evidence suggests that from the time of initial permanent settlement, the Catholics were concentrated on the eastern posts of the Archipelago while the Anglicans usually resided on the central and western islands and mainland posts (Fig. 2.5). The only exception was the post of Salmon Bay where a mixed population was always present. However, it would appear that social forces were also at play here to segregate the two groups from one another:

> Salmon Bay demeure le seul endroit côtier habité par des membres de religion différente. Mais chaque groupe occupe de nouveau un territoire déterminé et utilise l'expression "l'autre côté" (the other side) pour désigner la partie opposée (Breton 1970: 125).

Breton further notes that the Catholic fishing sites in the Archipelago


St. Paul's River
10F
Old Fort
OLD FORT BAY
Eskimo Island
Grande Ile
Bonne Espérance
Bay Is.
Burnt Is.
Old Fort Island
Sett
St. Pa
Scale: 1: 36,500
Source: Dept. of Mines and Technical Surveys, Ottawa (1958). Fieldwork



Settlement Pattern in the St. Paul's River Archipelago

Fig. 2.5

bordered the Middle Bay area, whereas the Anglican posts were in closer proximity to old Fort Bay, a totally Protestant settlement just west of St. Paul's River. In subsequent years, these two neighbouring settlements played a vital role in the survival of both the Catholic and Anglican populations of St. Paul's River since they each provided an important pool of marriage partners of the same religious convictions.

It can be seen that the process of in-migration on the eastern Lower North Shore led to a pattern of permanent settlement that exhibited social and spatial boundaries which served to delineate the five settlements and the homogeneous populations they contained. The social and spatial boundaries described above were not wholly self-induced by the migrants as they settled the Shore, but they were also greatly affected by the changing economic characteristics of the southern Labrador coast. Indeed, it was shown earlier that the successful seal and salmon fisheries during the early years of in-migration were influential in attracting only certain types of settlers to the Lower North Shore. Similarly, the merchant firms established at various times on the eastern Lower North Shore and on the Newfoundland-Labrador coast were instrumental in bringing other immigrants whose ethno-linguistic and religious origins differed from the already-settled permanent population.

CHAPTER III

INTEGRATION AND CONSOLIDATION: 1890 - 1920

In the three decades after 1890, the importance of language and religion as the chief diagnostic features by which the resident population of the eastern Lower North Shore aligned itself became increasingly apparent. The social and spatial boundaries which had been established earlier persisted throughout this second period of settlement. During these three decades, marriage achieved prominence as the most important mechanism operating in the retention of ethnic diversity, as well as the primary means of integrating and assimilating the different ethnic stocks. In Barthian terms, marriage was the principal channel through which the members of the six ethnic components could effectively control the flow of personnel amongst them by invoking the processes of exclusion and incorporation of marriageable partners on the basis of their linguistic and religious affiliations.

Patterns of Marriage

An examination of the patterns of marriage in the St. Paul's - Blanc-Sablon region from the 1840s to 1920 reveals that there was a clear tendency throughout this period for endogamous marriages, that is, for marriages in which both partners were either from the same linguistic or the same religious community (Fig. 3.1). Using the criterion of language, only 37 (17.8%) unions during this period involved partners

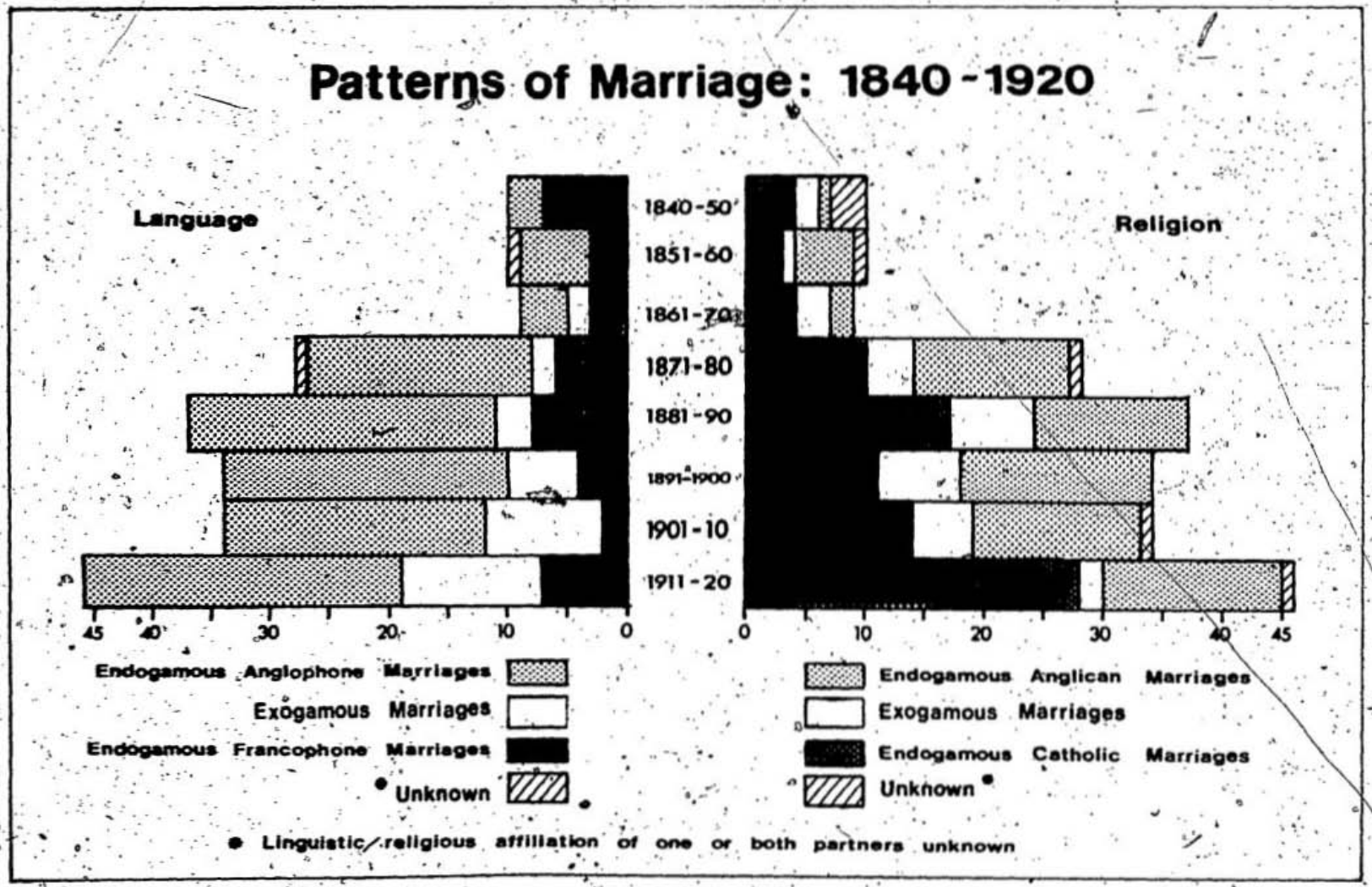

Patterns of Marriage: 1840-1920
Language
Religion
1840-50
1851-60
1861-70
1871-80
1881-90
1891-1900
1901-10
1911-20
45
40
30
20
10
0
0
10
20
30
40
45
Endogamous Anglophone Marriages
Exogamous Marriages
Endogamous Francophone Marriages
Unknown •
Endogamous Anglican Marriages
Exogamous Marriages
Endogamous Catholic Marriages
Unknown •
• Linguistic/religious affiliation of one or both partners unknown

Fig. 3.1

of both linguistic groups compared to 169 (81.2%) marriages which were endogamous. Similarly, there were only 32 (15.4%) religiously mixed marriages compared to 170 (81.7%) endogamous unions of this type. This preferential selection of marriage partners is better illustrated in Table 3.1, which gives a measure of the degree of preference that was exercised by both the men and women of each linguistic and religious community.[1] The figures recorded in this table were attained by first calculating the number of individuals 'at risk' in each category for each period, and converting these into percentages. Thus, of 74 men who were married prior to 1890, 45.9% (34 individuals) were Catholic and 54.1% (40 individuals) were Protestant.[2] These percentages were then used as measures indicating the expected patterns of marriage if the men and women were to exercise a non-prejudiced choice in their selection of spouses, providing of course that there was a balanced sex ratio in the population. Consequently, if 45.9% of all the men who married before 1890 were Catholic, then approximately half of them (23.0% of the total male population that was married) would be expected to marry Catholic women, and the other half to marry Protestant women. Similarly, half the Anglican men (27.0% of the total married male population) would be expected

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1 The writer wishes to acknowledge the help of Dr. Alan G. Macpherson of the Department of Geography, Memorial University, who initially suggested the use of a similar technique.

2 These figures, as well as all of those appearing in Table 3.1, include only those marriage partners who were resident in the St. Paul's-Blanc-Sablon region. Where both partners were from the study area, the husband's and the wife's choice were recorded separately, in their respective tables. This measure reflects more accurately the preference of both the male and female population under study.

Table 3.1

Expected vs. Observed Patterns of Marriage: 1840–1920

MALES

Categories Of Marriage	1840–1890 N	E	O	1890–1920 N	E	O	1840–1920 N	E	O
RC x RC	32	23.0%	43.2%	46	31.4%	53.5%	78	27.5%	48.8%
Rc x C of E	2	23.0	2.7	8	31.4	9.3	10	27.5	6.3
C of E x C of E	27	27.0	36.5	27	18.6	31.4	54	22.5	33.8
C of E x RC	13	27.0	17.6	5	18.6	5.8	18	22.5	11.3
TOTALS:	74	100.0%	100.0%	86	100.0%	100.0%	160	100.0%	100.2%
FR x FR	25	17.1%	32.9%	12	21.6%	13.6%	37	19.5%	22.6%
FR x ENG	1	17.1	1.3	26	21.6	29.6	27	19.5	16.5
ENG x ENG	48	32.9	63.2	49	28.4	55.7	97	30.5	59.2
ENG x FR	2	32.9	2.6	1	28.4	1.1	3	30.5	1.8
TOTALS:	76	100.0%	100.0%	88	100.0%	100.0%	164	100.0%	100.1%

(N) Actual number of marriages;
(E) Expected percentage of marriages;
(O) Observed percentage of marriages;

(RC) Roman Catholic; (C of E) Church of England;
(FR) French-speaking;
(ENG) English-speaking.

Table 3.1
(cont'd)

Expected vs. Observed Patterns of Marriage: 1840-1920

Females

Categories Of Marriage	1840-1890 N	E	O	1890-1920 N	E	O	1840-1920 N	E	O
RC x RC	24	26.8	42.9	31	24.0%	42.5%	55	25.2%	42.6%
C of E x RC	6	26.8	10.7	4	24.0	5.5	10	25.2	7.8
C of E x C of E	22	23.2	39.3	33	26.0	45.2	55	24.8	42.6
RC x C of E	4	23 2	7.1	5	26.0	6.9	9	24.8	7.0
TOTALS:	56	100.0%	100.0%	73	100.0%	100.1%	129	100.0%	100.0%
FR x FR	17	18.1%	29.3%	11	9.6%	15.1%	28	13.4%	21.4%
ENG x FR	4	18.1	6.9	3	9.6%	4.1	7	13.4	5.3
ENG x ENG	34	31.9	58.6	49	40.4	67.1	83	36.6	63.4
FR x ENG	3	31.9	5.2	10	40.4	13.7	13	36.6	9.9
TOTALS:	58	100.0%	100.0%	73	100.0%	100.0%	131	100.0%	100.0%

to marry Protestants, and half to marry Catholics. However, in comparing the expected with the observed patterns of marriage, it is evident that with the exception of one anomaly, the resident population of the eastern Lower North Shore exercised a clear preference with regard to both the language and the religion of their marriage partners.

An examination of the patterns of spatially exogamous marriages - marriages contracted between spouses resident in different settlements both within the St. Paul's-Blanc-Sablon region and outside - reveals that these unions further supported the settlers' preference for linguistic and religious endogamy. For example, the Francophone Catholic population of Lourdes tended to intermarry more with the Francophone Catholics of Blanc-Sablon and with the mostly Anglophone but Catholic populations of such Newfoundland-Labrador settlements as L'Anse au Diable, West. St. Modeste, and Pinware (Table 3.2). Similarly, the Francophones of Blanc-Sablon were the only community to intermarry with the population of St. Augustin, which was predominantly Catholic and still largely Francophone during the last quarter of the 19th century. Both Blanc-Sablon and Lourdes were also the only two settlements in which marriages with the residents of such places as Montmagny were recorded. On the other hand, the Anglophone Anglican population of St. Paul's River had a much greater exchange of marriage partners with Anglican settlements like Forteau, on the Newfoundland-Labrador coast, and Old Fort Bay, on the Lower North Shore. The Francophone Catholics of Bradore intermarried mostly with the Francophone Catholics of Lourdes and Blanc-Sablon, while the Anglican majority of Bradore had marital links with St. Paul's River, La Tabatière, and Mutton Bay, mostly Anglican settlements to the west, and with L'Anse au

Table 3.2

Distribution of Spatially Exogamous Marriages: 1840-1920

	Blanc-Sablon	Lourdes	Bradore	Middle Bay	St. Paul's River
ield Area:					
Lourdes	6	-	-	-	-
Bradore	3	4	-	-	-
Middle Bay	-	4	4	-	-
St. Paul's River	3	1	4	3	-
ou N-r h Shore:					
Old Fort Bay	-	-	-	-	8
St. Augustin	5	1	1	2	3
Mutton Bay	-	-	2	-	1
La Tabatière	-	2	2	-	2
Whale Head	-	-	1	-	-
ld. Labrador:					
L'Anse au Clair	3	2	4	-	-
Forteau	-	1	1	-	6
L'Anse au Loup	-	-	-	-	1
L'Anse au Diable	-	4	-	-	1
West St. Modeste	1	1	-	-	-
Pinware	2	6	2	-	-
Red Bay	-	1	-	-	-
land-Newfoundland:					
Flowers Cove	2	-	-	-	-
West Coast	1	-	1	-	1
Trinity Bay	2	-	1	-	2
Conception Bay	1	-	1	-	5
Avalon/St. John's	2	-	-	-	2
Others	-	1	1	-	6
ec:	1	4	-	-	-
:	-	-	1	-	2
England:	-	-	1	-	1
itish Isles:	-	-	-	-	3
hers:	3	2	1	-	7

Clair on the Newfoundland side of the border. In most of these spatially exogamous marriages, it is important to note that language and religion were usually more significant in the selection of a spouse than was geographical proximity. Thus, the Anglicans of St. Paul's River had more marital and social links with settlements situated over forty miles away (Forteau) than it did with the Catholic and Francophone settlements which were closer (Blanc-Sablon and Lourdes). Some marriages were obviously facilitated by geographical proximity (e.g. St. Paul's River and Old Fort Bay; Blanc-Sablon and Lourdes), while in other instances, social and economic conditions prevailed that led to marital exchanges. For example, the populations of Blanc-Sablon and St. Paul's River both had a much higher rate of intermarriage with Newfoundlanders who went to these two settlements via the merchant firms which were established there.

While the data presented above do not reveal any substantial differences in the preference between linguistic homogeneity and religious homogeneity, it must be noted that religion provided the more important criterion in the exclusion of marriageable partners. Most informants in fact shyed away from questions related to inter-denominational marraiges and those that did discuss the matter were unequivocal that mixed marriages were generally unacceptable to both Catholics and Anglicans. For example, there were at least three reports, substantiated by the Catholic and Anglican parish records, that as many as three or four illegitimate children were born to religiously heterogeneous couples before they were given parental sanction to marry. Similarly, one informant discussed how his own marriage to a non-Catholic was not given ready acceptance by either group. In describing the former practice

of saluting a newly-wed couple by firing shot-guns on their exit from the church, the informant stated that he and his wife were not "saluted very good" since there were only two men, one Catholic and the other Anglican, who were present to greet them as they came out of church.

In examining the occurrence and nature of these religiously mixed marriages, two further points become apparent. Firstly, mixed marriages tended to occur in only certain settlements and posts, particularly in the St. Paul's River Archipelago where both religious groups were present in fairly large numbers and where 22 mixed marriages were recorded prior to 1920 (Table 3.3).[3] In the four other settlements, where one or the other religious group dominated, the number of exogamous marriages was more limited. This was especially evident in Lourdes and Blanc-Sablon where the very small number of mixed unions is probably attributable as much to the overwhelming Catholic majorities in both these settlements as to the presence of a resident priest in Lourdes and the establishment of a permanent chapel. Carrière writes:

> Dès 1852, M. Bélanger avait reconnu que la meilleure place pour la chapelle serait à la Longue-Pointe. M. Bédard fit donc transporter la première chapelle à ce dernier endroit en 1879, malgré M. Théberge qui avait rêvé de bâtir

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[3] This figure, as well as all subsequent figures on marriage in the individual settlements includes all marriages involving at least one partner (either male or female) from that particular settlement. If a husband was resident in St. Paul's River and his wife came from Middle Bay, the marriage was recorded twice: once in the husband's settlement and a second time in the wife's. If a marriage involved two individuals from the same settlement, it was recorded only once, except in Table 3.1 (see footnote 2). This approach was adopted in order to ascertain the differences (if any) in the choice of marriage partners of the population of each of the five settlements. In discussing the St. Paul's-Blanc-Sablon region as a whole, all marriages were recorded only once.

> une belle chapelle à l'Anse-aux Dunes, mais les habitants n'avaient pas voulu s'occuper des matériaux. (Carrière, 1958: 243).

In Bradore and Middle Bay, there were larger numbers of exogamous marriages in each village, but as shown in Table 3.3, the latter occurred on a more or less sporadic basis. Secondly, of the 32 exogamous marriages recorded prior to 1920, 19 involved at least one partner in whose family a mixed marriage had already been contracted, and an additional four involved partners, both of whose genealogies demonstrated a history of at least one previous exogamous union. In all cases, these individuals were either themselves the products of mixed marriages, or else they had been preceeded by a brother or sister who had earlier married across the

Table 3.3

Distribution of Religiously Mixed Marriages, by Settlement: 1840 - 1920

Decades	Blanc-Sablon	Lourdes	Bradore	Middle Bay	St. Paul's River
1840 - 1850	-	-	-	2	1
1851 - 1860	-	-	1	-	-
1861 - 1870	-	-	1	-	2
1871 - 1880	-	1	3	1	2
1881 - 1890	1	1	-	-	6
1891 - 1900	2	-	1	-	5
1901 - 1910	1	-	-	1	4
1911 - 1920	-	-	-	1	2
Totals	4	2	6	5	22

religious barrier. There was only one case in which the previous mixed marriage was neither in the same nor in the preceding generation. In this instance, the wife's paternal grandparents had been of different

religious affiliations. In terms of the number of individuals 'at risk' in the 32 marriages, 48 were resident in the St. Paul's-Blanc-Sablon region, and of these, 72.9% (35 individuals) came from only 10 extended or nuclear families in which at least two mixed marriages were recorded, while only 27.1% belonged to families in which theirs was the sole exogamous marriage.

The data presented above would suggest, therefore, that the religiously mixed marriages were not as widespread as their total number would indicate. Although there were approximately as many religiously mixed unions as linguistically exogamous marriages, the former were concentrated mostly in one area where the two religious groups could not help but come into frequent, close contact. Moreover, these marriages were very much linked to familial behaviour and acceptance, and were not necessarily given general assent by the whole of the population of the eastern Lower North Shore.

Language, on the other hand, was not as significant a deterrent in the choice of marriage partners. All of the informants, particularly in Lourdes and Blanc-Sablon, stated quite explicitly that there was never any stigma attached to linguistically mixed marriages. This is substantiated in Table 3.1 by the generally smaller, though still significant, differences between the expected and observed patterns of marriage using language, rather than religion, as the defining criterion. Similarly, the only critical anomaly in this table appears in the linguistic category for men in the 1890-1920 period, when a much smaller than expected percentage of French-speaking men married within their own linguistic community. This merits deeper examination, however, since it

is not an indication that there was a sudden change of attitude on the part of the French-speaking men to marry freely and without exercising a linguistic preference, but rather, it is a reflection of the general lack of Francophone women from about 1890 to 1920.

There had always been an imbalance in the sexual distribution of the population on the Lower North Shore from the beginning of permanent settlement in the 1820s, but this was chiefly characteristic of the 'frontier' development of the Shore which lasted until about the late 1880s (Thornton, personal communication). Throughout this period, and particularly in the early decades of in-migration, the resident population was made up mostly of either single men or male settlers who had married prior to their arrival on the Lower Shore. Ferland gives evidence of this for the French-Canadian community in his report of 1858:

> Les six ou sept postes du Labrador ne renfermaient que des hommes, presque tous originaires de Berthier. Ceux-ci étaient célibataires ou avaient laissé leurs femmes dans leurs paroisses natales. Plusieurs, après avoir réussi à faire des épargnes et à découvrir quelques lieux avantageux pour la chasse et la pêche, s'y bâtirent des demeures et commencèrent à travailler pour leur propre compte; le femme et les enfants venaient bientôt après occuper la maison et prendre part aux travaux du chef de famille. (Ferland 1917: 26).

Similarly, all of the censuses of the Lower Shore prior to 1890 reveal a much greater proportion of male residents than females. For example, in the 1871 and 1881 censuses, the only two 'official' censuses prior to 1890 that contain a breakdown of the sexes, the number of males in the remuneratory district of Bonne-Espérance totalled 151 and 182 compared to 115 and 159 females, respectively. Of the unmarried residents for those years, there were 111 males to 78 females in 1871, and 128 males to 103 females in the following census, yielding respective male

ratios of 142 and 124 to 100 (Census of Canada: 1870-1871; Volume I, Table 1: 56-57; Census of Canada: 1880-1881; Volume I, Table 1: 44-45).

By 1890 in-migration petered out and the frontier phase was replaced by a period of stabilization and consolidation of the resident population. Any increase in the resident population was now solely through natural growth, which resulted in a more even distribution of males and females. This levelling process had actually begun in the 1870s when several single male settlers found spouses either on the Lower North Shore or elsewhere. It is evidenced by the sudden increase in marriages during the 1871 - 1880 decade (Fig. 3.1) and by the decreasing differences in the ratios of males to females between the 1871 and 1881 censuses.

In the Francophone Catholic community, only 2 immigrants arrived after 1860 and the size of that community thereafter was subject chiefly to internal growth. However, an imbalance in the sex ratio amongst the Francophone Catholics persisted beyond 1860 as a result of the overwhelming number of male births compared to female births in the period between 1860 and 1890. Figure 3.2 shows that during these three decades, there were more than twice as many males born to French-speaking Catholic parents as females. While the actual figures are not very large (60 male to 27 female births), the sexual imbalance that was thus created led later to a larger number of mixed marriages between Francophone males and Anglophone females.

In the two English-speaking communities, there was also a larger number of males than females born prior to 1890, but as can be seen in figures 3.2 and 3.3, these sexual imbalances were not as great, nor were they as decisive in influencing the subsequent patterns of marriage.

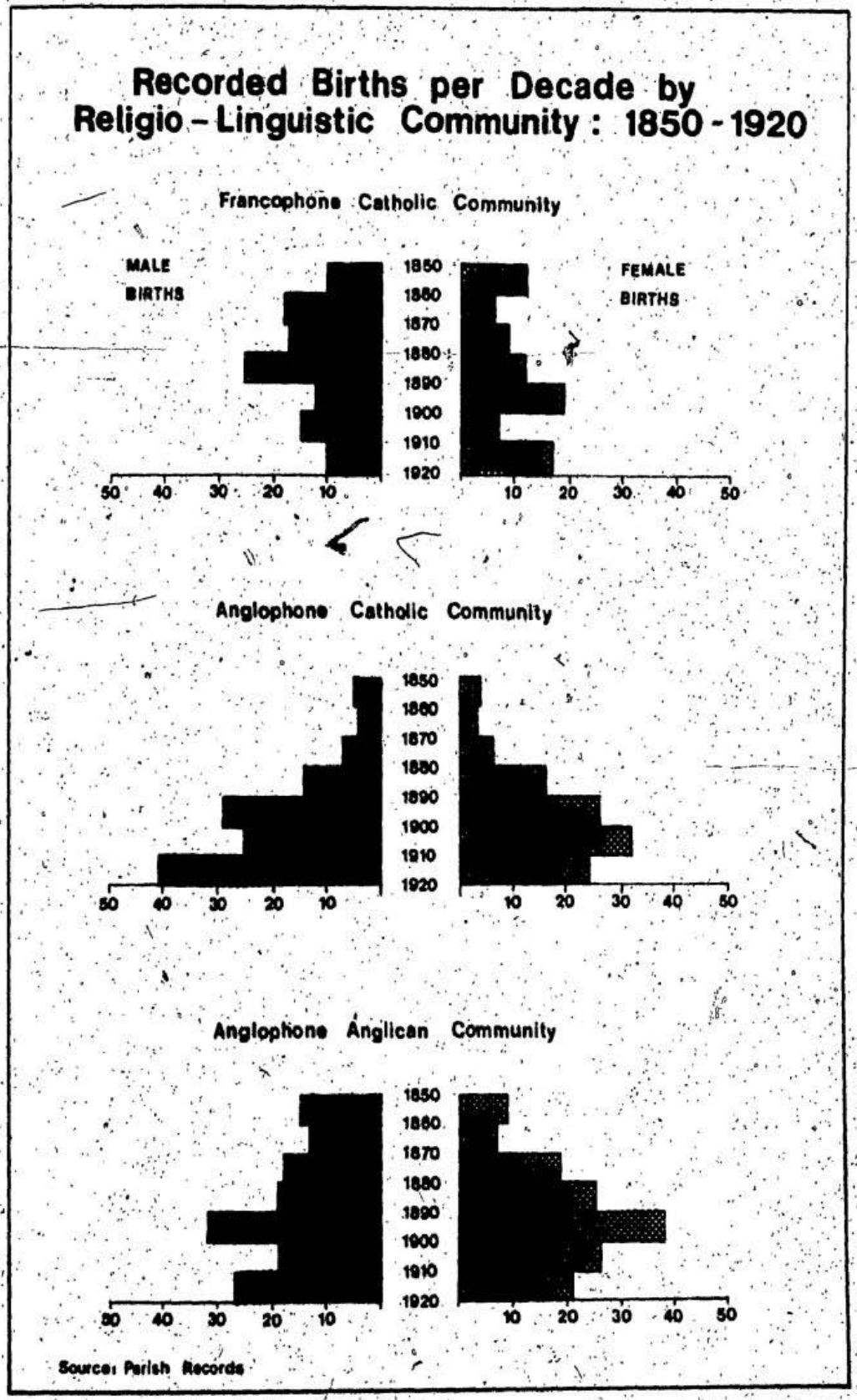
Recorded Births per Decade by
Religio-Linguistic Community : 1850-1920
Francophone Catholic Community
MALE
BIRTHS
FEMALE
BIRTHS
1850
1860
1870
1880
1890
1900
1910
1920
50 40 30 20 10
10 20 30 40 50
Anglophone Catholic Community
Anglophone Anglican Community
Source: Parish Records

Fig. 3.2

Indeed, there were only 103 English-speaking Catholic males and 108 English-speaking Anglican males born for every 100 females in each category, respectively, compared to a greater male-female birth ratio of 180:100 in the French-speaking Catholic community.

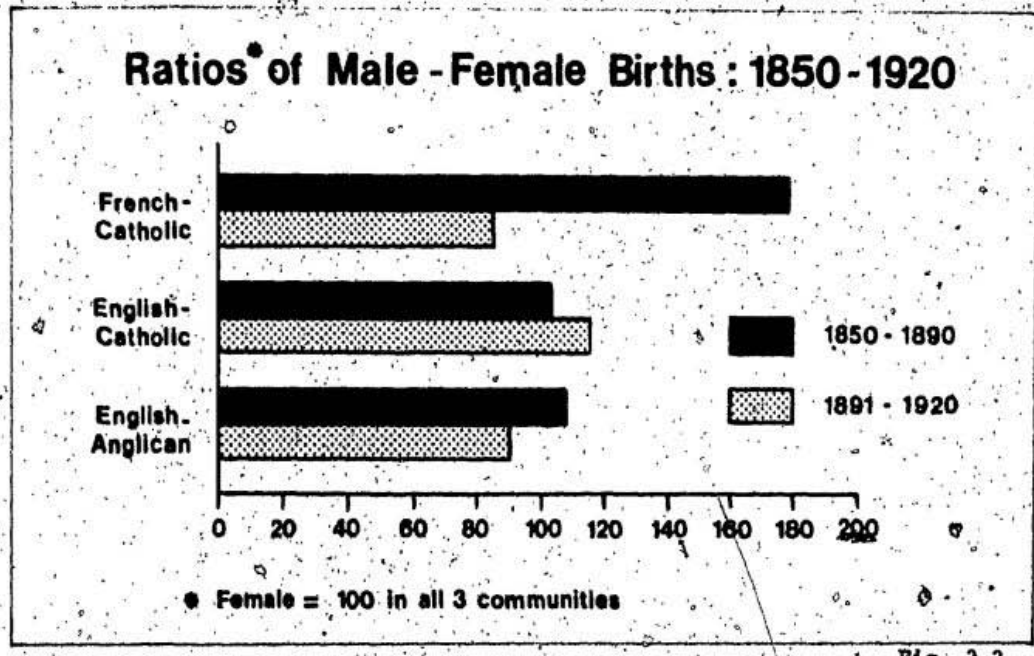

Fig. 3.3

The difficulty in finding Francophone wives was further compounded by the growing isolation of the eastern Lower North Shore from other French-speaking areas in the Gulf. The Francophone men in the St. Paul's-Blanc-Sablon region had already been separated from the home-parishes of their forefathers by over one generation, and in some instances by as many as two or three generations. Moreover, with the exception of three Halifax and three Québec traders who each came to the study area only three times a year (Huard 1897: 474), their sole major links with the

outside world by this time were those with island-Newfoundland, and with the Newfoundland-based firms such as Job's and Whiteley's, all of which were English-speaking.

Given the sexual imbalance in the Francophone community and the latter's geographical isolation in the Gulf, it is obvious that the Francophone men had only two alternatives: they could either marry outside their own ethnic group, or remain single. Consequently, it would be misleading to argue that the large percentage of linguistically exogamous marriages in the 1890 - 1920 period was the result of an altogether non-prejudiced choice of marriage partners. Similarly, it would be as misleading to argue that the criterion of language in the selection of spouses was losing its importance by the end of the 19th century. Two additional factors point to this: (i) the patterns of marriage of the Francophone and Anglophone women; and (ii) the differences in the average age at marriage of the French-speaking men and women on the one hand, and those of their English-speaking counterparts on the other.

Of the 14 Francophone women who married between 1890 and 1920, only 3 married outside their own linguistic community. Since this figure is even lower than the number of such marriages recorded prior to 1890, it is clear that these women, who were also in a much better position than the Francophone men to marry freely, continued to exercise a linguistic preference in the choice of their marriage partners. Likewise, there were only 10 of a total of 49 Anglophone women of the St. Paul's-Blanc-Sablon region who married across the linguistic barrier. Thus, the Francophone men were also forced to seek wives outside the study area, and they did so mostly on the Newfoundland side of the border.

An examination of the computed ages at marriage of both the French- and English-speaking populations reveals that during the 1890 - 1920 period, the men in the former group were usually much older than their Anglophone opposites when they married (Table 3.4). This condition was a total reversal of the pre-1890 pattern when the Anglophone men married at an average age of 29.8 years compared to 26.0 years for the Francophones. This reflects the changing numerical strength of both groups of men within their own communities from the one period to the other, and their relative ease in finding spouses of similar linguistic affiliation. Thus the English-speaking males, who were confronted with a frontier situation until about 1890, found themselves with a shortage of eligible Anglophone spouses until that time. Consequently, they tended to marry later in life. On the other hand, since the French-speaking community had already

Table 3.4

Average Age at Marriage: 1840 - 1970

	Francophones		Anglophones	
	Male	Female	Male	Female
1840 - 1890:	26.0	22.0	29.8	23.5
1891 - 1920:	30.6	21.9	27.2	21.2
1921 - 1970:	25.8	21.0	26.4	20.8

entered a more stable phase of development by the 1860s, they were faced with no comparable shortage and could therefore marry much earlier. As explained above, this latter situation changed noticeably after 1890, and although many of the French-speaking males married Anglophones thereafter, their preference to marry within their own community is evidenced by the

considerable increase (4.6 years) in their average age at marriage. This increase is highlighted by the observation that the 1890-1920 period saw a decrease in the average age at marriage in the three other categories, as well as by the anomaly which it presents in the general downward pattern of age at marriage from the 1840s to the 1960s.

Re-Organization of Ethnic Boundaries

The patterns of marriage described in the preceding section are related directly to the changing ethnic composition and the concomitant spatial distribution of the population in the St. Paul's-Blanc-Sablon region throughout the first century of permanent European occupancy. On the one hand, the tendency to marry endogamously contributed to the survival of the three religio-linguistic groups, while on the other, the limited number of exogamous marriages was paramount in changing the relative numerical strength of the groups vis-à-vis one another. This is seen more clearly by examining each community individually.

The Francophone Catholics

Throughout the period of in-migration, the French-speaking settlers tended to congregate on the eastern posts of the study area so that by 1890, all but one of these families resided either in Lourdes or in Blanc-Sablon (Fig. 3.4).[4] However, in the three decades after 1890, Blanc-Sablon experienced a rapid process of anglicization, mostly as the result of the high incidence of intermarriage between Francophone men and Anglophone women

[4] The data presented in Figs. 3.4 and 3.5 are based primarily on the Catholic and Anglican parish records, and secondarily on oral evidence. Consequently, it is important to note that these figures do not necessarily comply in toto with the census data for this area.

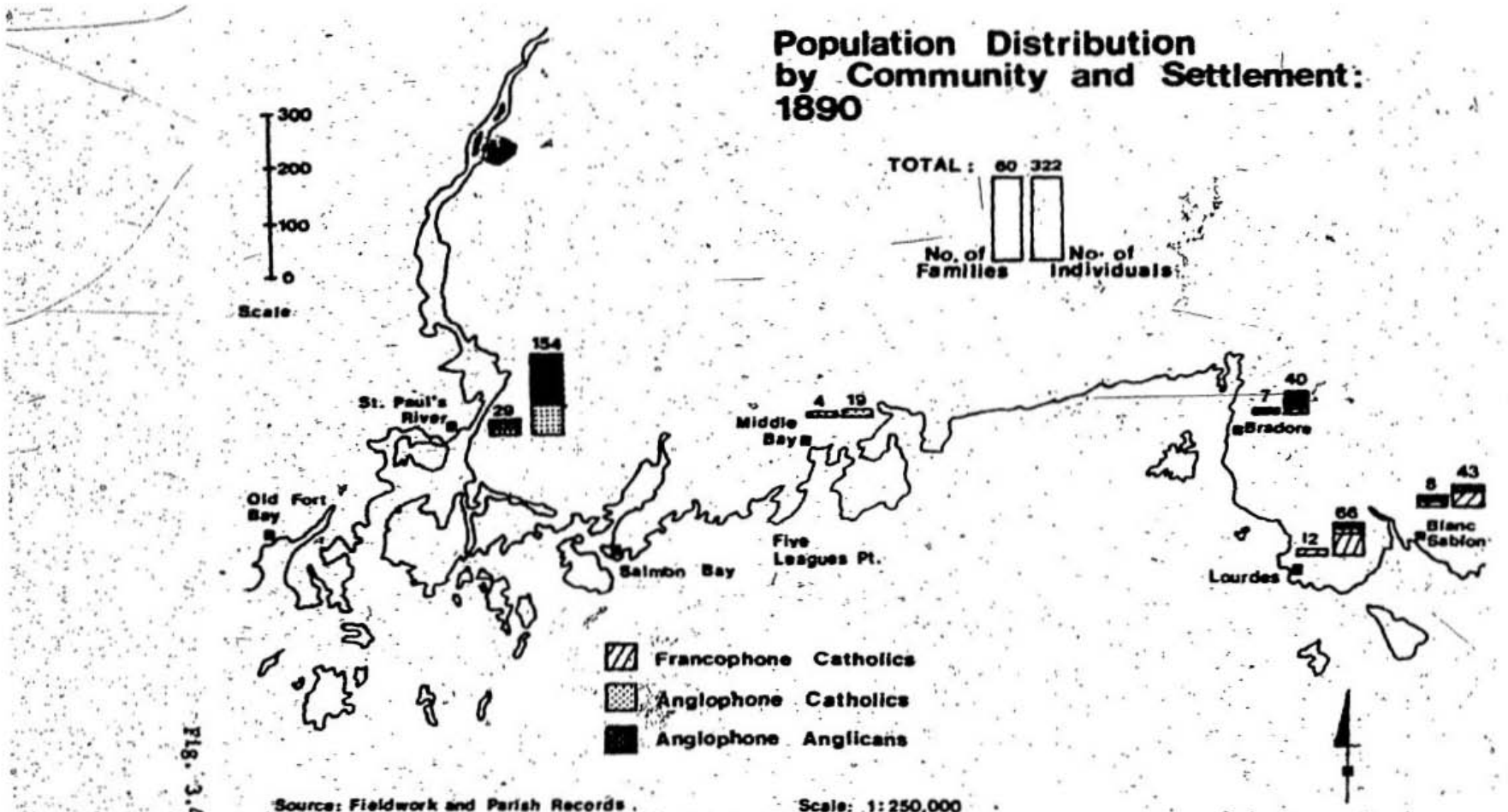
Population Distribution
by Community and Settlement:
1890
TOTAL : 60 322
No. of Families
No. of Individuals
300
200
100
0
Scale
154
29
St. Paul's River
4 19
Middle Bay
40
7
Bradore
Old Fort Bay
Salmon Bay
Five Leagues Pt.
8 43
66
12
Blanc Sablon
Lourdes
Francophone Catholics
Anglophone Catholics
Anglophone Anglicans
Source: Fieldwork and Parish Records .
Scale: 1:250,000

Fig. 3.4

(Fig. 3.5). Prior to 1890, the large majority (73.9%) of the marriages in Blanc-Sablon had united French-speaking couples, but after this date, only three such marriages were recorded, two of which involved female residents of Blanc-Sablon who married men from Lourdes, where they resided after their marriages (Fig. 3.6). Conversely, the number of linguistically mixed marriages rose substantially from two (both involving Francophone women and Anglophone men) before 1890, to 12 (all but one uniting Francophone men and Anglophone women) over the next thirty years. Thus, of the 12 families residing in Blanc-Sablon in 1920, only one was headed by a French-speaking couple, compared to six in 1890. There were also eight households headed by Francophone men and Anglophone women, and only one in which the wife was Francophone and the husband Anglophone.[5] This larger number of mixed households ultimately led to the integration of many of the Blanc-Sablon Francophones into the Anglophone community since the nine English-speaking partners were all unilingual whilst their spouses were bilingual. The latter had acquired their knowledge of English through their dealings with the Newfoundland-controlled firms around Blanc-Sablon, and after 1927, with the Hudson's Bay Company. Junek writes:

> The habitant fisherman, whose language at one time was essentially French, with the admission of an occasional English word or phrase, realized that by acculturation to a bilinguality he could more effectively control his own economic situation - at least as regards the Hudson's Bay Company, whose personnel is composed of English-speaking Canadians, and with which he is forced to do business (1937:105).

More importantly, because the traditional role of women kept them largely housebound, they usually assumed the role of raising the children -

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[5] The two remaining families, which were headed by English-speaking couples are excluded from the present discussion since they were both resident in Blanc-Sablon for limited periods of time only. Both came from L'Anse au Clair, on the Newfoundland side of the border, where they eventually returned.

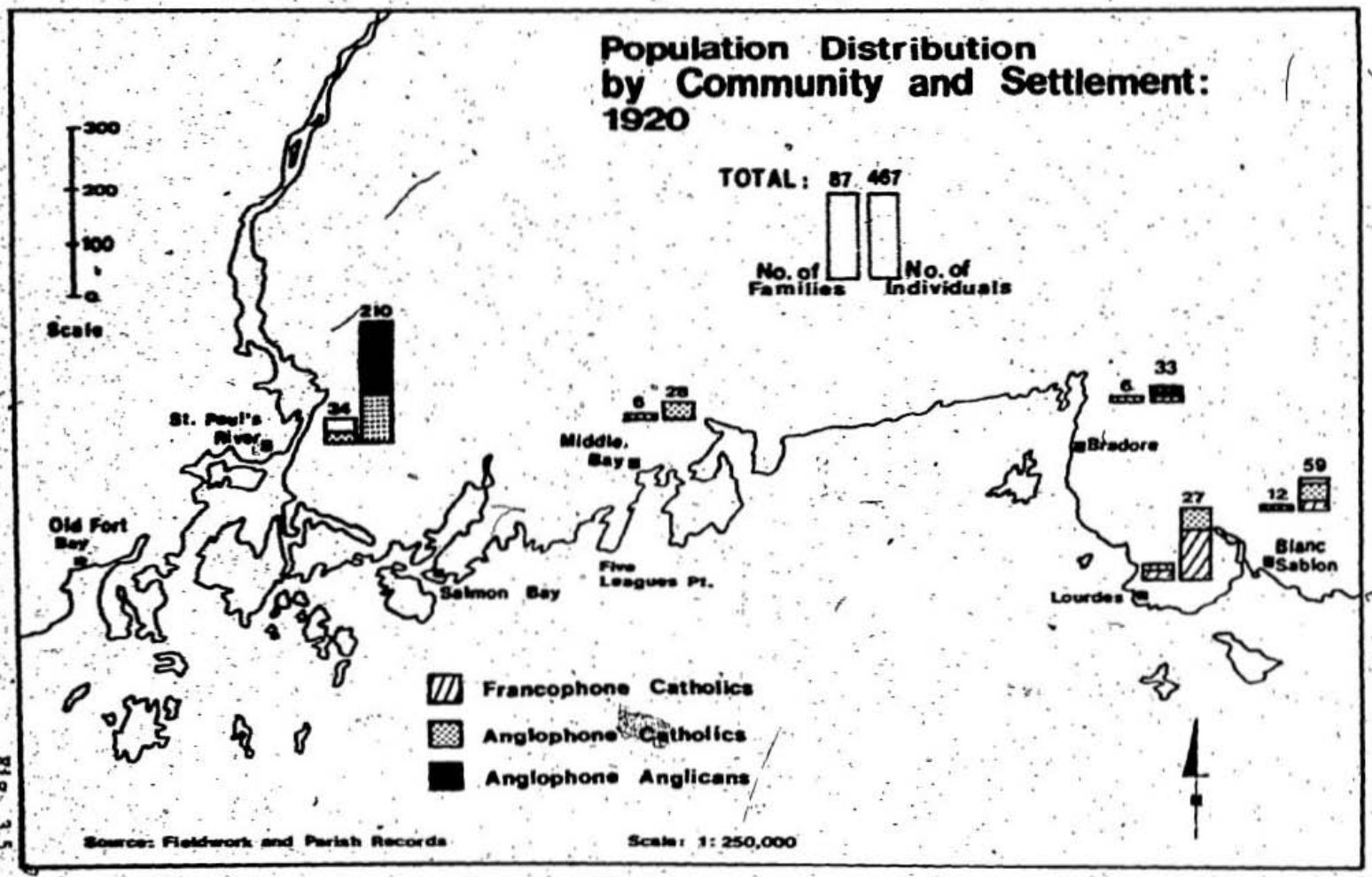
Population Distribution
by Community and Settlement:
1920
TOTAL: 87 467
No. of Families
No. of Individuals
300
200
100
0
Scale
210
34
St. Paul's River
6
28
Middle Bay
6
33
Bradore
59
12
27
Blanc Sablon
Lourdes
Old Fort Bay
Salmon Bay
Five Leagues Pt.
Francophone Catholics
Anglophone Catholics
Anglophone Anglicans
Source: Fieldwork and Parish Records
Scale: 1: 250,000

Fig. 3.5

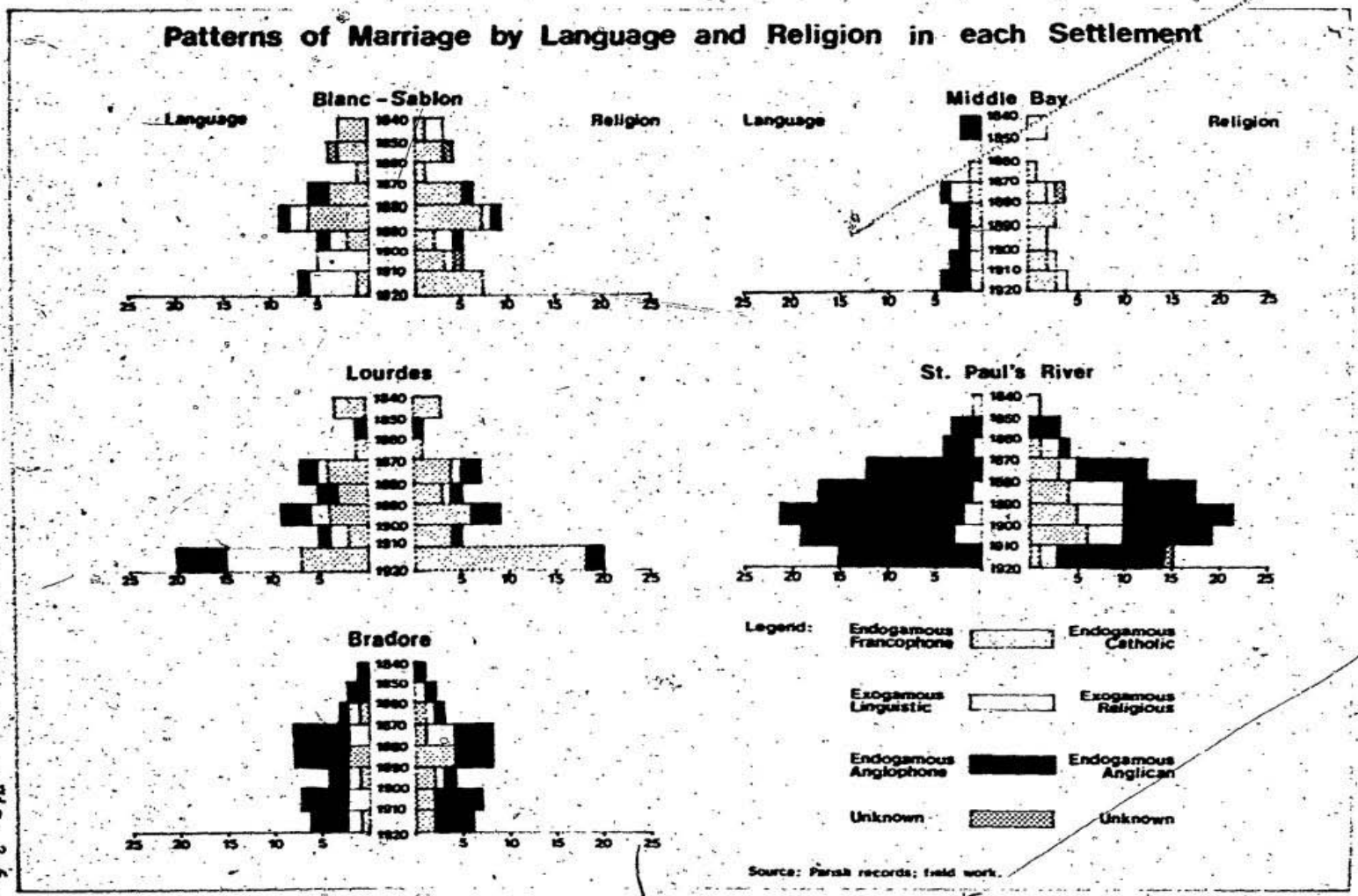
Patterns of Marriage by Language and Religion in each Settlement
Blanc-Sablon
Language
Religion
Middle Bay
Language
Religion
Lourdes
St. Paul's River
Bradore
1840
1850
1860
1870
1880
1890
1900
1910
1920
25 20 15 10 5
5 10 15 20 25
Legend:
Endogamous Francophone
Endogamous Catholic
Exogamous Linguistic
Exogamous Religious
Endogamous Anglophone
Endogamous Anglican
Unknown
Unknown
Source: Parish records; field work.

Fig. 3.6

especially during the summer fishing season when the men were absent for the greater part of the day. Women were the major carriers of language; since the majority in Blanc-Sablon was English-speaking, the hearth language in the mixed households in that settlement was likewise English, such that the children became English-speaking monoglots. In their explanation of the adoption of the English language, all the informants in Blanc-Sablon maintained that the mixed marriages of their fathers, and particularly the subsequent role of the Anglophone women as mothers, played a vital part. One informant appraised the situation very succintly: "That's what done it; they all married English girls." Junek adds that the proximity to Newfoundland had some bearing on the switch to English, but he, too, points to the importance of Anglophone women.

> The proximity of Newfoundland is no doubt also responsible for this mixture of the two languages. Again... several of the Blanc Sablonite men have married women from Newfoundland who brought into Blanc-Sablon with them their own culture, determining, to a certain extent, the language usages of their husbands (1937:105).

Finally, while the Francophones still constituted 28.8% of the total Blanc-Sablon population in 1920, these were mostly married men whose wives and children were English-speaking. In fact, of the 19 Francophones recorded during that year, only two were women, one of whom came from Lourdes and is reported to have been totally ignorant of English. According to some informants, a very small number of the children also had a knowledge of French at this time, but this was mostly a passive, rather than an active, form of bilingualism, and it was restricted only to the boys who were admitted into the social gatherings of the Blanc-Sablon men, where people still interacted with one another in French. According to Junek, some French continued to be spoken in Blanc-Sablon at least until the early 1930s (1937:105-106),

but as the Francophone men died, so did the usage of the language. When the field work for this study was completed in 1974, there remained only seven men professing to have a knowledge of French, only one of whom was able (and willing) to converse in that language. The six other men either refused to talk in French, claiming that their French had deteriorated to the point where they no longer felt at ease with it, or else they professed to have only a passive knowledge of the language.

Lourdes, on the other hand, was able to maintain its identity as a French-speaking community, even though the 'general' pattern of marriages in that settlement was not altogether different from that of its eastern neighbour. As in Blanc-Sablon, the percentage of endogamous Francophone marriages decreased, from 64.7% in the 1820-1890 period to 38.2% in the 1890-1920 period, while the percentage of linguistically exogamous marriages rose from 5.9% in the earlier phase of settlement to 35.3% in the subsequent phase. Unlike Blanc-Sablon, however, the actual number of endogamous Francophone marriages in Lourdes increased slightly from 11 in the pre- 1890 period to 13 in the following period, one more than the total number of linguistically mixed marriages recorded between 1890 and 1920 (Table 3.5).[6] This meant that less than half the spouses marrying into Lourdes during these three decades were English-speaking, and more significantly, that well over half the new families in the settlement continued to be headed by French-speaking couples. Thus, of the 27 families resident in Lourdes in 1920, 18 could be identified as entirely French-speaking, while approximately 80 individuals, 61.5% of the total population, were

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[6] As in the case of Blanc-Sablon, the nine endogamous Anglophone marriages are not discussed since they involved individuals and families who were only temporarily resident in Lourdes and who eventually emigrated either to the Newfoundland-Labrador or to neighbouring English-speaking settlements of the Lower North Shore.

Table 3.5

Linguistically Endogamous/Exogamous Marriages in Blanc-Sablon and Lourdes: 1840-1920

	1840-1890		1890-1920	
	Blanc-Sablon	Lourdes	Blanc-Sablon	Lourdes
Endogamous Francophone	17 (73.9%)	11 (64.7%)	3 (17.7%)	13 (38.2%)
Exogamous	2 (8.7%)	1 (5.9%)	12 (70.6%)	12 (35.1%)
Endogamous Anglophone	3 (13.0%)	5 (29.4%)	2 (11.8%)	9 (26.5%)
Totals:	23* (100.0%)	17 (100.0%)	17 (100.0%)	34 (100.0%)

* Includes one (1) marriage for which there is missing data.

Francophone. The survival of French in Lourdes was further reinforced by (i) the concentration - through secondary migrations to Lourdes - of several Francophone families and individuals; (ii) the institution and continued presence of a French school; as well as (iii) the permanent residence of the parish priest and the establishment of the Catholic Church in Lourdes.

Between about 1872 and the early 1900s, there were at least 12 known cases of secondary (intra-Shore) migrations to Lourdes. Half of these consisted of families, three of which were Francophone, while the other half were unmarried males, four of whom were French-speaking. These settlers came from Bradore (four families and two men), Blanc-Sablon (one family and one man), and Middle Bay (two men). There was also one family which came from Havre St. Pierre, on the Middle North Shore, and one English-speaking male from West St. Modeste, on the Newfoundland-Labrador

The motives for these moves were apparently twofold: according to several informants, Lourdes was a better fishing site than either Bradore or Blanc-Sablon since it was located closer to good fishing grounds. Although the catches were no more plentiful off the shores of Lourdes, it was possible for the fishermen of that settlement to haul in their fish from the shore with the help of special 'bags' and trawl lines. Since there were few motor-boats on the Lower Shore before the 1920s, the technique used in Lourdes eliminated the more difficult and time-consuming task of rowing back and forth between the cod-traps and the stages, where the fish was cleaned and processed. Marriage prospects may also have attracted some settlers to Lourdes since the six single male settlers married women from that settlement. The dominant pattern of post-marital residence in the whole of the St. Paul's-Blanc-Sablon region was virilocal, but there were some cases of uxorlocality (Table 3.6). Nevertheless, it is difficult to ascertain whether the unmarried settlers moved to Lourdes before or after their marriages. Reports from local informants were inconsistent in this respect, although a larger proportion tended to agree that the men married after they had already been established in Lourdes. What is certain, how-

Table 3.6

Patterns of Post-Marital Residence: 1840-1920

	Virilocal	Uxorlocal	Partner From Same Village	Unknown or Other*
1840-1890	45	15	26	8
1890-1920	64	15	27	8
TOTALS:	109	30	53	16

* Other patterns of post-marital residence include the 'outright' out-migration of couples from the Lower North Shore; or a move to another settlement where neither partner had previously resided.

ever, is that these marriages solidified the initial moves and ultimately discouraged the possibility of further moves out of Lourdes.

More importantly, this slow trickle of settlers into Lourdes greatly influenced the composition of the Francophone Catholic community in the study area. Firstly, it reduced the size of the French-speaking populations of Blanc-Sablon, Bradore and Middle Bay. This was particularly evident in Bradore and Middle Bay where the Francophone populations were never large and where the out-migration of only a few individuals greatly stunted the potential growth of the settlement. The corollary was an immediate as well as long-term increase in the size of the Francophone population of Lourdes through the addition of the new settlers themselves, the retention in Lourdes of the women they married, and eventually their offspring. As shown in Figure 3.7, these secondary migrations to Lourdes led to an immediate increase of 37 new residents, 22 of whom were Francophones.[7] Moreover, given the role of the women as the carriers of language and the fact that all the single male settlers married Francophones, the offspring of these six couples constituted 36 additional Francophone residents since it is assumed that they would have been born and raised elsewhere along the Shore had their parents followed the general pattern of virilocality. Consequently, the 12 intra-Shore migrations to Lourdes contributed a total of 73 new residents to that settlement, 58 of whom were Francophones. Of the offspring of both the married and unmarried migrants, 27 (only three of them Anglophones) ultimately contributed to the future growth of Lourdes

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[7] This figure includes <u>all</u> the children born in the six families that moved to Lourdes, regardless of their place of birth (i.e. whether they were born prior to their parents' migration or after).

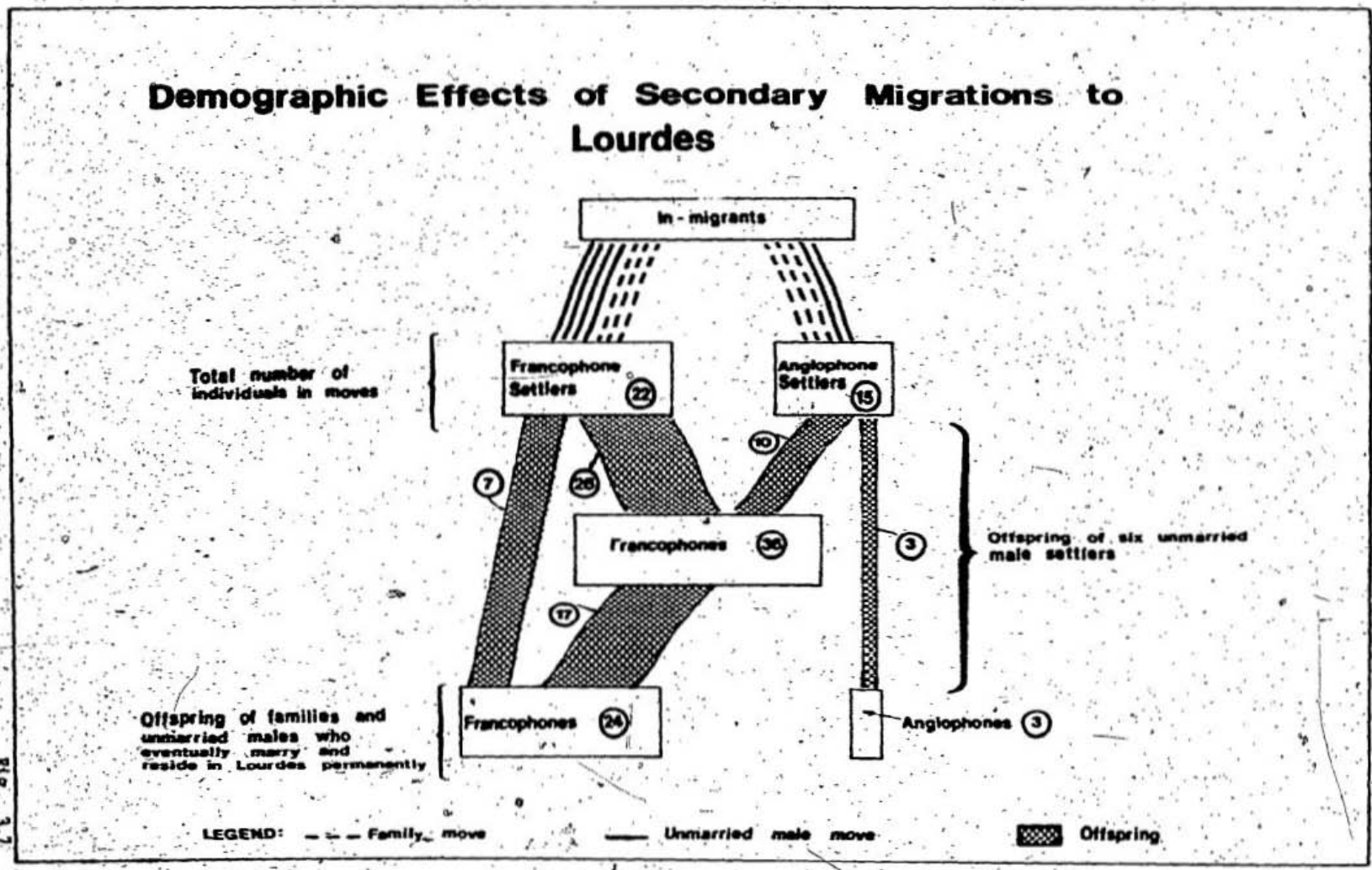
Demographic Effects of Secondary Migrations to Lourdes
In - migrants
Total number of individuals in moves
Francophone Settlers 22
Anglophone Settlers 15
10
7
28
Francophones 36
3
Offspring of six unmarried male settlers
17
Offspring of families and unmarried males who eventually marry and reside in Lourdes permanently
Francophones 24
Anglophones 3
LEGEND: Family move
Unmarried male move
Offspring

Fig. 3.7

by marrying and residing there permanently.

The French language in Lourdes was further bolstered by the school system. There is evidence that there was a French-Canadian teacher from Québec City in the area of Lourdes before 1860. The latter had come to the Shore as a private tutor for a wealthy Francophone family of L'Anse-aux-Dunes, about one-half mile west of the present site of Lourdes. Bélanger writes:

> Pierre Petitclair, clerc de notaire à Québec... se rendit à l'Anse-aux-Dunes (Lourdes-de-Blanc-Sablon) pour être précepteur dans une famille venant de Québec. Il mourut à Pointe-au-Pot, un peu à l'est de Lourdes-de-Blanc-Sablon, le 15 août 1860 (Personal communication).

Although it is not known whether this teacher was ever replaced immediately after his death, nor how long it took before a formal school was opened in Lourdes, oral evidence supports the notion that the school system in that settlement predated the opening of the Blanc-Sablon school, and more improtantly, that the former was always French. Consequently, all the children in Lourdes, including those of mixed backgrounds whose mother tongue or hearth language was English, as well as those whose backgrounds were totally English, learnt French and were able to function in that language in everyday life. On the other hand, because Blanc-Sablon was under the legal jurisdiction of Newfoundland until 1927, at which time the decision of the British Privy Council placed it under Canadian (Québec) jurisdiction, the Catholic Bishop of Harbour Grace controlled the functioning of the early school in that settlement. As a result, the teachers in Blanc-Sablon came usually from either island-Newfoundland or its Labrador holding, and were always English-speaking Catholics. Unlike Lourdes, therefore, the English language in Blanc-Sablon was emphasized both in the home, where most

of the mothers spoke only English, and in the school. This view was also shared by all the informants in Blanc-Sablon who were unequivocal in assessing the importance of the French school in Lourdes: "What keeps the French up in Lourdes [is that] they always had French schools."

Finally, several informants cited the presence of a resident priest in Lourdes as a definite advantage in the maintainance of the French language. It was stated earlier that a priest was stationed in Lourdes on a permanent basis from about 1879, although both secular priests and missionaries had made regular annual visits to the Lower North Shore since about the middle of the 19th century (Carrière 1958:8). Because the latter usually came from southern Québec and in some instances from France,[8] they were always French-speaking, even though it was recognized in as early as 1859 that a knowledge of English was also required of all the priests serving the region.

> ... le 19 janvier 1859, le Conseil provincial trouvait que la mission du Labrador [including the Lower North Shore and the Newfoundland-Labrador] ne pouvant se faire que par un seul prêtre, on prierait Monseigneur l'archevêque [of Québec] d'en décharger les Oblats. De plus, le prêtre devait bien savoir le français et l'anglais, qualification difficile à trouver (Carrière 1958:62).

Because of his ecclesiastical position and the importance of religion in the daily life of the inhabitants, the priest in Lourdes was the most influential member of the local community, as indeed were the priests in other parts of rural Québec and in outport Newfoundland. The role of the

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[8] Between 1903 and 1946, the Eudist missionaries were given charge of the Catholic posts of the Lower North Shore. Since this order of missionaries is based in France, many of the priests who went to the Lower Shore during this period were French-born. Carrière writes: "Le 18 août 1903 marque une date extrêmement importante dans l'évangélisation du Labrador. Ce jour-là, vingt-neuf eudistes étaient en partance de France et débarquaient au Canada le 26 août" (Carrière 1958:9).

priest in Lourdes also included the protection and survival of the French language in the same way that it did elsewhere in the province of Québec. For example, it is reported that through his persistent use of French and his continued presence in Lourdes, the priest was able to foster the practice of speaking French in the home environment, even where the mothers were initially English-speaking unilinguals. Junek adds that the local priest also played a very significant role in running the school in Lourdes.

> Legal enforcement of the mass education of the young is totally absent in Blanc-Sablon... In Longue Pointe [sic: Lourdes], however, formal education is partly engaged in, although not because of legal enforcement, but mostly owing to pressure exerted by the curé, and also by community opinion brought into play by the work of the curé (Junek 1937:117).

While it was the school itself which was the more important and ultimate mechanism in aiding the retention of French in Lourdes, the responsibility and subsequent actions of the priest in enforcing school attendance also need to be recognized as paramount in the survival of the language amongst the younger generations of that settlement.

From the foregoing discussion then, certain conclusions may be made regarding changes in the composition and structure of the Francophone Catholic community in the period between 1890 and 1920. The most obvious is the decrease in the numerical strength of the community in proportion to the total population of the eastern Lower North Shore. While there was an increase, albeit marginal, in the absolute number of Francophone Catholics from 1890 to 1920, the community represented only 21.8% of the total population in 1920 compared to 29.2% thirty years earlier. Similarly, the territory occupied by this community was reduced to basically only one settlement by the end of this period.

Marriage with members of the Anglophone communities was the single most important factor leading to the reduction in the size of the Francophone Catholic community. The secondary migrations to Lourdes were also influential in reducing the size of the Francophone population in neighbouring settlements, but at the same time, they were a significant aspect in the survival of French in Lourdes and in the maintenance of an overt linguistic and ethnic boundary between the inhabitants of Lourdes and those of the other settlements in the St. Paul's-Blanc-Sablon region. Similarly, the establishment of a parish Church and of a French school in Lourdes reinforced the residential boundary between the Francophone Catholic and the two Anglophone communities.

The Anglophone Anglicans

By 1890, the Anglophone Anglican community constituted 43.8% of the total population in the study area and was thus the largest of the three religio-linguistic groups. However, like the Francophone Catholic community, it too declined proportionately in the three subsequent decades, such that by 1920, Anglophone Anglicans made up only 34.7% of the total population. This decrease is attributed to two basic phenomena: integration into the Anglophone Catholic community and out-migration from the St. Paul's-Blanc-Sablon region.

Although there were only 32 religiously exogamous marriages recorded prior to 1920, marriage provided the primary means that led to the integration of the Anglophone Anglicans into the Anglophone Catholic community. In the first instance, the majority of these marriages led to the conversion of the non-Catholic male and female spouses, while very few marriages led to the conversion of the Catholic spouse, resulting in an immediate loss of personnel in the Anglican community and a concomitant gain in the

Catholic community (Table 3.7). Although these gains and losses are minimal in terms of 'actual' numbers, they ultimately led to a more substantial increase in the number of Catholics and a significant decrease or lack of growth in the Anglican community since most of these couples produced Catholic offspring. Hence, because of the conversion of the Anglican spouses, the Catholic community gained 74 new members (12 of whom were French-speaking) compared to only 10 new members in the Anglican community. Similarly, the Anglophone Catholic community experienced a further increase of members since the offspring in half of the marriages in which neither spouse converted were raised as Catholics, whilst there was only one family in which the children were raised as Catholics and some as Anglicans.[9] Taking into account the later conversions of two

Table 3.7

Patterns of Conversion: 1840-1920

Conversions to Catholicism		
Husband:	11	62.5%
Wife:	9	
+Children:	5	15.6%
Total:	25	78.1%
Conversions to Anglicanism		
Husband:	1	6.3%
Wife:	1	
+Children:	1	3.1%
Total:	3	9.4%
++Unknown or anomalous situation:	4	12.5%
Total number of marriages:	32	100.0%

\+ Marriages in which neither partner converts but the children are raised in one or the other religion.

++ Includes childless couples who retain their own religion and one family in which some of the children are raised as Catholics and some as Anglicans.

Catholic families (a total of five children) following the death of the Catholic parent, the Anglophone Catholic community gained 69.4% of all the offspring of the mixed unions, compared to only 19.4% for the Anglophone Anglican community, and 11.1% for the Francophone Catholic community (Figs. 3.8 and 3.9). The effects of marriage on the size of the Anglophone Anglican community - like those of the linguistically exogamous marriages on the Francophone population - were therefore felt more deeply in terms of the loss of future or potential personnel rather than in the actual loss of members through conversions to Catholicism.

According to some informants, including both the Anglican and Catholic priests presently serving the study area, the tendency of religiously mixed partners to have their children raised as Catholics is attributable to the more 'unyielding' and formal position of the Roman Catholic Church vis-à-vis mixed marriages. Although the dogma of the Church of Rome has altered considerably since the Vatican II Council, in the period before 1920 Roman Catholics were taught that their's was the only 'true faith' and that abandonment of that religion led inexorably to eternal damnation. Similarly, anyone not baptized in the Catholic Church was not considered a true Christian and was condemned to the same fate. For most Catholic spouses, therefore, the long process of indoctrination by successive local priests and teachers, and ultimately by the parents and extended families, was such that he/she eventually demanded that the Anglican spouse agree to

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9 This is the only reported case throughout the entire period studied (1820-1970) in which all the children were not brought up in the same religion. It is important to note, however, that following the death of the Catholic spouse, the Catholic children were received as members in the Church of England.

Immediate and Subsequent Effects of Exogamous Religious Marriages: 1840-1890

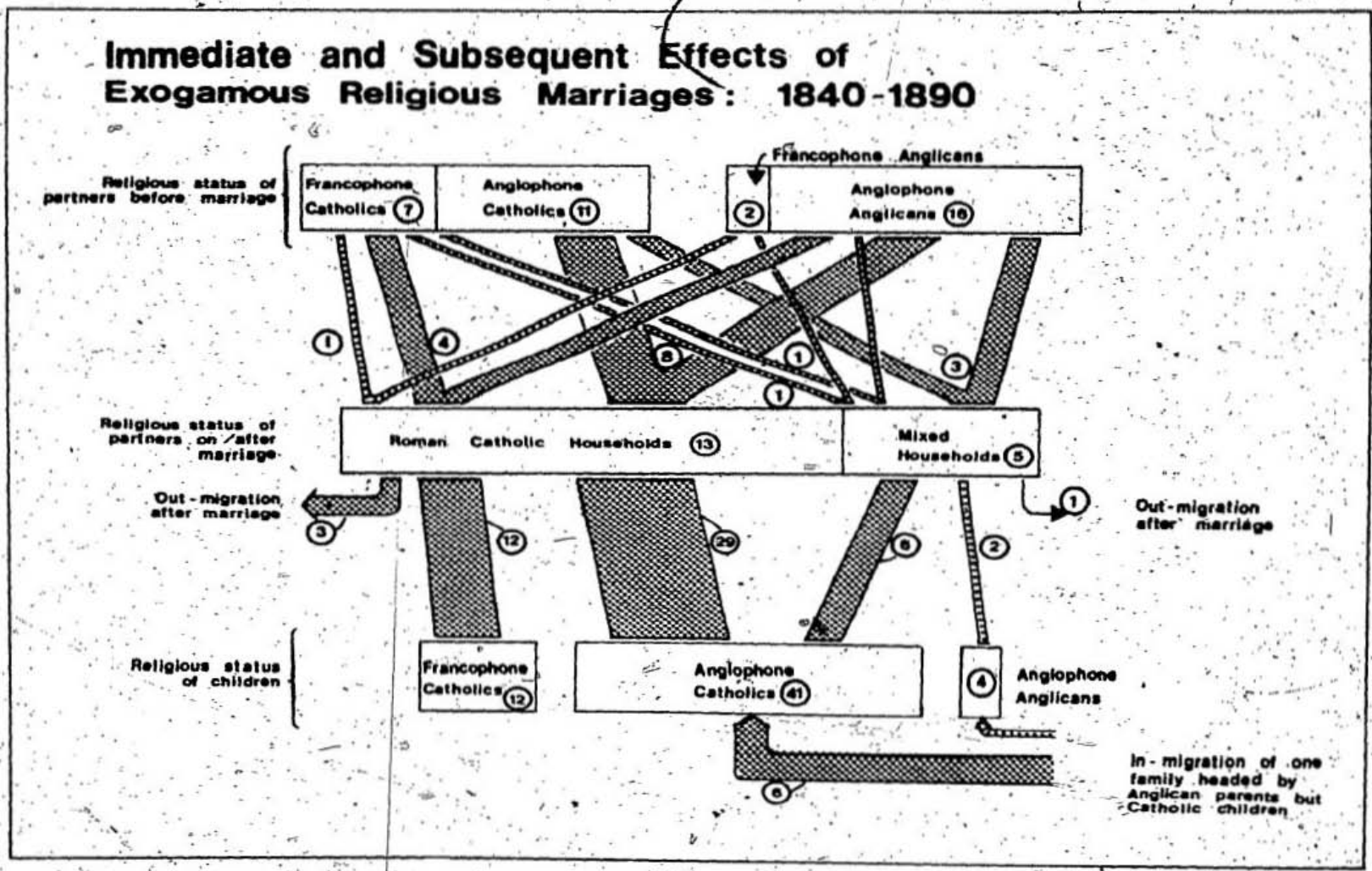
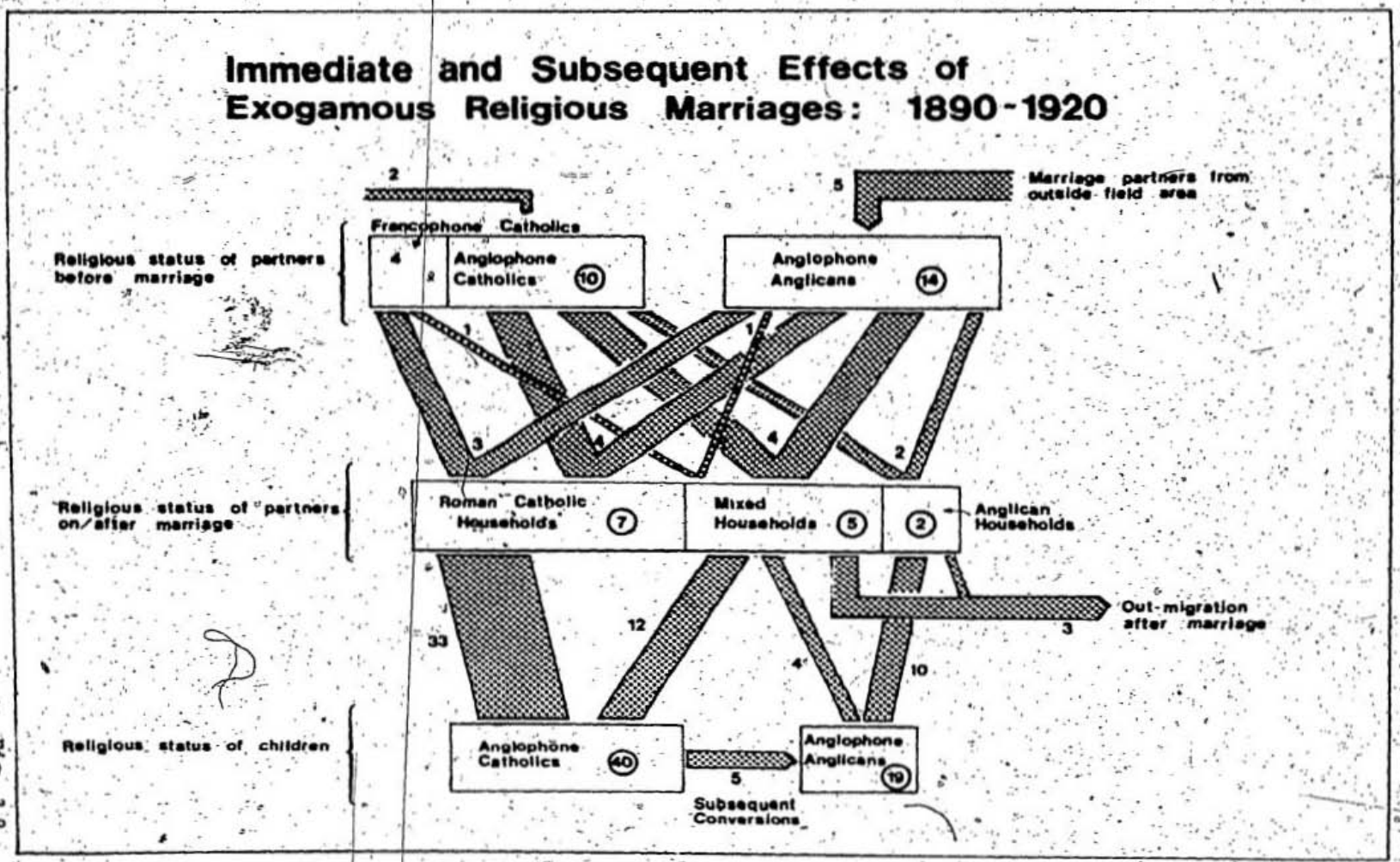


Fig. 3.8

Immediate and Subsequent Effects of Exogamous Religious Marriages: 1890-1920



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convert and to have the children raised as Catholics. Failing attempts to convert, there was an added measure whereby the Roman Catholic Church demanded that the non-Catholic spouse formally swear to have the children baptized in that Church. Only the more audacious Anglicans, or those whose families had high local status in the settlement and Anglican community, refused to follow this practice and had the children received in the Church of England.

A second factor contributing to the decrease in the size of the Anglophone Anglican community was the out-migration of both families and unmarried, male and female individuals from about 1890 to 1925. These moves from the study area resulted in the loss of as many as 84 Anglicans, all but six of them from St. Paul's River and Bradore. As shown in Table 3.8, out-migration during this period was not restricted to the Anglican community, but the effects were greatest on the latter since (i) there was a larger number of Anglican out-migrants, and since (ii) the Anglophone Anglican community was also losing a considerable number of members through intermarriage with Catholic settlers.

With the exception of the families that migrated from St. Paul's River to the west coast of Newfoundland, in particular to Corner Brook and the Bay of Islands (Fig. 3.10), it is difficult to establish the motives for out-migration. Three explanations posited by the older informants included the fluctuating and uncertain nature of the fisheries, the wish to better one's economic position by moving to urban centres such as Montréal and Québec City, where steady employment could be found, and the familial or kin ties which acted as a pull factor attracting settlers to such places as island-Newfoundland and other settlements along the Lower

Table 3.8

Out-migration by Settlement and Community: c. 1890-1925

Settlements	Francophone Catholics		Anglophone Catholics		Anglophone Anglicans	
	Moves	Individuals	Moves	Individuals	Moves	Individuals
Blanc-Sablon	8	8	-	-	1	6
Lourdes	8	20	-	-	-	-
Bradore	-	-	-	-	7	14
Middle Bay	-	-	1	1	-	-
St. Paul's River	-	-	14	70	23	64
TOTALS	16	28	15	71	31	84

Total number of moves: 62

Total number of individuals involved in these moves: 183

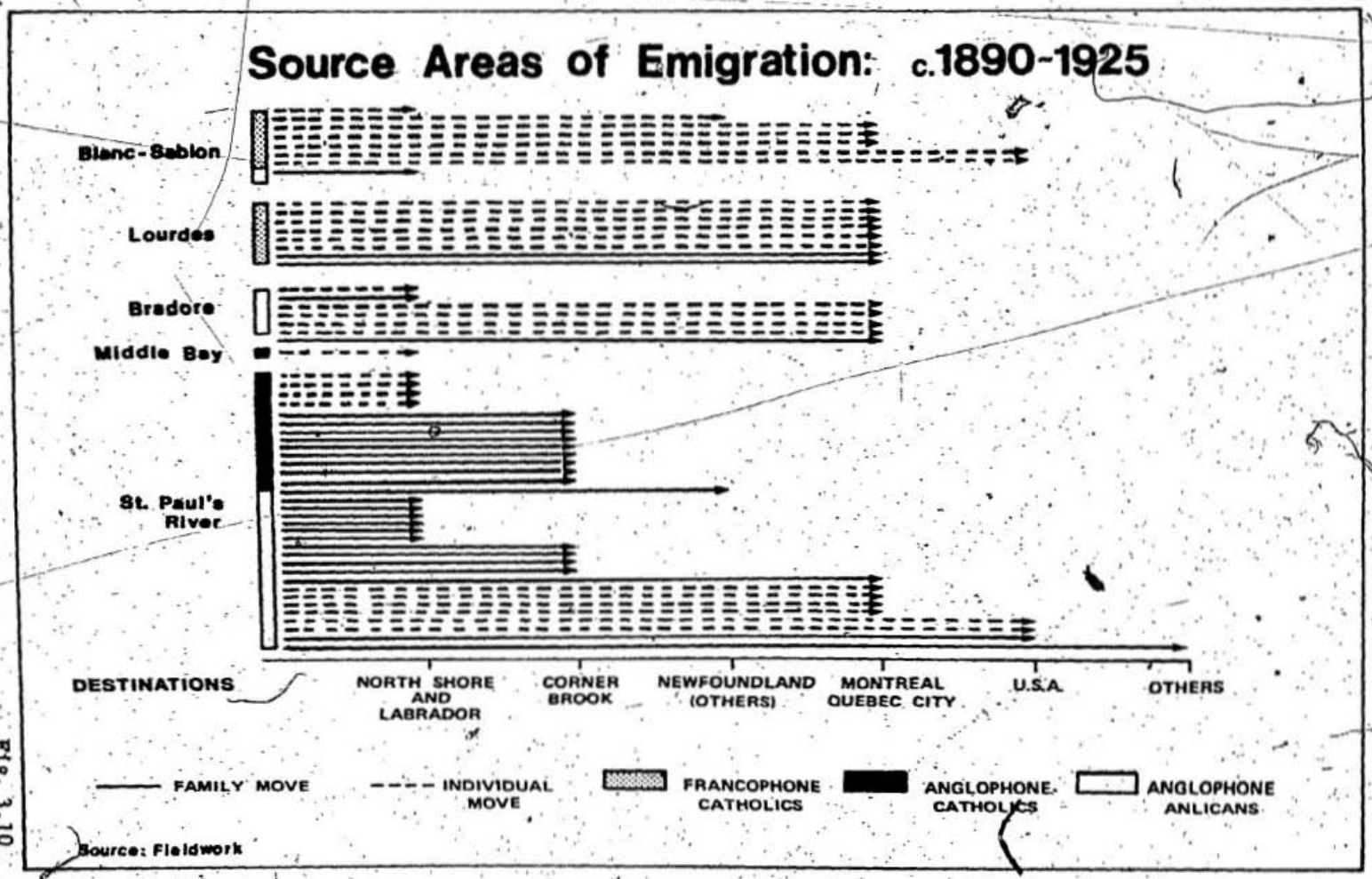
Source Areas of Emigration: c.1890-1925
Blanc-Sablon
Lourdes
Bradore
Middle Bay
St. Paul's River
DESTINATIONS
NORTH SHORE AND LABRADOR
CORNER BROOK
NEWFOUNDLAND (OTHERS)
MONTREAL QUEBEC CITY
U.S.A.
OTHERS
FAMILY MOVE
INDIVIDUAL MOVE
FRANCOPHONE CATHOLICS
ANGLOPHONE CATHOLICS
ANGLOPHONE ANLICANS
Source: Fieldwork

Fig. 3.10

and Middle North Shores.[10] For example, several Anglicans moved from St. Paul's River to the neighbouring settlement of Old Fort Bay which was both totally Anglican and closely related through marriage with St. Paul's River. Similarly, many of the Francophone Catholic moves to Québec City and the surrounding rural counties of Berthier and Montmagny were prompted by the presence there of relatives upon whom the North Shore migrants could depend for initial help in settling down. Language and religion may also have been an influential aspect in the emigrations from the eastern Lower North Shore, but it is more likely that these two criteria were a function of the three causes previously mentioned. Stated otherwise, language and religion helped to define destinations rather than the motives for emigration.

On the other hand, the movement from St. Paul's River to the west coast of Newfoundland constituted an end to the pattern of seasonal migration that had begun in the early 1880s when two Catholic families began to migrate annually to the Bay of Islands, where the fall and winter herring fisheries complimented their summer codfishery on the Lower North Shore. The establishment of this pattern of seasonal migration coincided with the Whiteley decision to reside in St. John's during the winter and indeed, the two were probably closely linked since the initiators of the west coast migrations were W.H. Whiteley's two step-brothers. The annual migrations to Newfoundland were always limited largely to the Catholic families of St. Paul's River and they persisted only until about 1925, when

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[10] The role of familial and kin ties in migration and permanent settlement in other areas in the Gulf of St. Lawrence is discussed in detail in: Rosemary E. Ommer, Scots Kinship, Migration, and Early Settlement in Southwestern Newfoundland. Unpublished M.A. thesis, Memorial University of Newfoundland, Department of Geography, 1973.

the opening of the Bowater mill in Corner Brook enticed most of the seasonal migrants to settle there permanently.

Within the St. Paul's River Archipelago, another, probably subsidiary, form of seasonal migration began at the turn of the century. Although the distance covered in the latter practice never averaged more than 15 or 20 miles, it too reflected a pattern of seasonal exploitation of resources specific to the St. Paul's Archipelago. The families resided on the islands of the Archipelago from the beginning of May to the middle or end of October, where they were closer to the fishing grounds, and where they were also free from the inland heat and the accompanying swarms of flies and mosquitos. In October, the families, with all their household goods, would return by boat to their winter, and also their 'permanent' residence, approximately ten miles inland. Once established in their new homes, the men were closer to their hunting and trapping grounds, as well as to the all-important supply of wood which was needed both for burning and for lumber. The presence of community services, including church, school, telegraph office and stores, provided other advantages which were unavailable on the islands because of the great dispersion of the population. To complete the cycle, the families would return by cométique to the islands in late April or early May, where the men would begin to prepare for the coming fishing season. Most of the families in St. Paul's River were involved in one of the two forms of seasonal migration. The only notable exception was the Chevalier family, whose ancestors had once owned the entire Archipelago, and whose only activity involved the exploitation of the salmon fishery at the site of the winter settlement. Moreover, unlike the migrations to west coast Newfoundland, the pattern of seasonal migra-

dispersed over an extensive and sometimes inaccessible territory. The year-round presence of an Anglican priest in St. Paul's River also helped to alter the pattern of conversion to Catholicism to one of conversion of the wife - regardless of her religious affiliation - to that of her husband's religion. This is seen more clearly in the modern period of settlement (1920-1970) when the number of Catholic conversions to the Church of England increased. A secondary effect of this change was a more balanced exchange of personnel between the Anglican and Catholic communities of St. Paul's River and a more even rate of growth, which eventually led to a less antagonistic relationship between the two groups.

The Anglophone Catholics

Because the pattern was one of integration into the Anglophone rather than the Francophone milieu, and towards Catholicism rather than Anglicanism, the English-speaking Catholics emerged at the end of the first century of European settlement as the largest of the three religio-linguistic groups on the eastern lower North Shore. Although there had been fewer Anglophone Catholic settlers initially, by 1920 the latter constituted 43.5% of the total population in the study area. Their future growth and continued numerical supremacy was further strengthened by the larger number of births in the Anglophone Catholic community compared to the rates of birth in the Anglophone Anglican and Francophone Catholic communities. This increase in population was accompanied by an expansion of residential boundaries such that by 1920, both Middle Bay and Blanc-Sablon could be identified as basically English-speaking Catholic settlements. Moreover, unlike the two other communities, the Anglophone Catholics were present - albeit as minorities - in the three remaining settlements of St. Paul's River, Bradore and Lourdes.

tions within the St. Paul's Archipelago is still widely practiced by the present-day population of that settlement. The reasons for this seasonal movement of population have remained basically unaltered since the early 1900s, although there have been some changes in the manner in which the present population is involved in this activity. For example, because of the enforcement of provincial regulations regarding school attendance, families today usually move to the islands only at the end of June, when the school term is over, and they return to the winter settlement in time for the start of classes in September.

Unlike their French-speaking Catholic counterparts whose declining population was reflected in a contraction of their residential boundaries, the Anglophone Anglicans persisted throughout the thirty-year period under study as the main occupants of both Bradore and St. Paul's River. This was possible in Bradore following the secondary migrations to Lourdes of most of its Catholic population, whilst the large out-migration of Catholics from St. Paul's River to Corner Brook offset the equally large but more dispersed emigration of the St. Paul's Anglican population. The process of centralization from the islands to the winter settlement in St. Paul's River also contributed to the maintenance of a strong Anglican majority in that settlement since the concentration of the entire population in one location - even if for only part of the year - helped to reinforce their identity through the establishment of both a Church and a school. This in turn slowed down the process of integration into the Catholic community by giving the Anglican partners in mixed marriages a stronger voice in the upbringing of the children since (Anglican) community pressure could now be brought to bear more readily than when the population was

In conclusion, therefore, it may be seen that in the three decades that followed the end of in-migration, the St. Paul's-Blanc-Sablon region experienced several major changes. The most noteworthy of these was the emergence and consolidation of the three religio-linguistic communities from the six ethnic groups previously settled on the eastern Lower North Shore. Marriage, and more significantly the offspring of these marriages, together with the out-migrations from the study area, were the main features that led to the decreasing size of the Francophone Catholic and Anglophone Anglican population and the resulting increase in the size of the Anglophone Catholic community. More significantly, this thirty-year period saw a re-organization and subsequent stabilization of the spatial-residential boundaries that separated the three communities. Indeed, the spatial segregation of the communities allowed each one to develop its own institutions and life-styles, and served to reinforce the social boundaries. In those instances where the spatial boundaries changed, so did the social boundaries. Thus, the secondary migrations of some of the Francophone families from Blanc-Sablon to Lourdes, the arrival of unilingual, Anglophone wives in Blanc-Sablon, as well as the presence there of Newfoundland-controlled firms such as Job's resulted in a weakening of both the spatial and social boundaries, which ultimately led to a rapid process of anglicization amongst the Francophones of that settlement. Similarly, the weaker spatial boundary between the Catholics and Anglicans in the St. Paul's River Archipelago was responsible for a more flexible social boundary in that settlement and for a greater degree of intermarriage than was noticeable elsewhere in the study area.

CHAPTER IV

RELIGION AND ETHNICITY: 1920-1970

In the fifty years between 1920 and 1970, the most striking feature of the ethnic organization of the St. Paul's-Blanc-Sablon population has been the relatively stable nature of its social and spatial boundaries. In recent years, these ethnic boundaries have been strengthened by such factors as the introduction of a telephone service, which is operated from Lourdes, and the construction of a road through the study area. These innovations have allowed a greater degree of communication and interaction between the five settlements, which has culminated in a greater awareness of ethnic identities amongst the three groups and which has sharpened rather than diminished ethnic differences. Attempts to obtain special grants from the Provincial Government for infrastructural projects have actually promoted new antagonisms among the three communities.

As in the first century of permanent settlement, language and religion have continued as the major diagnostic features by which the local population has identified itself both socially and spatially. Similarly, marriage has remained as one of the primary catalysts, reinforcing ethnic affiliations and solidarity and leading to demographic shifts amongst the three communities. Although the total number of marriages recorded between 1921 and 1970 is much greater than the total number recorded in the entire previous century, the ratio of endogamous/exogamous marriages has not altered appreciably from the earlier period to the later (Tables 4.1 and 4.2). The larger percentage of religiously and linguisticly endogamous

unions has assured the survival of all three ethnic communities, at least up to the present day, whereas the smaller yet consistent percentage of exogamous marriages has contributed, once again, to changing the ethnic distribution on the eastern Lower North Shore. Because of this, and because the patterns of conversion and integration have continued to favour Catholicism and English, respectively, the Anglophone Catholic community has continued to increase. By 1970 it constituted 53.1% of the total population, compared to 43.5% fifty years earlier. By contrast,

Table 4.1

Marriages and Language: 1840s - 1970

	1840s - 1920	1921 - 1970
Endogamous Marriages:		
Francophone	40 (19.2%)	43 (13.0%)
Anglophone	129 (62.0%)	230 (69.5%)
Total:	169 (81.2%)	273 (82.5%)
Exogamous Marriages:	37 (17.8%)	58 (17.5%)
Unknown:*	2 (1.0%)	0 (0.0%)
Total Number of Marriages:	208 (100.0%)	331 (100.0%)

Table 4.2

Marriages and Religion: 1840s - 1970

	1840s - 1920	1921 - 1970
Endogamous Marriages:		
Catholic	91 (43.7%)	198 (59.8%)
Anglican	79 (38.0%)	77 (23.3%)
Total:	170 (81.7%)	275 (83.1%)
Exogamous Marriages:	32 (15.4%)	55 (16.6%)
Unknown:*	6 (2.9%)	1 (0.3%)
Total Number of Marriages:	208 (100.0%)	331 (100.0%)

*Marriages for which the linguistic and/or religious affiliation(s) of one or both partners is unknown or uncertain.

the percentage of Anglophone Anglicans has continued to decrease from 34.7% in 1920 to 26.9% five decades later. Only the Francophone Catholic community has remained relatively stable at about 20% of the total St. Paul's-Blanc-Sablon population. In addition, a comparison of figures 3.5 and 4.1 indicates that between 1920 and 1970 both Blanc-Sablon and Middle Bay retained their Anglophone-Catholic character whilst Bradore and St. Paul's River persisted as the two strongholds of Anglicanism in the study area.[1] Lourdes is still the only settlement where a strong Francophone community is found in the 1970s (Table 4.3).

Table 4.3

Population Distribution, in Percentages: 1970

	Francophone Catholics	Anglophone Catholics	Anglophone Anglicans	Total Population
Blanc-Sablon	1.0%	37.8%	1.7%	20.7%
Lourdes	98.4	27.8	3.3	35.4
Bradore	0.0	2.5	19.7	6.7
Middle Bay	0.3	15.1	0.0	8.0
St. Paul's River	0.3	16.8	75.3	29.2
Totals	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

Against this general background of ethnic stability and persistence, certain basic changes, some of which are the result of external forces, have occurred in the modern period of settlement, particularly since the 1960s. These social changes can be discussed under two major categories: language and religion. The latter component will be discussed in this chapter.

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1. The data presented in Fig. 4.1 refer only to the local, permanent population; they exclude government, school, and clerical (both Catholic and Anglican) personnel since these are regarded as transient or temporary residents of the Lower North Shore.

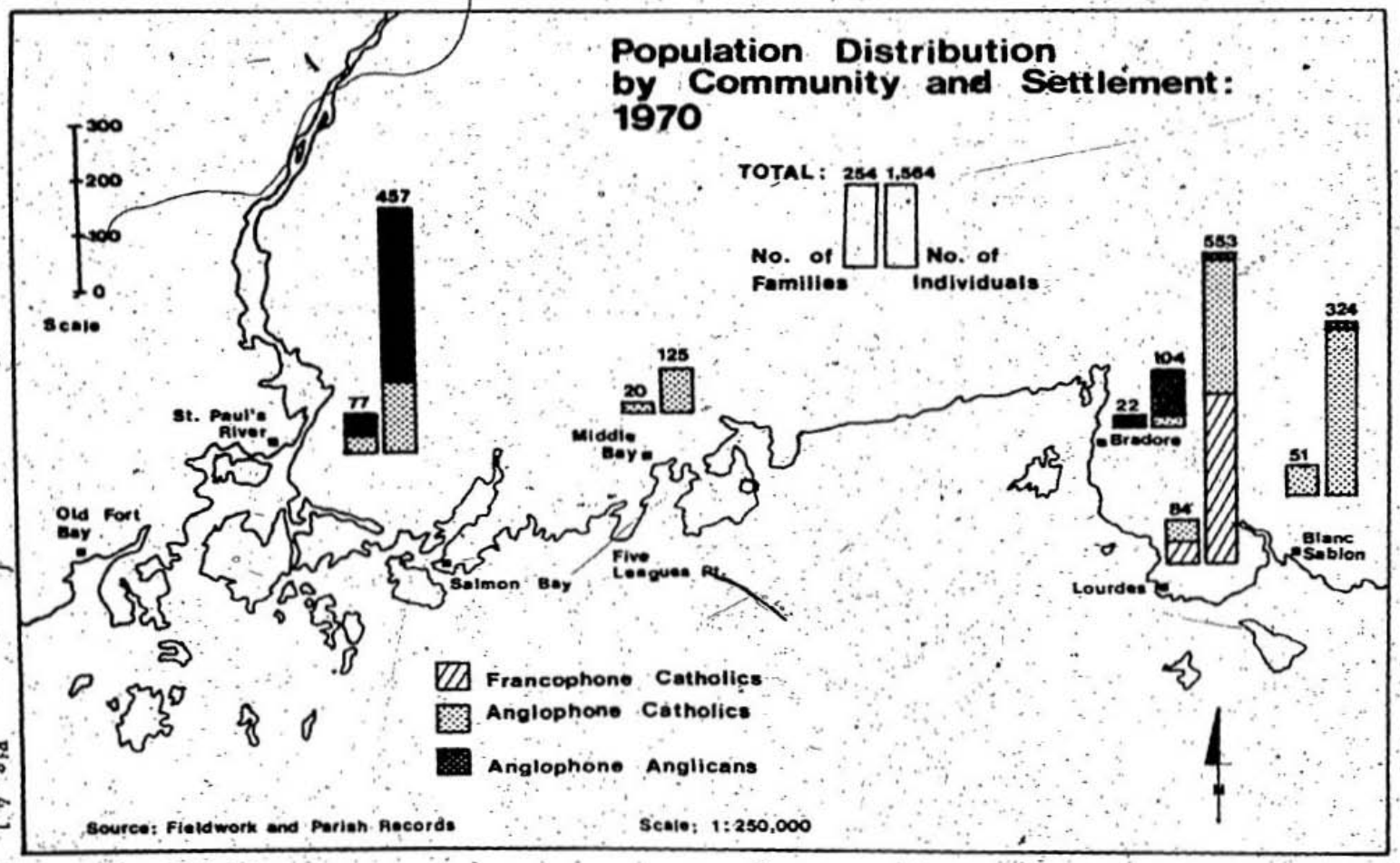
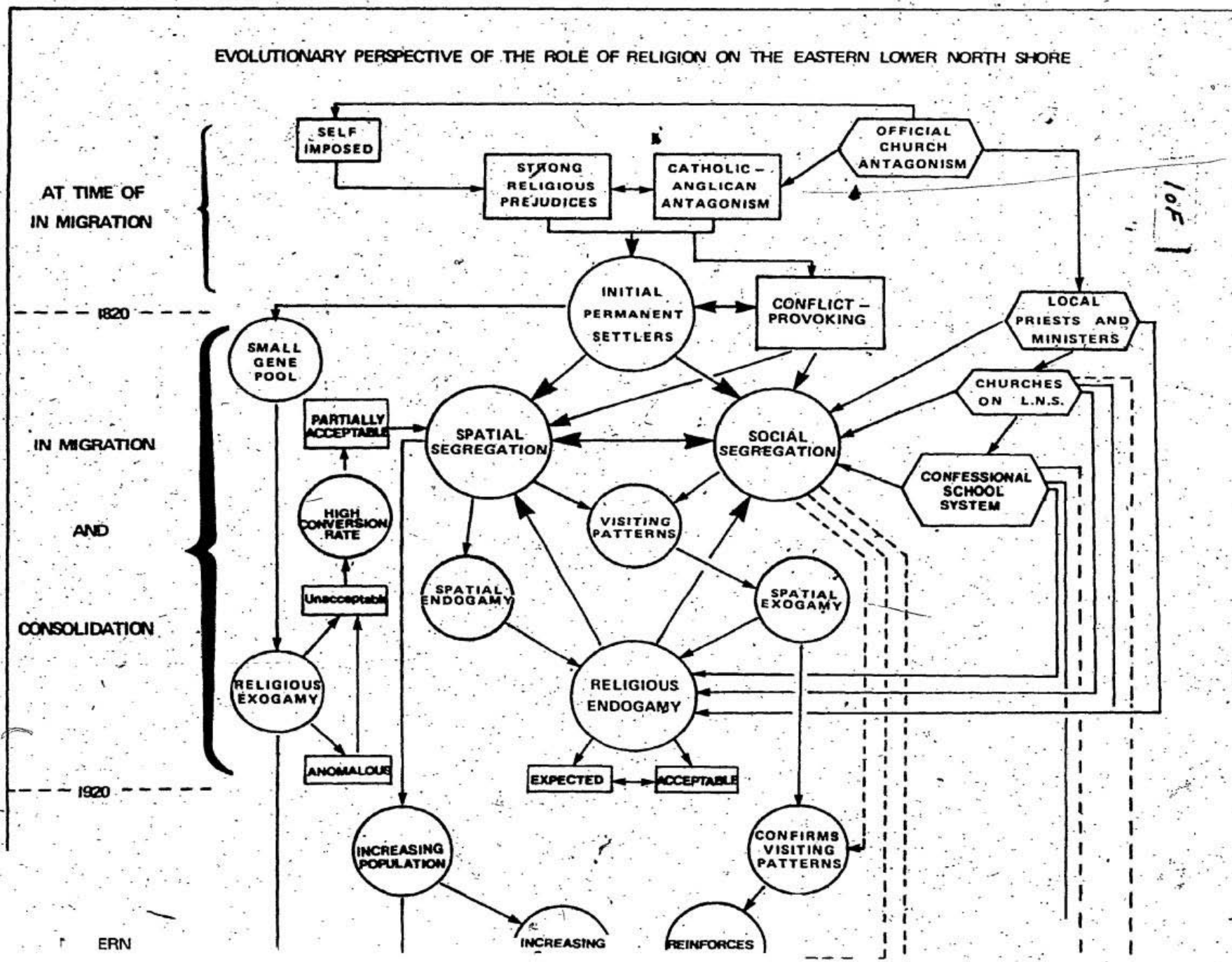

Population Distribution
by Community and Settlement:
1970
TOTAL: 254 1,564
No. of Families
No. of Individuals
300
200
100
0
Scale
457
77
125
20
104
22
553
84
324
51
St. Paul's River
Middle Bay
Bradore
Old Fort Bay
Salmon Bay
Five Leagues Pt.
Lourdes
Blanc Sablon
Francophone Catholics
Anglophone Catholics
Anglophone Anglicans
Source: Fieldwork and Parish Records
Scale: 1:250,000

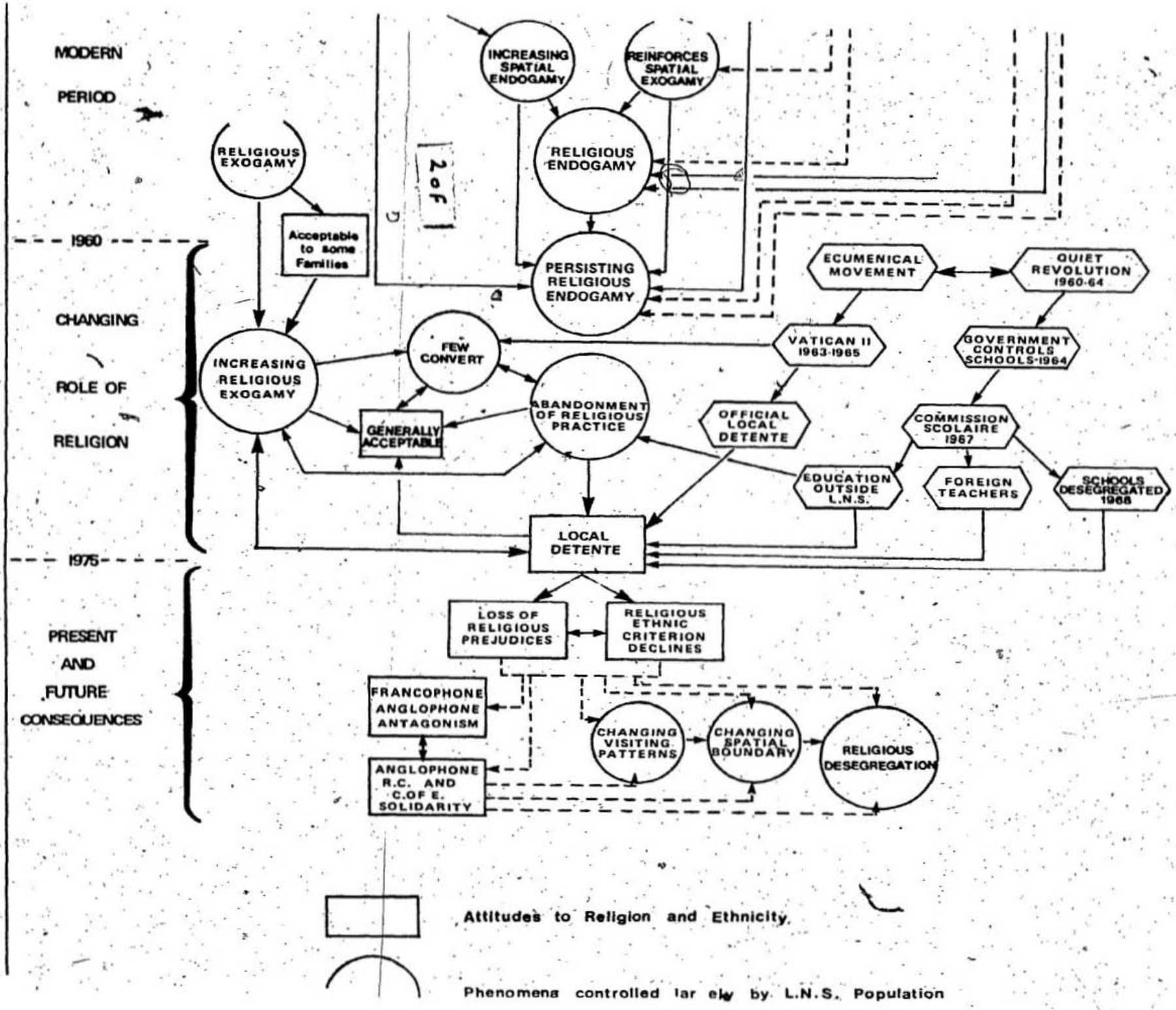
Fig. 4.1

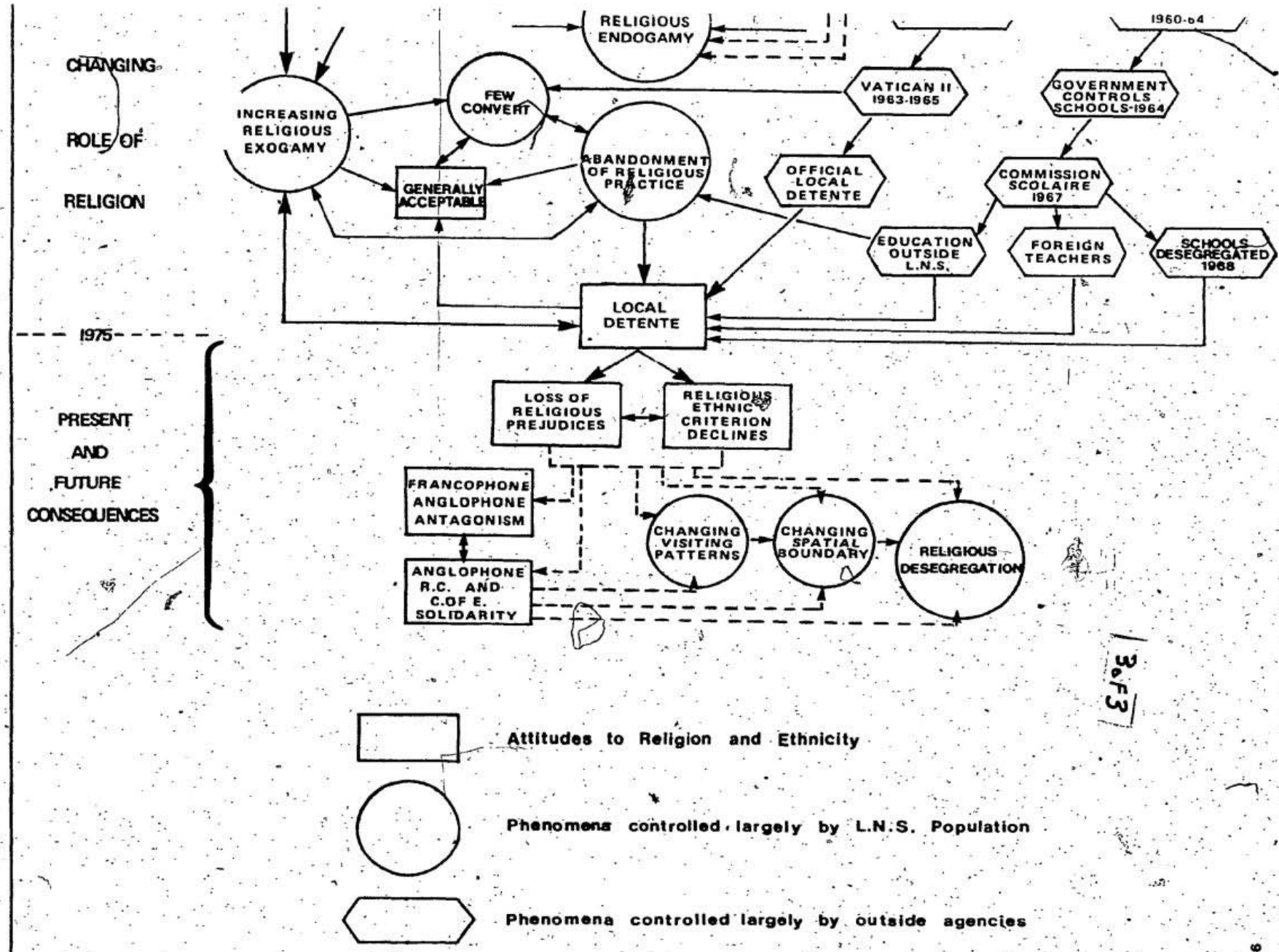
Decline of Religious Forces

The diminishing role of religion as a chief criterion of ethnic identity on the Lower North Shore only dates back to about the mid-1960s. The Quiet Revolution of Québec and the growing world ecumenical movement, as reflected in the détente between the Church of England and the Roman Catholic Church, were critical in this decline. Figure 4.2 attempts to demonstrate schematically the evolutionary role of religion from the earliest period of in-migration on the eastern Lower North Shore to the present day. This figure illustrates that the major recent changes in the role of religion on the Lower North Shore resulted largely from a chain of events stemming from the Quiet Revolution and the ecumenical movement, both of which evolved totally independently of the Lower Shore and its inhabitants. The flow diagram is closely related to the text which follows and presents a visual synopsis of this chapter.

The Quiet Revolution of Québec started in 1960 and lasted about four years during which time several important changes were brought about that greatly affected economic, social, and political life in the province. Breaking radically with a long tradition of autocratic and indifferent government that was largely controlled by a conservative church and a 19th century concept of economics, the new government's guiding philosophy was that the state should play a central role in improving the welfare of its citizens (Magnusen 1968:8). Among the government's many achievements during this period were the advances made in the realm of education.[2] The most radical change was that of placing the provincial educational systems, which had always been almost exclusively under the control and authority of private religious organisations, under the secular control of the Department of Education, created in 1964. On the Lower North Shore, the effects of reform were not really felt until


EVOLUTIONARY PERSPECTIVE OF THE ROLE OF RELIGION ON THE EASTERN LOWER NORTH SHORE
AT TIME OF IN MIGRATION
IN MIGRATION AND CONSOLIDATION
1820
1920
SELF IMPOSED
STRONG RELIGIOUS PREJUDICES
CATHOLIC – ANGLICAN ANTAGONISM
OFFICIAL CHURCH ANTAGONISM
INITIAL PERMANENT SETTLERS
CONFLICT – PROVOKING
LOCAL PRIESTS AND MINISTERS
SMALL GENE POOL
PARTIALLY ACCEPTABLE
SPATIAL SEGREGATION
SOCIAL SEGREGATION
CHURCHES ON L.N.S.
CONFESSIONAL SCHOOL SYSTEM
HIGH CONVERSION RATE
VISITING PATTERNS
Unacceptable
SPATIAL ENDOGAMY
SPATIAL EXOGAMY
RELIGIOUS EXOGAMY
RELIGIOUS ENDOGAMY
ANOMALOUS
EXPECTED
ACCEPTABLE
INCREASING POPULATION
CONFIRMS VISITING PATTERNS
INCREASING
REINFORCES
ERN


MODERN PERIOD
1960
CHANGING ROLE OF RELIGION
1975
PRESENT AND FUTURE CONSEQUENCES
INCREASING SPATIAL ENDOGAMY
REINFORCES SPATIAL EXOGAMY
RELIGIOUS EXOGAMY
RELIGIOUS ENDOGAMY
Acceptable to some Families
PERSISTING RELIGIOUS ENDOGAMY
ECUMENICAL MOVEMENT
QUIET REVOLUTION 1960-64
VATICAN II 1963-1965
GOVERNMENT CONTROLS SCHOOLS-1964
INCREASING RELIGIOUS EXOGAMY
FEW CONVERT
ABANDONMENT OF RELIGIOUS PRACTICE
GENERALLY ACCEPTABLE
OFFICIAL LOCAL DETENTE
COMMISSION SCOLAIRE 1967
EDUCATION OUTSIDE L.N.S.
FOREIGN TEACHERS
SCHOOLS DESEGREGATED 1968
LOCAL DETENTE
LOSS OF RELIGIOUS PREJUDICES
RELIGIOUS ETHNIC CRITERION DECLINES
FRANCOPHONE ANGLOPHONE ANTAGONISM
CHANGING VISITING PATTERNS
CHANGING SPATIAL BOUNDARY
RELIGIOUS DESEGREGATION
ANGLOPHONE R.C. AND C.OF E. SOLIDARITY
Attitudes to Religion and Ethnicity
Phenomena controlled largely by L.N.S. Population


CHANGING ROLE OF RELIGION
1975
PRESENT AND FUTURE CONSEQUENCES
RELIGIOUS ENDOGAMY
1960-64
INCREASING RELIGIOUS EXOGAMY
FEW CONVERT
VATICAN II 1963-1965
GOVERNMENT CONTROLS SCHOOLS-1964
GENERALLY ACCEPTABLE
ABANDONMENT OF RELIGIOUS PRACTICE
OFFICIAL LOCAL DETENTE
COMMISSION SCOLAIRE 1967
EDUCATION OUTSIDE L.N.S.
FOREIGN TEACHERS
SCHOOLS DESEGREGATED 1968
LOCAL DETENTE
LOSS OF RELIGIOUS PREJUDICES
RELIGIOUS ETHNIC CRITERION DECLINES
FRANCOPHONE ANGLOPHONE ANTAGONISM
ANGLOPHONE R.C. AND C.OF E. SOLIDARITY
CHANGING VISITING PATTERNS
CHANGING SPATIAL BOUNDARY
RELIGIOUS DESEGREGATION
Attitudes to Religion and Ethnicity
Phenomena controlled largely by L.N.S. Population
Phenomena controlled largely by outside agencies

3 of 3

Fig. 4.2

1967, when the Provincial Government passed a bill related solely to education on the Shore. This measure instituted the Commission Scolaire de la Côte-Nord du Golfe Saint-Laurent — the first "unified" school board in the province since it was responsible for all the schools, both Catholic and Protestant, as well as French, English, and Indian, on the Lower North Shore (Commission Scolaire de la Côte-Nord du Golfe Saint Laurent 1974). Shortly after its creation, the Commission Scolaire initiated a number of changes in all the schools under its jurisdiction, the most important of which were: (1) the unification of the Catholic and Anglican schools in St. Paul's River; (2) the creation of a special programme to allow North Shore students to pursue their studies at the secondary level in other areas in Quebec; and (3) the large-scale recruitment of teachers from outside the region of the Lower North Shore. Viewed together, these three reforms constituted a turning point as regards the role of religion, and local attitudes to it, in the society of the Lower Shore.

According to local tradition, the first school in St. Paul's River was established around the turn of the century. Although it was frequented by both Catholics and Anglicans, the school's creation and its continued operation were the direct result of the efforts of the Anglican Church and its ministers in St. Paul's River. The Anglicans received financial help from bible societies further south who, in addition, sent personnel to teach in many settlements and posts of the Shore. These teachers

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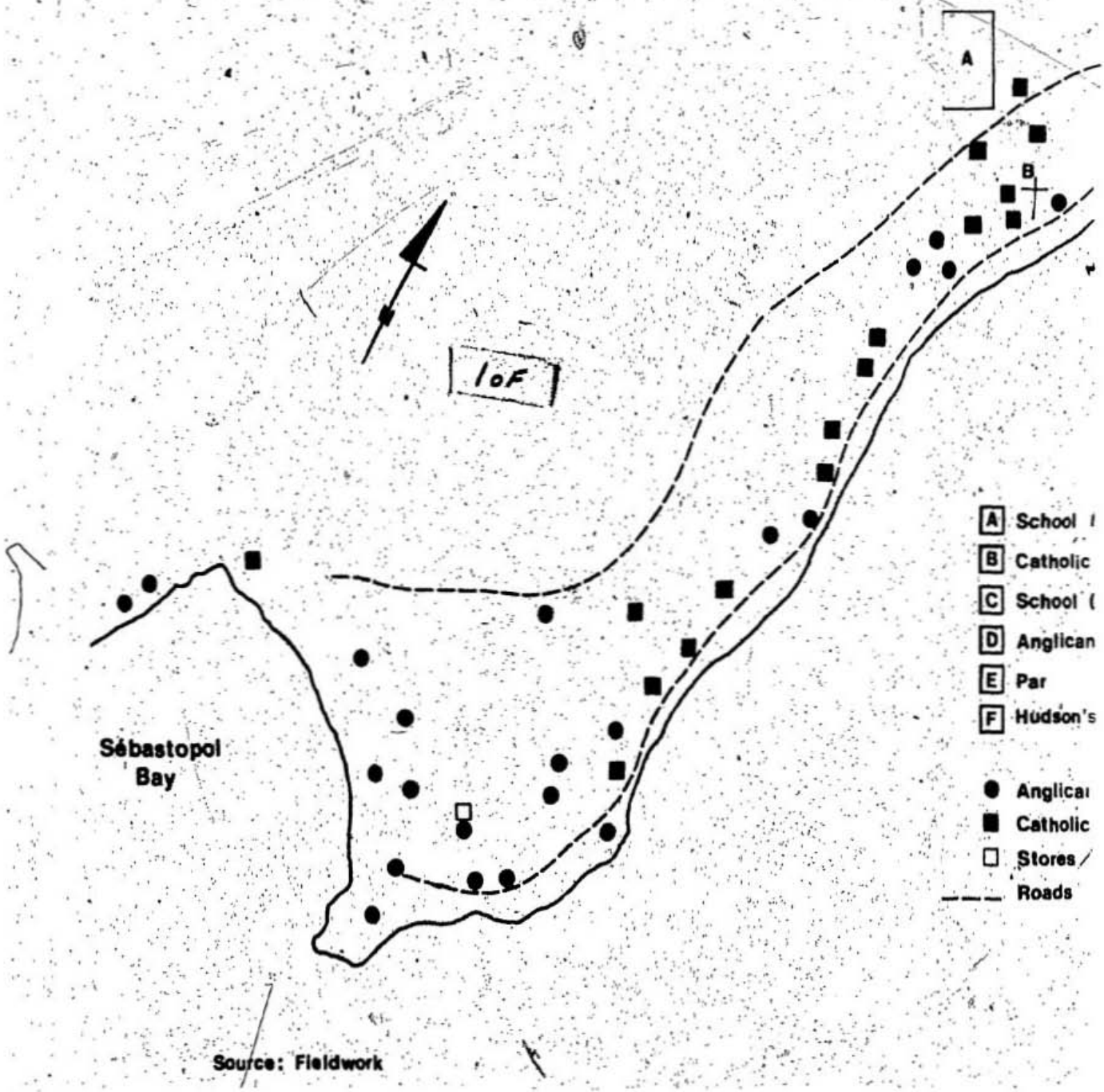
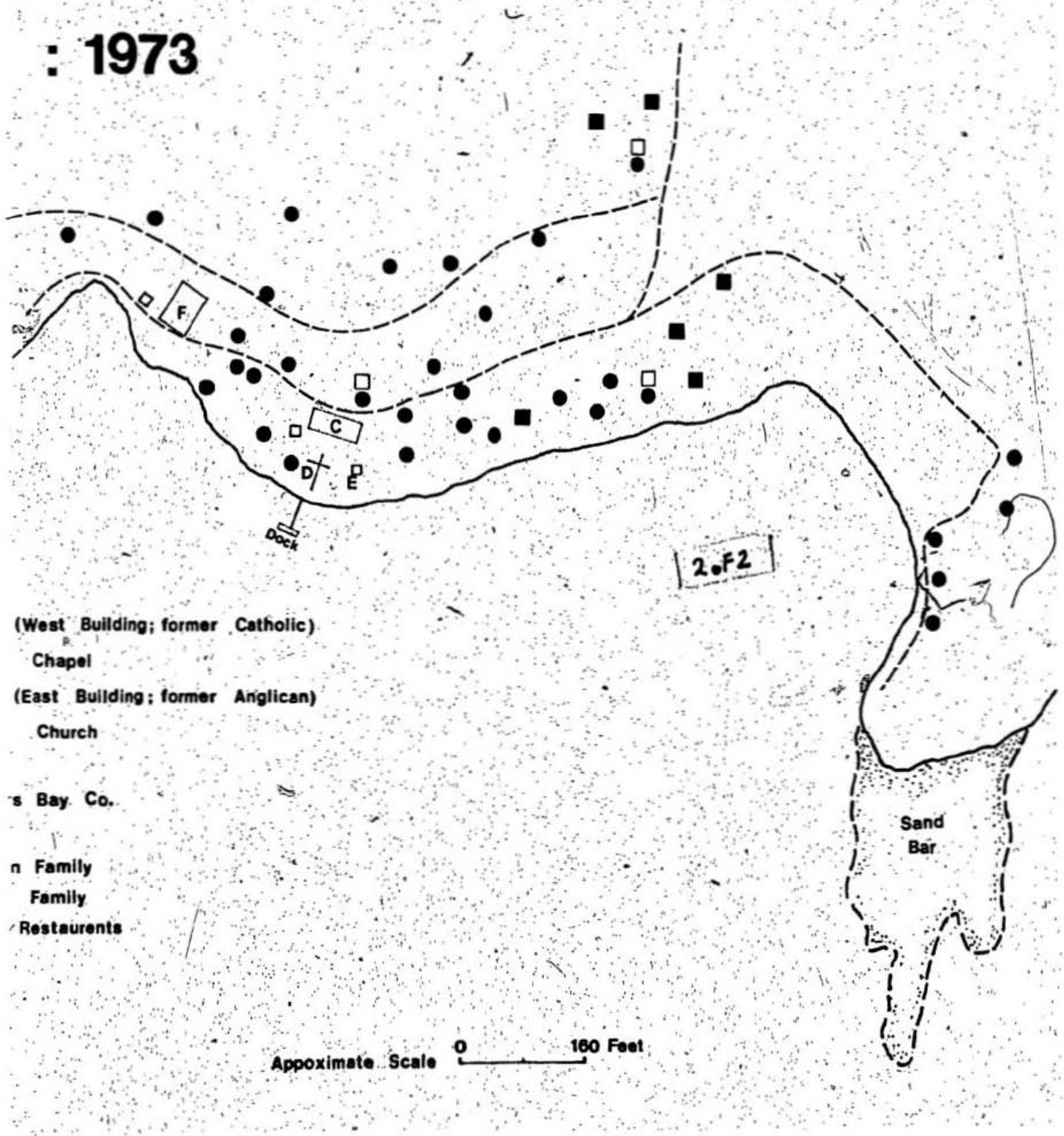
2 For detailed accounts of these educational reforms, see, for example, Louis-Philippe Audet, Bilan de la réforme scolarie au Québec: 1959-1969 (Montréal: Presses de l'Université de Montréal, 1969); Louis-Philippe Audet, Histoire de l'enseignement au Québec: 1608-1971, 2 vols. (Montréal: Holt, Rinehart, et Winston, Ltée., 1971); Léon Dion, Le bill 60 et la société québécoise (Montréal: Les Editions du Jour, 1963). For more general works on the Québec Quiet Revolution see Fernand Harvey and Peter Southan, Chronologie du Québec: 1940-1971 (Québec: Institut Supérieur des Sciences Humaines, Université Laval, 1972); and La Presse, ed., Une certaine révolution tranquille: 22 juin, '60-'75 (Montréal: La Presse, Ltée., 1975).

Settlement Pattern St. Paul's Rive



Source: Fieldwork

: 1973



(West Building; former Catholic)
Chapel
(East Building; former Anglican)
Church

's Bay Co.

n Family
Family
Restaurents

Appoximate Scale 0 160 Feet

Fig. 4.3

frequently travelled from place to place, depending on the location of Anglican families at different times of the year. The Catholics, on the other hand, only received Provincial Government grants which Huard claims were largely insufficient to deal with the problems of the region: in particular, with a small, isolated population, of which a large proportion was widely dispersed on islands for more than half the year (1897:487-488). In the St. Paul's River Archipelago, for example, some of the Catholic population did not concentrate solely in the winter settlement as did the Anglicans, but remained year-round in Salmon Bay. By contrast, the larger Catholic population of Lourdes and Blanc-Sablon were never involved in seasonal migrations and they founded their own schools much earlier than the Catholics in St. Paul's River.

The long-term presence of only an Anglican school in St. Paul's River did not, however, signify acceptance of that school by the Catholic population there. Most informants were clear that the Catholics had always been opposed to sending their children to a school where Anglican doctrines were taught, whereas the Anglicans favoured a one-school policy for a settlement the size of St. Paul's River. Moreover, spatial and, more acutely, social segregation within the winter settlement persisted and strengthened (Fig. 4.3). For example, even though Catholic and Anglican children were able to mix at school, some informants insisted that they were forbidden to interact at any other time: "Go play with your own kind ... parents used to say." The Catholics, who were not equipped with formal Church and school structures and who were only given partial support by the priest (who was resident in Lourdes), appear to have been the more vocal antagonists in this conflictive religious situation.

In the late 1940s, the Catholics finally obtained their own school which remained open alongside the Anglican school until 1968. The construction of the Catholic school came about mainly through the efforts of the parish priest of Lourdes after some of his congregation stopped sending their children to the Anglican school. The creation of a two-school system, divided along religious lines, further accentuated the long-established social and spatial segregation of Catholics and Anglicans in St. Paul's River. As can be seen in Figure 4.3, the Catholic school was constructed in the heart of the Catholic neighbourhood of the settlement, thus impeding potential contact between the Catholic and Anglican children.

After unification many Catholic families in St. Paul's River initially opposed the loss of their own distinct school; some even threatened to have their children removed from school altogether, but the school board's decision was irrevocable and all the parents finally acceded. Unification has paved the way for increased contacts between the Catholic and Anglican children, such that when the field work for this study was conducted it was common to see religiously heterogeneous groups of children at play, both during and after school hours. In addition, the new school system has helped to break down the spatial barrier which had existed between the two religious communities of St. Paul's River, since all children in kindergarden and grades 1, 2, and 3 are now forced to attend what used to be the Anglican school, while grades 4 to 8 are located in the former Catholic building.

The Commission Scolaire's scheme to send children to secondary schools outside the Lower North Shore has greatly increased contacts between the older Catholic and Anglican students. Many of the Catholic

and Anglican Anglophone students are now able to frequent the same public schools in such places as Lennoxville and Sept-Iles. It is recognized that it is impossible to provide an adequate, on-site, secondary education for the older children, who are widely scattered along the entire Shore. Because it covers all travel costs as well as room and board, demanding from the parents only a compulsory minimum contribution, the new scheme has allowed a much greater number of students to pursue their studies. During the 1973-74 academic year, there was a total of 265 North Shore students registered in secondary schools throughout the province (Commission Scolaire de la Cote-Nord du Golfe Saint-Laurent 1974; n.p.).

This exodus of young people to larger centres, more in tune with the mainstream of recent social, economic and political developments in Québec, has meant that many of these students have come into contact with the larger society and have ultimately changed their religious outlook. They have witnessed the large-scale abandonment of active religious practice, a widespread attitude of anticlericalism, and a general view that all Christian religions are basically one and the same. Upon returning to the Lower North Shore, these students have, in turn, influenced local attitudes to religion; some have convinced their parents to abandon their "antiquated" religious prejudices; and some have even incited a total abandonment of all forms of religious practice, especially among the younger residents of the Shore. During the period of fieldwork, the latter phenomenon was especially evident in Lourdes and in St. Paul's River where only a small number of people, usually restricted to older people and young children, attended religious services.

The recruitment of teachers from outside the Lower North Shore has likewise helped in increasing contacts between Catholics and Anglicans and

in leading to a greater détente between the two religious communities. Although some nuns are still employed by the Commission Scolaire and even though many schools are still confessional (e.g. the schools in Blanc-Sablon, Lourdes, and Middle Bay where the local populations are overwhelmingly Catholic), the school board has always had a non-discriminatory hiring policy. Teachers from central Québec, Ontario, the Maritimes, and some from outside Canada, have been given contracts to teach in those settlements where they were most needed, regardless of their own religious affiliations. Thus, it is now possible for a Catholic teacher to work in a predominantly Anglican settlement, or for a non-Catholic to teach in a recognized Catholic settlement. In this way, the residents of most North Shore settlements have come to realize that members of another religious community are not always bellicose and are not necessarily intent on converting others to their own religion. Because of their prestigious position in the local social order, and their usually more liberal outlook on the ecumenical movement, most teachers have also helped to foster growing détente between Catholics and Anglicans.

Since the many reforms of the Vatican II Council (1962-1965) have been implemented by the Catholic priests working in the Apostolic Vicariat of Labrador, there has been an increasing local détente between the offices of the parish priest of Lourdes and the Anglican minister resident in St. Paul's River. Historically, these were the two most important and influential members of all three ethnic communities on the eastern Lower North Shore. Consequently, their public example of collaboration and their increasingly amicable "official" relationship has encouraged their respective congregations to lessen religious prejudices. This mutual spirit of cooperation was urged thus by the Catholic Bishop of the Lower North Shore

> Vous êtes des bâtisseurs de l'avenir. Il vous faudra combattre pour le bien commun, ce qui n'est pas toujours facile. Partout on s'unit. Si nous voulons améliorer notre situation sociale et économique il nous faut nous unir nous aussi, et collaborer dans un effort commun. (Joveneau et Tremblay 1971:86).

The changes described above signalled the start of the decreasing importance of religion as a major diagnostic feature of ethnic identity on the eastern Lower North Shore. For example, many younger informants stated explicitly that they did not view one's religious background as a vital aspect of one's identity. They claimed that the increasing similarity between the Anglican and Catholic Churches, and by inference, between Anglicans and Catholics, as well as the greatly diminishing number of their contemporaries who actively participate in religious activities, did not justify any ethnic differentiation on the basis of religious affiliation.

Religiously Exogamous Marriages

Within the larger framework of world ecumenical trends, the increase of religiously exogamous marriages in the modern period is both cause and consequence of local religious détente on the Lower North Shore. It was noted in Chapter 3 that in the pre-1920 period, the occurrence of a religiously mixed marriage frequently resulted in several other marriages of this type, both during the generation in which they first occurred and in later generations. Mixed marriages tended, therefore, to occur in a limited number of families, which further meant that they were accepted only by certain lineages and kin groups, but did not meet with approval in the Catholic and Anglican communities at large. As noted in Figure 4.2, this practice has persisted throughout the modern period of settlement. For

example, of the 55 exogamous marriages recorded in the modern period of settlement, 24 have involved at least one partner who has come from a family where mixed marriages had already been contracted either in the previous and/or in the same generation, while an additional 12 marriages have united partners, both of whose families had already experienced at least one such marriage. In terms of the total number of individuals involved in all the mixed religious marriages recorded, 95 (86.4%) have been residents of the field area, of whom 48 (50.5%) have been at least the second member of their family to marry exogamously. It must be noted that in some families, religiously mixed marriages are reported to have led to a greater split between Catholics and Anglicans, but generally, parental and/or familial disapproval has been outweighed by the subsequent fostering of less prejudicial attitudes amongst the offspring of the new union.

Alternatively, the large number of religiously mixed marriages recorded in the 1961-1970 decade were probably facilitated by the growing harmony between Catholics and Anglicans on the Lower North Shore. As noted in Table 4.4, a total of 20 mixed marriages was contracted during this short period, 14 of them after 1965. This total (20) represents more than half the number of exogamous marriages recorded in the entire first century of permanent settlement (1820-1920), as well as half the number of exogamous unions registered during the previous 40 years (1921-1960). More significantly, the patterns of conversion resulting from the mixed unions of the 1960s has altered appreciably from the traditional patterns in which an exogamous marriage usually led to the immediate conversion of the non-Catholic spouse. Indeed, since 1961 a much smaller percentage (35.0%) of both the Catholic and Anglican spouses involved in mixed

marriages has either felt the need or been forced to convert, compared to 68.8% and 80.0% for the 1840-1920 and 1921-1960 periods, respectively (Table 4.4). This reflects primarily the younger people's changing attitude to religion on the Lower North Shore, as well as the changing modus operandi of the post-Vatican II Catholic clergy. The latter is no longer openly opposed to mixed marriages and is not as intent on converting non-Catholic spouses as had been the practice formerly, when attempts to prevent the realization of such marriage failed. In those instances where

Table 4.4

Patterns of Conversion, by Sex, Resulting from Exogamous Marriages: 1840-1970.

	1840-1920		1921-1960		1961-1970	
Husband Converts:	12	(37.5%)	6	(17.1%)	2	(10.0%)
Wife Converts:	10	(31.3%)	22	(62.9%)	5	(25.0%)
Sub-Total:	22	(68.8%)	28	(80.0%)	7	(35.0%)
Neither Convert:	9	(28.1%)	7	(20.0%)	13	(65.0%)
Unknown:	1	(3.1%)	0	(0.0%)	0	(0.0%)
Totals:	32	(100.0%)	35	(100.0%)	20	(100.0%)

a conversion has resulted, most informants have argued that concern for the children had been their primary motive for converting. In their view, it is much better to raise children in a "unified" household where the parents are of the same faith and where there is, therefore, no possibility that family arguments will be based on religious principles. These informants further emphasized that they found little difference between their former and present religions. The latter view might explain the substantial increase in the percentage of female conversions and the concomitant

decrease in male conversions from the pre-1920 to the post-1920 period, as well as the greater percentage of modern-day conversions to Anglicanism than before 1920 (Tables 4.4, 4.5 and 3.7).

The local Catholic clergy is still very much concerned with the spiritual welfare of the offspring of mixed marriages and is as unequivocal as ever in enforcing the rule that non-Catholic spouses must formally swear to have the children raised in the Catholic faith. Consequently, the majority of the religiously mixed marriages recorded throughout the entire modern period of settlement, including the last decade, have continued to favour the Catholic rather than the Anglican community (Table 4.5).

Table 4.5

Patterns of Conversion to Catholicism and Anglicanism: 1920-1970.

Conversions to Catholicism			
	Husband:	7	50.9%
	Wife:	21	
	+Children:	14	25.5%
	TOTAL:	42	76.4%
Conversions to Anglicanism			
	Husband:	1	12.7%
	Wife:	6	
	+Children:	4	7.3%
	TOTAL:	11	20.0%
Other Marriages: ++		2	3.6%
Total number of marriages:		55	100.0%

+ Marriages in which neither partner converts but the children are raised in one or the other religion.

++ Childless couples who retain their own religion.

Endogamous Religious Marriages

Despite the changing attitudes to religion, the tendency to marry endogamously within one's own religious community is still strong. This is illustrated in Table 4.2, and again in Table 4.6 which presents a finer breakdown of the patterns of marriage by sex and religious affiliation.[3] For example, less than one third of the mixed marriages expected in the modern period between Anglican women and the Catholic male residents of the St. Paul's-Blanc-Sablon region were actually contracted, whilst there was an even lower observed percentage of exogamous marriages between Anglican men and the Catholic female residents of the field area (Table 4.6).

However, if the aforementioned patterns of marriage are examined in a geographical and historical context, it is clear that the modern-day preponderance for religious endogamy is the result of the traditional spatial and social segregation of Catholics and Anglicans on the Shore and a continuation of the earlier patterns of marriage (Fig. 4.2). For example, Table 4.7 indicates that from the pre-1920 to the post-1920 period, the percentage of spatially endogamous marriages, i.e. marriages in which both partners are from the same settlement, rose from 31.3% to 39.3%. Moreover, because the initial permanent settlers and their immediate descendants favoured spatial segregation along religious lines, most of the settlements studied have continued to be characterized by largely homogeneous populations, and the majority of spatially endogamous marriages have likewise resulted in religious endogamy. Consequently,

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[3] For explanations on the steps involved in producing Table 4.6 and on the significance of the data thus presented, see pages 52-55.

Table 4.6

Expected vs. Observed Patterns of Marriage of Men and Women: 1921 - 1970.

(Using the Criterion of Religion)

Categories of Marriage	MEN N[a]	MEN E[b]	MEN O[c]	Categories of Marriage	WOMEN N	WOMEN E	WOMEN O
RC x RC[d]	165	33.9%	57.7%	RC x RC[d]	169	35.8%	61.7%
RC x C of E	29	33.9	10.1	C of E x RC	27	35.8	9.9
C of E x C of E	68	16.1	23.8	C of E x C of E	59	14.2	21.5
C of E x RC	24	16.1	8.4	RC x C of E	79	14.2	6.9
TOTALS	286	100.0%	100.0%	TOTALS	274	100.0%	100.0%

(a) actual number of marriages recorded

(b) expected % of marriages

(c) observed % of marriages

(d) 1st designation always refers to husband.

it is difficult to determine in at least four out of every ten marriages recorded in the past fifty years whether they reflect a preference for local endogamy or for religious endogamy. Most informants, particularly those of the younger generation, were clearly against any emphasis upon religious prejudice, and they usually explained their own choice of a marriage partner in terms of geographical proximity rather than religious affiliation. Breton notes that this is in fact true on the remainder of the Lower North Shore (1968c:87-89).

Table 4.7

Patterns of Spatial Endogamy: 1840s - 1970.

	1840s - 1920	1921 - 1970
Blanc-Sablon	5	23
Lourdes	11	39
Bradore	6	6
Middle Bay	4	12
St. Paul's River	29	50
Total	65 (31.3%)	130 (39.3%)
TOTAL NUMBER OF MARRIAGES:	208 (100.0%)	331 (100.0%)

The largest numbers of religiously mixed marriages recorded in each of the five settlements were found in St. Paul's River and Bradore, respectively, which, as shown earlier, are still the only two settlements in the field area that have religiously heterogeneous populations (Table 4.8). The three remaining settlements, where populations are for the most part homogeneously Catholic, are characterized by much smaller groups of mixed marriages.

Table 4.8

Patterns of Religiously Endogamous/Exogamous Marriages, by Settlement: 1921-1970.

	Endogamous Catholic	Endogamous Anglican	Exogamous	Unknown	TOTALS
Blanc-Sablon	67 (85.9%)	1 (1.3%)	10 (12.8%)	0 (0.0%)	78
Lourdes	104 (86.7%)	4 (3.3%)	11 (9.2%)	1 (0.8%)	120
Bradore	8 (16.3%)	23 (46.9%)	18 (36.7%)	0 (0.0%)	49
Middle Bay	48 (90.6%)	0 (0.0%)	5 (9.4%)	0 (0.0%)	53
St. Paul's River	23 (22.1%)	52 (50.0%)	28 (26.9%)	1 (1.0%)	104

Similarly, a comparison of Tables 3.2 and 4.9 indicates that the patterns of spatially exogamous marriages, i.e. those marriages involving partners from different settlements, either within or outside the St. Paul's-Blanc-Sablon region, have not altered appreciably in the past fifty years. Thus, Blanc-Sablon and Lourdes have both had persistently strong ties with such Newfoundland-Labrador settlements as West St. Modeste, which is basically Catholic, whereas the Anglican population of Bradore has had a similar relationship of exchange with Lanse-au-Clair, a predominantly Anglican settlement, also in the Newfoundland-Labrador. On the remainder of the Lower North Shore, Old Fort Bay, for example, still remains an important source area of spouses for the Anglican population of St. Paul's River. However, unlike the earlier period of settlement, when such patterns were attributed largely to the preference for religious endogamy, the present-day population has argued that these continuing patterns of marriage are the result, basically, of long-established ties of kinship that have ultimately affected visiting patterns between the populations of certain settlements, in effect linking sets of settlements in a persisting cycle of intermarriage, subsequent visiting and social exchange, and further intermarriage. Moreover, because the initial and traditional social and spatial links between settlements were strongly influenced by prejudices favouring religious solidarity and a concomitant preference for religiously endogamous marriages, the modern visiting patterns have continued to contribute positively to spatially exogamous marriages which also tend to religious endogamy (Fig. 4.2). For instance, because many of the Blanc-Sablon families were linked through marriage with the Catholic population of West St. Modeste,

Table 4.9

Distribution of Spatially Exogamous Marriages: 1921-1970

	Blanc-Sablon	Lourdes	Bradore	Middle Bay	St. Paul's River
Field Area:					
Lourdes	16	-	-	-	-
Bradore	1	11	-	-	-
Middle Bay	3	14	6	-	-
St. Paul's River	4	3	3	11	-
Lower North Shore:					
Old Fort Bay	1	1	5	1	17
St. Augustin	3	6	-	2	2
La Tabatière	1	1	1	-	-
Mutton Bay	-	-	1	-	3
Whale Head	-	4	-	-	-
Harrington Hr.	-	-	2	-	4
Middle/Upper North Shores:	-	8	-	-	-
Nfld.-Labrador:					
L'Anse au Clair	1	-	5	-	2
Forteau	2	-	3	-	2
L'Anse au Loup	6	4	2	1	2
L'Anse au Diable	-	-	1	-	-
West St. Modeste	10	4	-	-	-
Pinware	-	-	1	-	-
Island-Newfoundland:					
Flowers' Cove	2	-	-	-	1
Northern Pen.	3	1	-	-	-
Corner Brook	-	2	-	-	1
Others	-	1	-	2	1
Québec:	-	5	-	-	-
Others:	2	-	-	-	-

visiting between these two settlements was always much more frequent than between say, West. St. Modeste and the predominantly Anglican population of Bradore.

Mobility and geographical accessibility are also important criteria in determining spatially exogamous marriages. For example, Blanc-Sablon and Lourdes are the only two settlements in the field area that have had any significant patterns of marital exchange with west-coast Newfoundland; this is probably attributable to the construction of the Blanc-Sablon wharf in 1949 and to the daily ferry service between Blanc-Sablon and St. Barbe's which has been in operation since that time. Similarly, encounters between the Anglican populations of St. Paul's River and Old Fort Bay have been facilitated by the annual summer moves out to the islands of the St. Paul's River Archipelago (where they have frequently inhabited neighbouring islands, and in some instances the same island), and in recent years, by the construction of a road between the two winter settlements.

Finally, the presence of formal institutions in some settlements has likewise been a critical factor in the establishment of certain types of spatially exogamous marriages. Thus marriages recorded between the Anglophone Anglican community of St. Paul's River and Bradore and the largely Anglican population of Harrington Harbour have resulted mainly from the presence of the Grenfell Mission in Harrington and the related work of successive Anglican ministers along the Shore. In some reported cases, for example, the Anglican ministers stationed on the Lower Shore arranged to have young women sent to Harrington, where they were employed in the Grenfell Mission and where some of them subsequently married. Similarly, because the churches were in charge of schools until 1967, the Catholic priests as well as the Anglican ministers frequently made arrangements to

have some students educated outside the Lower North Shore, after which the latter returned to teach in settlements chosen largely by the clergy. Thus several of the marriages contracted between the Anglicans of St. Paul's River and Harrington Harbour, and between the Francophones of Lourdes and Tête-à-la-Baleine, were the result of such manoeuverings by the clergy, and not necessarily a reflection of individual preference for religious endogamy.

In conclusion, it can be seen that the role of religion on the eastern Lower North Shore has lost considerable importance in the past decade. This is due to a number of events that stem mostly from the Quiet Revolution and the ecumenical movement between the Church of England and the Roman Catholic Church. It is reflected primarily in the local acceptance of such phenomena as the creation of a non-confessional school commission on the Lower North Shore, as well as in the large number of exogamous marriages recorded since 1961 and in the absence of conversions resulting from these same marriages. Although the persisting high rate of religiously endogamous marriages would seem to contradict this general conclusion, it has been shown that the latter marriages reflect the nature of the historic social and spatial interactions on the Lower North Shore. Stated otherwise, the present marriage patterns only exhibit a <u>tendency</u> towards religious endogamy in contrast to the traditional, expressed <u>preference</u> for and <u>expectance</u> of such unions.

Religion is still a very significant aspect in the life of many residents, particularly amongst the older inhabitants of the Shore. Moreover, on the basis of the past strength of religion there and in the province of Québec generally, it is likely that this situation, while weakening,

will persist. However, the future importance of religion as a chief criterion of ethnic identity on the Lower Shore lies with the younger generations who are less concerned with the religious prejudices and segregation of their forefathers. The events of the past decade have already allowed for Anglican and Catholic Anglophone solidarity against the Francophones of the Lower North Shore, especially in such heterogenous settlements as St. Paul's River; ultimately, they could lead to wider social and spatial religious desegregation.

CHAPTER V

LANGUAGE AND ETHNICITY: 1920 - 1970

While language traditionally played a critical role in the ethnic identities of the resident population of the Lower North Shore, it was rarely recognized and utilized as the basis for confrontation. For instance, it was demonstrated earlier that intermarriage between the Francophone and Anglophone communities was frequent, and nowhere in the historical literature or in the oral tradition of the region is there any evidence that there was such opposition to these mixed marriages as occurred with the religiously exogamous marriages. Since about the mid-1960's however, language has replaced religion as the ethnic criterion that elicits the most prejudiced attitudes and antagonisms. Unlike religion, which has played an increasingly harmonious role in the boundary-maintenance system of the Lower North Shore, language has therefore become the major pivot around which negative ethnic relations are maintained. Amongst the many factors that have contributed to this growing antagonism between the North Shore Francophones and Anglophones, including both the Anglophone Anglicans and their Catholic counterparts, one of the most critical is the increasing size and importance of Lourdes over the past fifty years. There are two distinct but related facets in the growth of Lourdes, one of which involves internal demographic changes, while the other entails the creation of public and private services and institutions.

Demographic Growth of Lourdes

Between 1920 and 1970, the permanent resident population of Lourdes more than quadrupled. It has become the largest settlement on the eastern Lower North Shore, surpassing St. Paul's River whose population only doubled during the same period.

This substantial increase in population is the result primarily of the process of intra-Shore migrations to Lourdes at the end of the 19th century, the comparatively low rate of emigration out of Lourdes prior to about 1925, and the maintenance of a large family size throughout the entire period of settlement (Table 5.1). It was stated earlier that although the intra-Shore migrations to Lourdes were numerically insignificant in themselves, they had far-reaching implications for the future generations of Lourdes and for the long-term increase in the population of that settlement. Similarly, the much greater rate of outmigration from St. Paul's River in the early decades of this century further meant that while the latter's population was being depleted, Lourdes was gaining newly-developed or developing family units. The slightly higher birth rate of Lourdes has also helped the latter to increase at a faster rate than St. Paul's River and, ultimately, to become the larger settlement. Finally, the similar rates of emigration out of Lourdes and St. Paul's River during the modern period of settlement; the changing pattern of post-marital residence that has frequently, since about 1965, favoured the growth of Lourdes at the expense of the neighbouring settlements; and the new trickle of intra-Shore migrations to Lourdes which began in the late 1960s, also account for the larger size of that settlement in the 1970 census.

Table 5.1

Average Family Size by Settlement: 1840 - 1970

	1840 - 1920			1921 - 1970		
	Number of Families	Total No. of Children	Average No. of Children/ Family	Number of Families	Total No. of Children	Average No. of Children/ Family
Blanc-Sablon	18	115	6.39	51	311	6.10
Lourdes	38	230	6.05	86	472	5.49
Bradore	20	111	5.55	22	104	4.73
Middle Bay	10	62	6.20	19	130	6.84
St. Paul's River	47	249	5.30	78	411	5.27
Study Area	133	767	5.76	256	1428	5.58

Institutional Growth of Lourdes

Although the increase in the population of Lourdes partly explains the rise of services and institutions in that settlement, the single most significant impetus to the present-day institutional growth of Lourdes was the creation, in 1946, of the (Catholic) Apostolic Vicariat of Labrador and the concomitant choice of Lourdes as the new episcopal seat. According to Carrière, the Vicariat was created by a special papal edict after more than a century of talks and negotiations between several Québec and Newfoundland bishops, on the one hand, and between the Vatican and various missionary orders, primarily the Oblats and Eudists, on the other (Carrière 1958: 235-242). However, while it is clear that the major purpose behind the creation of the Vicariat was to improve services to the small, dispersed population of the Labrador-Ungava Peninsula, nowhere in any of the written accounts, including Carrière's, are the reasons for the choice of Lourdes as episcopal seat given explicitly. It can only be assumed that the Roman Catholic Church hierarchy saw a number of attributes that made Lourdes, by comparison to other sites, the best location for the headquarters of the newly-founded Vicariat. Indeed, Lourdes had been the traditional permanent residence of the Catholic priest for almost a century, and thereby the "local" headquarters of the Catholic Church on the Lower North Shore. In addition, the existing physical structures in Lourdes, including the presbytery and church, were, again by comparison, better-suited than were the temporary or make-shift chapels of the other settlements and posts, either along the Lower Shore or in the interior of the Labrador Peninsula. Finally, Lourdes did have a large, totally Catholic, and perma-

nent population that outnumbered the permanent Catholic populations of most other settlements.

More importantly, the choice of Lourdes had a significant impact on the growth of that settlement and, ultimately, on changing traditional Francophone-Anglophone relations. For example, through the new bishop's efforts, Lourdes obtained a hospital, which was opened in 1950; the wharf was constructed in Blanc-Sablon; and the road linking the settlements of the eastern Lower North Shore was finally begun. Although the northern mining town of Schefferville replaced Lourdes as episcopal seat of the Vicariat in 1957, the Catholic Church was still influential in the installation of electricity and telephone services, the construction of an airport at Lourdes, and the establishment of a regular air service between Lourdes and Sept-Iles (Carrière 1958: 243-262; Joveneau and Tremblay 1971). Because most of these services and institutions were begun and/or centred in Lourdes, the latter has become the first "modern" settlement on the Lower North Shore. This has led to a spirit of competition amongst all the settlements, especially between Lourdes and its more immediate neighbours, such as Blanc-Sablon and Bradore, where considerable resentment of Lourdes now exists. Local entrepreneurship in Lourdes has further aggravated these ill-feelings with the construction and continued successful operation of such private enterprises as a hotel.

The strong Francophone identity of Lourdes and the overwhelmingly Anglophone identity of all surrounding settlements have significantly altered the competition and antipathy into an element of ethnic confrontation. The Anglophones have become increasingly aware of their minority position in a province where the majority is French-speaking; where the government is run almost exclusively by French-speaking Québécois; and, for the Anglophone Catholics, where the Catholic Church hierarchy is

also heavily French-Canadian. Whereas the institutional growth of Lourdes may therefore appear to an outsider as a logical and natural progression from the settlement's traditional position as the local headquarters of the Catholic Church, to the Anglophones of the North Shore the growth and rapid modernization of Lourdes is seen in terms of (Catholic) Church and (Provincial) Government favouritism to the Francophone minority of the region, at the expense of the Anglophone majority. This viewpoint is best seen in the confrontation between the Anglophone and Francophone Catholics, and between the Anglophone Catholics and their clergy, following the construction of the new church in Lourdes in 1965-66.

The elaborate structure and inflated cost of the new church served to highlight the inequalities existing between Lourdes and the other Catholic settlements along the Shore; and in so doing, it increased the antipathy of the Anglophone Catholic population towards the Francophone minority of Lourdes. For instance, several Anglophone Catholic informants in settlements like Blanc-Sablon and St. Paul's River complained bitterly that the savings that had been reserved for improvements to the churches in those settlements were completely absorbed in the construction of the church in Lourdes. Moreover, according to some of the more critical informants, these funds were apparently taken by the clergy without the consent of the local populations concerned, while others argued that the money would have been better spent in settlements such as Middle Bay and St. Paul's River, where the Catholics were still awaiting the construction of permanent chapels or churches in 1974. Whether factual or imagined, these claims and accusations are an important indicator of the present attitudes of many North Shore Anglophones towards the Catholic Church and the Francophone population in Québec.

The growing French-Canadian or Québécois (i.e. Francophone) nationalism now evident in Lourdes, especially amongst its younger inhabitants, has been associated with increasing Francophone-Anglophone confrontation on the Lower North Shore. These nationalist feelings have arisen, in part at least, from the rapid growth and regional pre-eminence of Lourdes, although inter-settlement rivalry and envy is common in any rural environment, even where the population is ethnically homogeneous.[1] The spatial segregation of the Francophone population in Lourdes has resulted in the supplanting of community pride by ethnic chauvinism; it has been interpreted as such by the Anglophone population. Thus, had the population of the Lower North Shore been uniformally French-speaking and Catholic, or if the three ethnic communities there were not spatially segregated, it is likely that the animosity between Lourdes and its neighbours would probably still have existed, but it would not have been the basis for a confrontation between ethnic groups.

The events of the Quiet Revolution, in particular the restructuring of the school system, both within the province as a whole and on the Lower North Shore specifically, have had far-reaching implications in terms of language. For example, many young Francophones have been able to attend schools and community colleges (Cegeps) in Gaspé, Rimouski, Québec City, and Sept-Iles, where they have been in direct contact with new political and social ideologies, including Québec separatism. Having absorbed some of these new ideas, the students have succeeded in increas-

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[1] For example, Faris has noted that much competition and rivalry exists between the fishing outports on the northeastern coast of island-Newfoundland, where the population is both religiously and ethnically homogeneous (1972: 45-46).

ing the political awareness of the entire population of the Lower North Shore, and in several instances, of polarizing Francophones and Anglophones.

A succession of laws passed since the early 1960s dealing with language and education has also increased local fears and animosities. For instance, the recent passing of Bill 22 (1974) has now made it almost impossible to close down any French schools in Québec, but not so English schools; this is a threat to almost all the small, English-language schools on the Lower North Shore. Even before this, however, policies seem to have favoured the Francophones of the Shore. For example, although Lourdes is not the largest settlement on the entire Lower Shore, it is the only place where students may attend school as far as the ninth grade. A few other settlements do offer eighth grade education, but the majority do not go beyond the seventh grade. Similarly, when plans were proposed to build a bilingual (French/English) high school that would serve both Lourdes and Blanc-Sablon, the project was rejected because several Francophone parents feared that such a school would lead to a greater degree of anglicization amongst their children who are already totally surrounded by English-speaking neighbours and greatly influenced by English-language radio and television. The plan was finally vetoed by the parish priest, as well as by the Minister of Education, who argued that bilingual schools have not usually succeeded and that, in time, they have become unilingual English institutes. Another plan to build a gymnasium that could be easily accessible to both the Blanc-Sablonnais and the population of Lourdes was similarly abandoned in 1973. In both instances, Lourdes has benefitted from these decisions and has obtained both a new school and a gym. While the decisions themselves were probably logical given the larger population of Lourdes as well as

the present precarious position of the French language on the Lower North Shore and the concomitant need to prevent further anglicization, to the Anglophones of Blanc-Sablon they were seen as only another instance of political favouritism to the Francophones and a clear indication of the lack of official concern for the needs of the Anglophone population on the Shore.

The presence of a Québécois elite in Lourdes, which has emerged as a direct result of that settlement's institutional growth since 1946, has also had a significant influence on the Francophone population. This elite includes the parish priest, the professional staff of the hospital, and the school personnel, most of them French-Canadians who have come from metropolitan Québec. A few members of the traditional local elite have also been incorporated into the new social class, usually those who have been associated with the modernization of Lourdes. Members of the elite have recognized the inherent problem of anglicization in Lourdes, and they have fostered a local pride in being Francophone, while advocating a "speak French only" attitude. The parish priest and some of the school personnel have been especially vociferous and successful in this respect, such that when information was needed from the younger residents of Lourdes, most informants insisted that the interviews be conducted solely in French. Although this new attitude has helped to increase the quality of the French language in Lourdes, it has antagonized many Anglophones (most of whom are neither actively nor passively bilingual) who view this new insistence on speaking French as the first step towards their own francisization. More importantly, the leadership's promotion of the French language and their support of a Québécois nationalism has convinced both the Francophone and Anglophone communities that Québec is

a "French" province where a thorough knowledge of that language is essential. For example, several English-speaking informants described Québec as a "French country", and in a few interviews, particularly in Blanc-Sablon and Bradore, some informants insisted that the Anglophones of the North Shore would soon need to learn French. This new perception of Québec as a "French country" is evidenced even more clearly by the recent patterns of emigration from the St. Paul's-Blanc-Sablon region.

Language and Emigration

As shown in Table 5.2, 87.1% of the Francophone Catholic emigrations from the eastern Lower North Shore during the past fifty years have been to other points within Québec, compared to only 50.4% and 48.9% of the Anglophone Anglican and Anglophone Catholic emigrations, respectively.[2] Conversely, there have been no recorded Francophone emigrations to Ontario, but as many as 24.5% of the Anglophone Catholic and 18.6% of the Anglophone Anglican moves have been to different destinations in that province, primarily Toronto, Ottawa, and Sudbury. Similarly, the numbers of Francophone Catholic emigrations to both the Atlantic and the Western Provinces have been considerably inferior to the numbers of Anglophone Catholic and Anglican moves to those same regions.

Within Québec, the Francophone and Anglophone patterns of emigration also differ substantially. For instance, more than half (51.9%) of the Francophone emigrations have been to the Middle and Upper North Shores, including Natashquan, Havre-St.-Pierre, Baie Comeau, Port Cartier, and

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[2] All figures in the text refer to both single (male and female) and family moves within each ethnic community rather than to the total number of individuals in the recent emigrations. Where possible, destination is taken as that first permanent stopping point by the individual or family.

Table 5.2

Migrants' Destinations Within Canada: 1925 - 1970
(by Ethnic Community)

	Francophone Catholics		Anglophone Catholics		Anglophone Anglicans	
	No. of moves	No. of individuals	No. of moves	No. of individuals	No. of moves	No. of individuals
Atlantic Provinces:*	4	4	15	21	23	40
Québec:	54	77	46	56	57	72
Ontario:	0	0	23	26	21	26
Western Provinces:	2	2	7	7	8	8
Others:	2	2	3	3	4	4
Totals:	62	85	94	113	113	150

* includes Newfoundland-Labrador

Table 5.3

Migrants' Destinations Within Québec: 1925 - 1970
(by Ethnic Community)

	Francophone Catholics		Anglophone Catholics		Anglophone Anglicans	
	No. of moves	No. of individuals	No. of moves	No. of individuals	No. of moves	No. of individuals
Lower North Shore*:	0	0	3	3	10	10
Middle/Upper North Shores:	28	39	17	17	11	18
Northern Québec:	7	11	2	12	0	0
Montréal/ Québec City:	18	26	21	21	36	44
Others:	1	1	3	3	0	0
Totals:	54	77	46	56	57	72

* excluding field area

especially Sept-Iles; whereas a similar percentage of the Anglophone Catholic (45.7%) and Anglophone Anglican (63.2%) moves have centred primarily around the Montréal region (Table 5.3). Southern Québec has also attracted another third (33.3%) of the Francophone emigrations within the province, but unlike their Anglophone counterparts, many of the Francophones have opted for resettlement in the region of Québec City rather than Montréal.

These patterns of emigration reveal a strong Francophone tendency to remain within their own "country", and a preference to remain within the general region of the Québec North Shore. The homogeneously Francophone character of the Middle North Shore and the Upper North Shore's predominantly French-speaking population are as important an attraction to the emigrating Francophones as they are a deterrent to many of the emigrating Anglophones. In addition, the small yet significant number of social and marriage links that have been established between the French-speaking populations of the Lower and Middle North Shores (Table 4.9) has probably played an important role in attracting some members of the former group to the larger western settlements. That there is only a limited number of Francophone moves outside Québec can be further interpreted in terms of their comfortable position within the province and their knowledge that if they move anywhere else in Canada, they will need to abandon French as a working language altogether and, more significantly, they will find themselves in a minority position that will not be as favourable as that in Lourdes. On the other hand, the Anglophone emigrations from Québec are probably attributable to the growing fears and discomfort of the Anglophone Catholic and Anglican communities on the Lower North Shore. In this respect, the large number of Anglophone emigrations to

Montréal is not peculiar since it can be explained in terms of that city's cosmopolitan character and the Anglophones' knowledge that they can function there in a totally English-speaking environment (Joy 1972: 19, 135 et. al.). Moreover, the school commission's choice of nearby Lennoxville as a centre of higher learning for the English-speaking students of the Lower North Shore has meant that many of the latter have come to know Montréal well, and have established social contacts there and in the adjoining Eastern Townships.

The social (mostly ethno-linguistic) explanations posited above do not, of course, eliminate the possibility of other factors influencing the emigrant's decision to leave the region. Indeed, the major underlying motive of all these emigrations, both Francophone and Anglophone, has been to achieve personal economic advancement in the less-impoverished regions of Québec and Canada, preferrably in the larger metropolitan centres or alternatively, in mining areas such as Schefferville and Sudbury, where the mostly-unskilled labourers of the Lower North Shore can find suitable permanent jobs that are rare in their own native region. Daneau, for example, has described the Lower North Shore's present-day economy thus:

> L'économie de la Côte-Nord du Golfe Saint-Laurent présente toutes les caractéristiques d'une région économiquement faible. Une proportion relativement élevée de la population oeuvre dans l'industrie de la pêche, soit 53%; le chômage déguisé est considérable et les possibilités d'emploi hors de la pêche sont limitées; il y a peu de capital par tête et les revenus per capita sont faibles; les facilités de crédit et de mise en marché des produits de la pêche sont limitées; le développement technique dans la phase extractive de l'industrie de la pêche est insuffisant, les moyens de communication et de transport sont inadéquats. (Daneau 1970: 17).

In interviews with the parents and friends of some of the emigrants, other factors were also listed, but these were usually of a highly personal and idiosyncratic nature, such that no general pattern emerges. It can be concluded, however, that the growing Québécois nationalism of the Francophones of Lourdes and the concomitant growing fear and bitterness of the neighbouring Anglophones have played a significant role in affecting emigration from the Lower North Shore. These patterns of emigration are a product of the present Francophone-Anglophone antipathy on the Shore.[3]

Finally, it is important to mention specifically the role of the Catholic Church in fostering the growth of a French-Canadian nationalism in Lourdes. Some examples have already been cited where the parish priest has acted in both his official as well as private capacities to promote the French language and to minimize the influence and spread of English. Similarly, the Church, in its traditional role of guardian of French-Canadian culture, has been instrumental in 'institutionalizing' nationalism on the Lower North Shore when, for example, it introduced the practise of celebrating St. Jean-Baptiste Day in 1953 (Carrière 1958: 247). The Church, together with the French school of Lourdes and the hospital, has likewise been active in promoting some of the more outward symbols of Québécois nationalism. Thus, Lourdes is the only settlement that flies the "Fleur-de-Lys", the official provincial flag, whereas all the other settlements fly the "Maple Leaf", the official Canadian flag.

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[3] On a larger scale, Joy (1972: 135-136) has concluded that the increasing spatial segregation between French- and English-speaking Canadians is also related to a growing antipathy between these two groups in Canada as a whole. He has noted recent general trends of Anglophone emigrations from Québec and increasing Francophone immigrations from other areas in Canada to that province.

More importantly, the fleur-de-lys has become associated with the Francophone population of the Lower North Shore and, more specifically, with the growth and modernization of Lourdes, while the red maple leaf has been adopted by most Anglophones as the symbol of their own ethnicity and political belief.

The new ethnic confrontation between the Francophone Catholics, on the one hand, and the Anglophone Catholics and Anglicans, on the other, does not signal a universal antipathy between these two groups. The continuing high rate of intermarriage between Francophones and Anglophones is only one concrete indication that amongst both linguistic communities, there are still some members who have no ill-feelings, or very few, that relate to language and linguistic affiliation (Table 5.4).[4] It is true that because the Francophone community is smaller in size, mixed marriages are bound to occur regularly. However, with the advent of a better system of transportation and communication, there has resulted a higher rate of contact between the Francophones of Lourdes and the Francophones of the other settlements along the Lower (i.e. Tête-à-la-Baleine and La Romaine), Middle, and Upper North Shores. Consequently, the French-speaking minority of the St. Paul's-Blanc-Sablon region has had more opportunity to reduce the number of linguistically mixed marriages. Conversely, if the two Anglophone populations were so antagonistic towards the Francophone minority, it must be assumed that fewer of them would socialize with the residents of Lourdes than actually do so, and

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[4] For explanations on the steps involved in producing Table 5.4 and on on the significance of the data thus presented, see pages 52-55.

Table 5.4

Expected vs. Observed Patterns of Marriage of Men & Women: 1921 - 1970
(Using the Criterion of Language)

Categories of Marriage	MEN N[a]	E[b]	O[c]	Categories of Marriage	WOMEN N	E	O
FR X FR[d]	36	12.2%	12.6%	FR X FR[d]	36	10.9%	13.1%
FR X ENG	34	12.2	11.9	ENG X FR	24	10.9	8.8
ENG X ENG	199	37.8	69.6	ENG X ENG	188	39.1	68.6
ENG X FR	17	37.8	5.9	FR X ENG	26	39.1	9.5
TOTALS	286	100.0%	100.0%	TOTALS	274	100.0%	100.0%

(a) actual number of marriages recorded
(b) expected percentage of marriages
(c) Observed percentage of marriages
(d) 1st designation always refers to husband.

fewer yet would consent to marry them. Since the figures in Table 5.4 refute these possibilities, it is clear either that not all Francophones and Anglophones share in the growing feeling of linguistic antagonism, or that some do not attribute any linguistic or ethnic overtones to the favouritism bestowed upon Lourdes in the past quarter-century. Again, although many Francophones and Anglophones may recognize and support the present ethnic confrontations, they do not carry these prejudices down to interpersonal relationships between individuals.

The new trickle of intra-Shore migrations to Lourdes and the slightly changing pattern of post-marital residence are particularly indicative of the harmony that still exists between some Anglophones and Francophones. These phenomena are also indicative of the desire of some Anglophones to share in the growing power and diversity of Lourdes as just another set-

tlement on the Lower North Shore, rather than as a solely Francophone settlement. Between 1968 and 1970 at least four Anglophone families (19 individuals in all) moved permanently to Lourdes where many of them were able to find jobs that were outside the fishing industry. With the exception of one Anglican family from Bradore, the remaining families were Catholics from Middle Bay. Similarly, at least eight couples who were married in the 1961 - 1970 decade elected to reside in Lourdes, from where the women originated, rather than in the husbands' native settlements. Although the general pattern of post-marital residence still favours virilocality (Table 5.5) and although settlements like Blanc-Sablon and St. Paul's River have also gained new male residents through marriage (Table 5.6), no other settlement has profited as much as Lourdes from a new input of population in approximately the past fifteen years. This may be the start of a new trend of centralization in Lourdes. There has already been some rumour of resettling the populations of Bradore and Middle Bay, and it is possible that the recent 'voluntary' moves to Lourdes could encourage the provincial government to carry through plans to close down all official services (e.g. schools, nursing stations, etc.) in these two settlements, forcing the populations to move to Lourdes.

Table 5.5

Patterns of Post-Marital Residence: 1921 - 1970

Virilocal:	161
Uxorlocal:	35
Same Settlement:	128
Other Types:	7
Total	331

Table 5.6

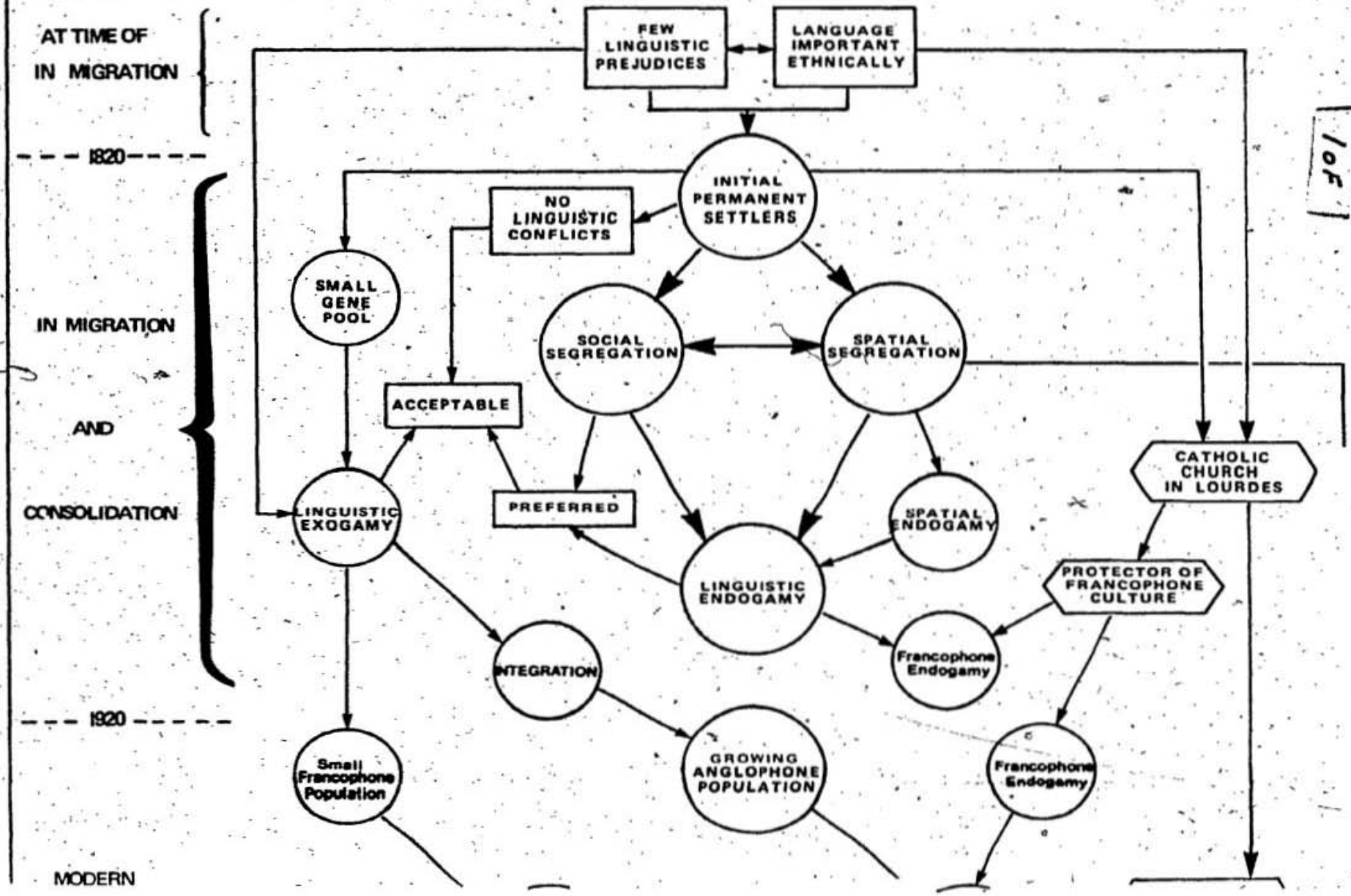
Distribution of Uxorlocal Marriages: 1921 - 1970

	Total losses of men/settlement	Total gains of men/settlement	Net gain or loss
Blanc-Sablon	3	9	6
Lourdes	1	11	10
Bradore	3	2	- 1
Middle Bay	4	3	- 1
St. Paul's River	2	8	6
Others	22	2	-20

Total number of marriages resulting in uxorlocality: 35

In conclusion, it can be seen that the role of language on the Lower North Shore has undergone considerable change in the modern period of settlement. Unlike those events that have led to the new role of religion, the large majority of which were induced from outside influences and interventions, the changing role of language on the Lower Shore is the result of a combination of both internal and external phenomena. This is shown more clearly in Fig. 5.1, which illustrates schematically the evolutionary role of language as a criterion of ethnicity in the St. Paul's-Blanc-Sablon region, from the beginning of initial permanent settlement to the present-day. The lower half of this flow diagram, which summarizes visually those events that have occurred in the past quarter-century, demonstrates that the Quiet Revolution and the creation of the Apostolic Vicariat of Labrador, together with the choice of Lourdes as its first centre, both initiated a chain of events that have greatly affected the entire population on the eastern Lower North Shore. However, it was through the spatial segregation of the Francophone population in Lourdes - a purely internal and traditional characteristic -

EVOLUTIONARY PERSPECTIVE OF THE ROLE OF LANGUAGE ON THE EASTERN LOWER NORTH SHORE



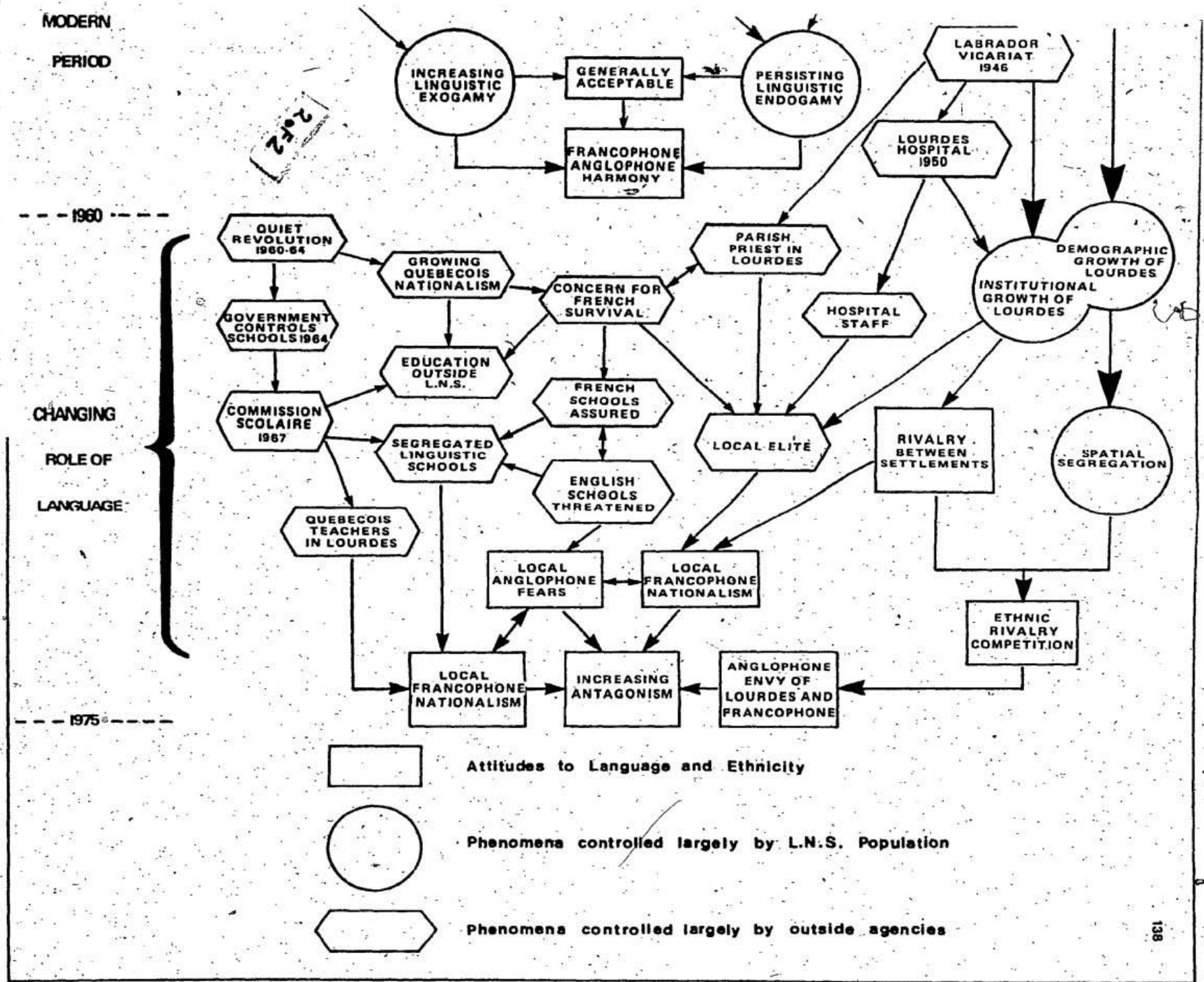

MODERN PERIOD
INCREASING LINGUISTIC EXOGAMY
GENERALLY ACCEPTABLE
PERSISTING LINGUISTIC ENDOGAMY
FRANCOPHONE ANGLOPHONE HARMONY
LABRADOR VICARIAT 1946
LOURDES HOSPITAL 1950
1960
QUIET REVOLUTION 1960-64
GROWING QUEBECOIS NATIONALISM
CONCERN FOR FRENCH SURVIVAL
PARISH PRIEST IN LOURDES
DEMOGRAPHIC GROWTH OF LOURDES
INSTITUTIONAL GROWTH OF LOURDES
HOSPITAL STAFF
GOVERNMENT CONTROLS SCHOOLS 1964
EDUCATION OUTSIDE L.N.S.
COMMISSION SCOLAIRE 1967
FRENCH SCHOOLS ASSURED
SEGREGATED LINGUISTIC SCHOOLS
ENGLISH SCHOOLS THREATENED
LOCAL ELITE
RIVALRY BETWEEN SETTLEMENTS
SPATIAL SEGREGATION
CHANGING ROLE OF LANGUAGE
QUEBECOIS TEACHERS IN LOURDES
LOCAL ANGLOPHONE FEARS
LOCAL FRANCOPHONE NATIONALISM
ETHNIC RIVALRY COMPETITION
LOCAL FRANCOPHONE NATIONALISM
INCREASING ANTAGONISM
ANGLOPHONE ENVY OF LOURDES AND FRANCOPHONE
1975
Attitudes to Language and Ethnicity
Phenomena controlled largely by L.N.S. Population
Phenomena controlled largely by outside agencies

Fig. 5.1

that these external phenomena were able to alter traditional inter-ethnic group relations and, ultimately, to create the present antagonism between Francophones and Anglophones on the Lower North Shore. At the present time, it would appear that antipathy and conflict between these two groups is constantly rising, and it is suggested that the Francophone community's new awareness of the French language and Québécois nationalism will probably help to aggravate this already strained relationship. The high rate of linguistically mixed marriages and the increasing attraction of Lourdes to some of the neighbouring Anglophones could alter this course, but this seems unlikely given the wider social and political context of the province of Québec, as well as the greater degree of 'institutionalization' of the Francophone cause. Indeed, both the diminishing importance of religion as a conflict-provoking criterion of ethnicity in the past ten or fifteen years and the concomitant increase in conflicts resulting from language are intricately linked to this concept of 'institutionalization'.

Institutionalization of Religion and Language

Jackson has defined the institutionalization of conflict as that process whereby a conflict is programmed for continuation and out of which a set of regulations, positions, and roles emerge "to define and stabilize a conflictive relationship, permitting each party to operate in relation to its opponent with some degree of order and predictability". He adds that this process regulates, but does not solve or resolve social conflicts since the latter are resolvable only through the elimination of one of the parties. He writes:

> Certainly, issues are resolvable, but a state of conflict will remain as long as a power differential between two or more parties remains intact. And it is difficult to conceive of groups involved in boundary-maintenance activity without a resulting power differential. (Jackson 1971: 169-170)

More importantly, the institutionalization of conflict, especially when it applies to ethnic groups, allows for the persistence and maintenance of these groups through time.

> ... the institutionalization of ethnic conflict, though contributing to cultural assimilation through the establishment of lines of communication, contributes to the maintenance of structural separation, the opposite of assimiliation, insofar as it serves to recognize conflicting parties and provide a means for their continued existence. Furthermore, if the intensity of a conflict increases, the degree of structural separation will increase. (Jackson 1971: 174)

Thus, during most of the first century and a half of permanent settlement on the eastern Lower North Shore, the Catholic (including both Francophone and Anglophone) and Anglican communities were each equipped with their own readily-observable structures that not only defined the nature of the relationship between both groups and between individual members of both groups, but also maintained a tense conflictive situation. With the advent of the Quiet Revolution and the ecumenical movements within both the Church of England and the Roman Catholic Church, these structures were either abandoned altogether by some members of the two religious communities, or else they were re-assessed and re-organized into a new framework of cooperation and entente that has meant less individual tensions between Catholics and Anglicans on the Lower North Shore.

On the other hand, the recent set of linguistic conflicts is the result of the acquisition of new structures and institutions by the

Francophone population, and the unavailability of similar structures in the Anglophone Catholic and Anglican communities. The increased participation of the Catholic Church in promoting French and the advent of new institutions that represent the Francophones in Lourdes has meant that the latter have been able to recognize themselves as a power group and have been recognized as such by the Catholic and Anglican Anglophones. The increasing antipathy between Anglophones and Francophones is therefore related to the better organization of the Francophone population, which has an effective and vocal leadership, while the two Anglophone populations are still struggling to re-organize themselves and, in the process, find an equally effective leadership to replace the former religious (Catholic and Anglican) leaders. Thus, the Anglophones, as individuals, are the more militant and vocal protagonists in the new conflictive relationship, whereas the Francophones, as individuals as well as a community, only rarely vocalize their viewpoint since they are already well-represented by appropriate institutions and spokesmen.

The shifting alliance of the Anglophone Catholic community is also obviously related to its changing institutional organization. For example, the traditional entente between the Catholic Anglophones and Francophones was possible because they shared in the same institutions and structures which pitted them against the Anglicans. With the ecumenical movement and the emergence of distinctly Francophone structures, the Anglophone Catholic community has witnessed the loss of many of its own institutions as well as a decrease in communication, particularly at the structural level, with the Francophone Catholics. This is especially evident in settlements like St. Paul's River, where the

interests of the Catholic population were once better represented by the parish priest and the Catholic school. However, with the loss of these structures, or their diminished role in the community, the Catholics of St. Paul's River have been forced to realign themselves with the Anglicans of that settlement, with whom they at least share a common goal: that of retaining their English-speaking culture in the face of a rising Francophone nationalism both locally and provincially. (See, for example, Joy 1972: 135). Hence, for the Anglophone Catholics of the eastern Lower North Shore, the Francophone Catholics have replaced the Anglicans in their struggle for position and resources, keeping in mind that social position is conditioned by varying sets of events and phenomena, and that power is also a resource. Jackson writes that "the ability to influence or to exercise power as a means of gaining control over desirable ends ... is a crucial element in the playing out of a conflict situation" (Jackson 1971: 167). Thus, the Jerseymen and the Newfoundland merchants, including the Whiteley's of St. Paul's River, who controlled the fishing industry of the Lower North Shore at different times throughout the 19th and early 20th centuries, were perceived by both the early Catholic and Anglican settlers of the Lower North Shore as the most powerful and influential members of the community. More importantly, this largely non-resident merchant class was perceived as a mostly Protestant group while the majority of the labouring (fishing) and resident population was Catholic. The replacement of the Protestant merchants by the Québécois elite has therefore shifted the power base of the population of the Lower North Shore. The local Francophone Catholics are presently over-represented in this respect compared to the

Catholic and Anglican Anglophones, as were the Anglophone Anglicans in the last century. Moreover, for the Anglophone Catholics there has been a realization that their lower social position and their paucity of resources, including power, is now a function of their English language rather than their Catholic antecedents. Indeed, within their own church structure, the Anglophone Catholics have taken a back-seat to the Francophone element.

Finally, and in support of Jackson's theory regarding the persistence of conflict, it is important to remark that a conflictive situation still exists between Anglophone Catholics and Anglicans, but the latter has been over-ridden in the past fifteen years by a more pressing and a more tense conflict that relates to language. The union of Anglophone Catholics and Anglicans in their struggle to remain English-speaking, together with the diminished importance of religion and the new official entente between the Vatican and the Church of England, which has already filtered down to the average layman in both religious organizations, could mean that these two groups may eventually merge to form only one identifiable Anglophone community that is little pre-occupied with religious affiliations, past and present.

CHAPTER VI

CONCEPT OF ETHNICITY ON THE LOWER NORTH SHORE

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

From a purely demographic perspective, it may be argued that because of the continuing miscegenation of the resident population since the beginning of permanent settlement, the Francophone Catholic, Anglophone Catholic, and Anglophone Anglican communities of the eastern Lower North Shore do not constitute real ethnic groups. However, since these three communities have retained the most explicit ethnic trait(s) (language and/or religion) that characterized the six ethnic groups who initially settled the Lower North Shore, the members of all three communities can ascribe themselves and can be defined by others as being different and distinct. This distinction is still made today between the "French" and the "English"; the "R.C.'s" and the "Protestants" - terms commonly used by the North Shore inhabitants either to describe themselves or others. As in the past, little or no reference is ever made to the genetic purity of the individual members of any ethnic community. For example, although some of the present Francophone families in Lourdes are of English-Protestant paternal ancestry, they are considered French-Canadian by themselves as well as by their neighbours because they are French-speaking and Catholic, and they behave in a manner identifiable with that of French-Canadians generally. Similarly, those families with French surnames in Blanc-Sablon and Middle Bay are presently ascribed and self-ascribed as Anglophones since the intermarriages of their French-Canadian male ancestors

with English-speaking women resulted in their eventual integration into the English-speaking Catholic community of the Lower North Shore. In contradistinction to the traditional themes of acculturation, assimilation, and loss of ethnic identity, it is important to note that the ethnic communities of the Lower North Shore have experienced a process of integration. The present-day population of the Lower North Shore has lost the original ethpo-political affiliations of the six ethnic groups who settled the area; they are no longer purely French, Irish or English. However, through their retention of the French or English language and the Catholic or Anglican religion, they have not only maintained those ethnic traits they have valued most, but also their own distinct identities which can be defined in terms of their origins and ancestry, either paternal or maternal, or bilateral.

The emergence, consolidation, and persistence of the three present ethnic communities, and their spatial expression in the settlement pattern of the eastern Lower North Shore, point to the importance of Barth's (1969) concept of the social boundary and its role in defining and maintaining ethnic groups. In this respect, language and religion must be viewed as the most significant parameters defining these social boundaries throughout the history of permanent settlement on the Lower North Shore, while marriage has been the principal mechanism regulating intergroup contact and relations as well as maintaining ethnic group identity. Marriage has regulated the flow of personnel from one group to another, and has thus been the primary means by which integration has been achieved. It is important to note, however, that other criteria, such as ecological and

economic phenomena and characteristics, may be used by other ethnic groups to define themselves, and that differing mechanisms, such as economic transactions and the exchange of goods, may also be utilized as a regulator of these social ethnic boundaries. Indeed, the parameters that set an ethnic boundary vary from group to group and, significantly, are never static. For example, it was shown in the present study that both language and religion have alternately played differing roles in the boundary-maintenance system on the Lower North Shore. The patterns of marriage in the first century of permanent settlement reflected the then increasingly favourable relationship between Francophone and Anglophone Catholics and the negative relationship between Catholics and Anglicans. In other words, the social boundaries were both flexible and inflexible in nature, depending on whether language or religion, respectively, was used as the defining criterion. The more recent harmony between Anglophone Catholics and Anglicans and the growing conflictive relation between Francophones and Anglophones similarly support Barth's thesis that ethnic groups are in constant evolution, and that ethnic social boundaries are highly adaptive by their very nature.

On the Lower North Shore, the social boundaries between the three communities were also an important pre-condition for the development of spatial boundaries. Although the economic conditions prevailing on the southern Labrador coast throughout the 19th century were shown to have affected the patterns of in-migration and permanent settlement in that area, the residential segregation of the original settlers into five fairly homogeneous settlements is largely attributable to the linguistic and religious preferences and prejudices that the six immigrant groups brought with them to the area. Similarly, the reorganization and subsequent

stabilization of these spatial-residential boundaries, which eventually led to an even greater degree of segregation between the three ethnic communities, resulted mostly from marriage and secondary, intra-Shore migrations during the 1890-1920 period. However, while the spatial boundaries on the Lower North Shore evolved from pre-established social conditions, the former have been paramount in the retention of ethnic diversity throughout permanent settlement by reinforcing and altering the social boundaries. For example, the aggregation of Anglophone Anglicans in the winter settlement of St. Paul's River created a new awareness within that community and a reinforcement of their ethnic identity which affected the later patterns of marriage and conversion. Similarly, the concentration of the Francophone population in Lourdes initiated a series of events, including the establishment of a French school, which were ultimately paramount in the survival of the French language in that settlement. It is the spatial segregation of the French-speaking population in that one settlement and the latter's rapid demographic and institutional growth in the past fifty years that have transformed the once amicable relationship between the North Shore Francophones and Anglophones into a progressively conflictive situation. Indeed, without the existence of this spatial boundary, it is likely that few of the social events in the past 15 years would have been as influential in changing the linguistic (social) boundary on the Lower Shore. Although Barth has proposed that the social boundary be seen as the critical focus of investigation in the field of ethnicity, it is also essential to assess the role of its spatial or territorial counterpart.

The social and spatial boundaries are closely linked in a reversible, two-way process. Social boundaries usually precede and provide a basis

for spatial boundaries, as in the case of the Lower North Shore, but they may sometimes follow from the latter, as in the case of Québec, where the emergence of a Québécois identity and nationalism has come long after the establishment of provincial borders. In either case, however, spatial boundaries ultimately provide a tangible expression of social boundaries. Joy (1972) has suggested that the segregation of French- and English-speaking Canadians within Québec and in the remaining nine provinces, respectively, has served only to highlight their linguistic, socio-economic, and political differences. On a smaller scale, the situation on the Lower North Shore is identical: just as the Québécois have become identified with their province, the Francophones in the study area have become identified with Lourdes. Both territories reflect a certain language and a certain way of life; both relate to sets of social boundaries. More significantly, both the Francophones of Lourdes and the Québécois in general have been greatly helped in their retention of French by their residential segregation, which has reduced the threat of anglicization by the majorities that surround them.

Spatial boundaries are also subject to changes and fluctuation but, like their social counterparts, the shifting nature of a spatial boundary does not necessarily signal its disappearance or that of the ethnic community it serves to identify. For instance, continuing residential segregation on the Lower North Shore, despite modification in the 'actual' pattern of settlement (e.g. the expanding territory of the Anglophone Catholics early in this century), reflects the determination of each ethnic community to retain its own distinct identity, and hence its traditional language and religion. The changing character of the spatial boundaries of these groups is indicative of their evolution and of the geography of

inter-ethnic relations on the Lower Shore. Ethnic group solidarity has been retained in a large part through the spatial segregation of its members.

It is important to note that there may be some instances where the spatial boundaries between ethnic groups are not as explicit as those between Lourdes and the surrounding Anglophone settlements. Indeed, the spatial boundary between the Anglophone Catholics and Anglicans in the St. Paul's River Archipelago, and especially in the summer post of Salmon Bay, was shown to be less evident. However, while the nature of this boundary led to some intermarriage and the later conversion of some Anglicans, social segregation was generally more acute at the community level. Similarly, while better economic and infrastructural conditions in an urban setting might be more conducive to residential desegregation, close examination of such a situation might well reveal that social boundaries are retained by such factors as transportation systems, thereby reducing the need for readily identifiable spatial boundaries. The latter, therefore, are not necessarily essential in ethnic boundary maintenance, but where spatial boundaries have evolved, they are usually a vital aspect in the retention of ethnic groups and identities. It is equally important to note that total residential segregation, when it exists, does not signify total social segregation, lack of interaction, or complete isolation. The intermarriage of Catholics and Anglicans throughout the settlement history of the Lower North Shore and the continuing high rate of linguistically mixed marriages demonstrate that neither the spatial nor the social boundaries on the Shore have ever prevented contact and interaction between the individual members of the

three ethnic communities.

In summary, the abundant literature on ethnicity and ethnic groups is seen as falling into two major categories. Traditional works have tended to emphasize such processes as acculturation, assimilation, and loss of ethnic identity, whereas the more recent literature has been concerned largely with the theme of ethnic group survival and persistence. Moreover, many of the modern anthropologists, Barth in particular, have focused primarily on those social forces that contribute to the persistence of ethnicity, while seriously ignoring or de-emphasizing the spatial aspects that also reinforce ethnic group survival. Conversely, the geographical literature has dealt mostly with ethnic spatial boundaries, residential segregation, and isolation, without adequate examination of the social forces that provide the basis for the evolution of these spatial boundaries and that justify the continued existence of ethnic residential segregation.

The settlement history and social geography of the eastern Lower North Shore from the period of initial permanent in-migration to the 1970s demonstrates that the ethnic communities established there have been characterized most critically by their persistence and survival for over a century and a half, and not by acculturation and assimilation. This study has further emphasized the necessity of examining conjointly the social and spatial forces that operate in the retention of any ethnic group identity and which are essential ingredients in any research on inter-ethnic group relations.

Future work on ethnicity is needed to close the gap between geography and the other social sciences, especially anthropology and sociology, and to improve geographical understanding of cultural processes and of ethnic

boundaries. Given the importance and complexity of establishing precisely that which constitutes an ethnic group and an ethnic identity, such research is best prosecuted at the micro-level. The long history of fluctuating amicable and inimical relations between the three groups of the Lower North Shore illustrates the need to refocus ethnic studies in an objective perspective which will not be unduly or solely concerned with negative, problematic, or dysfunctional aspects of ethnicity. In a purely Canadian context, there is perhaps also a need to re-examine past French-English relations elsewhere in Canada, including other areas in Québec, in order to determine whether, at the folk rather than at the official, political level, these two ethnic groups were always as hostile to one another as tradition maintains. In a wider context, the foregoing also highlights the need for a general reappraisal of the concept of ethnicity by social scientists, including geographers.

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