

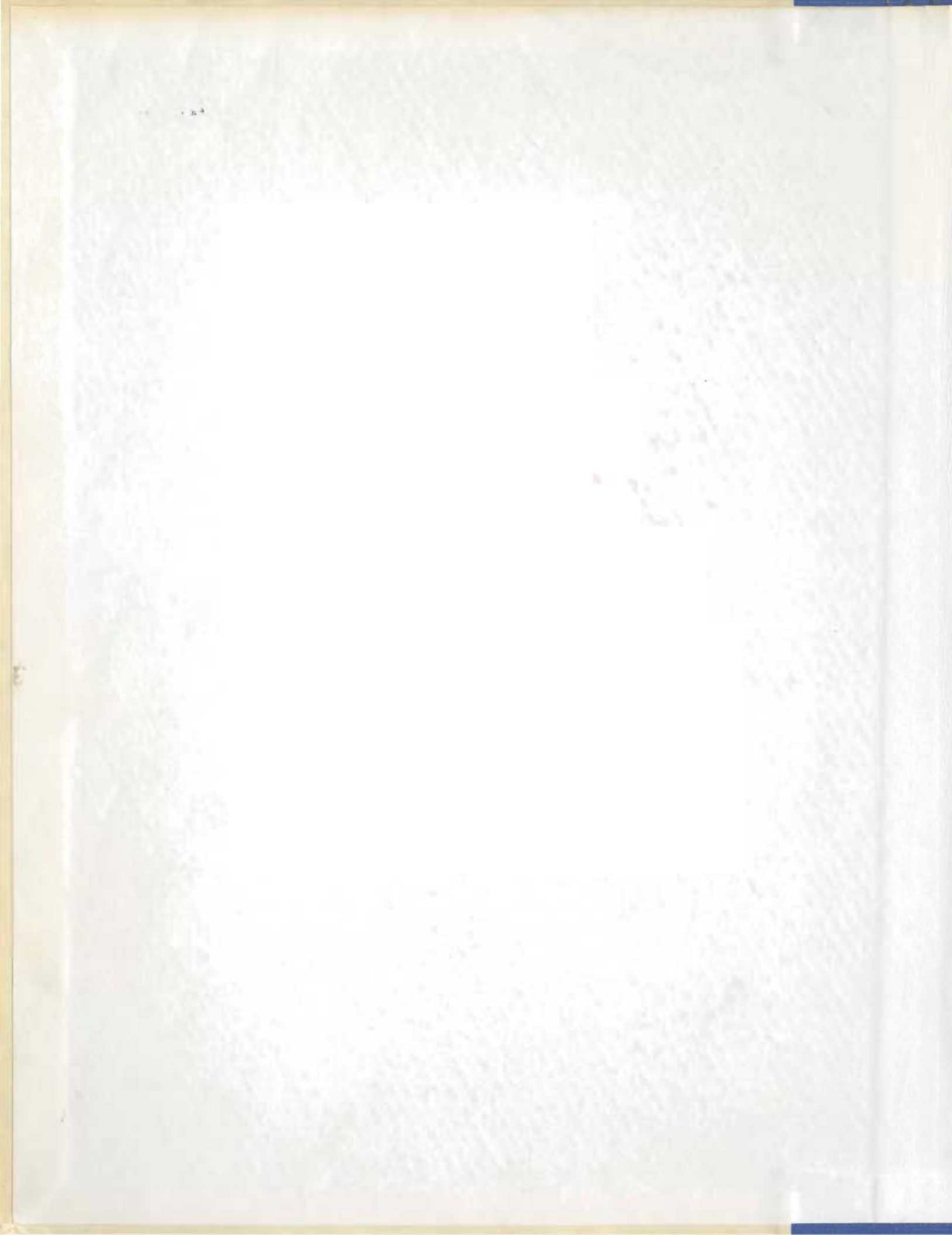
A SOCIAL ANALYSIS OF THE MEMBERS OF THE  
NEWFOUNDLAND HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY, EXECUTIVE COUNCIL,  
AND LEGISLATIVE COUNCIL FOR THE PERIOD, 1855 - 1914

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KENNETH J. KERR



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NEWFOUNDLAND HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY,  
EXECUTIVE COUNCIL, AND LEGISLATIVE COUNCIL  
FOR THE PERIOD, 1855-1914

by



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## ABSTRACT

Chapter I consists of an introduction to the thesis, its purpose, and intent. Chapter II is an aggregate analysis of the members of the three chambers of government during the period 1855-1914. Chapter III is an analysis of geographic factors contributing to recruitment into Newfoundland politics. Chapter IV analyzes religion and its importance in Island politics. Chapter V studies occupation and class and Chapter VI is concerned with kinship and marriage. Chapter VII summarizes the findings of the previous chapters.

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## CHAPTER I

### INTRODUCTION

There were three Chambers of government in Newfoundland during the period 1855-1914.<sup>1</sup> This study concerns itself with the men who sat in those Chambers during that sixty year period. It might be helpful, however, briefly to describe the three Chambers and how they functioned.

There was, first, a Legislative Council, which was an appointive body where members mainly of the commercial and professional communities sat by appointment of the governor at the pleasure of the Queen. The Chamber served the function of an upper house, and was generally recognized as the elite house of the three chambers. Membership carried with it the title 'honourable' (the same used for Judges), and in practice, retirement from Council was left to the discretion of the member himself. Membership at any one time consisted "of not less than ten nor more than fifteen," members and "five members shall be a quorum."<sup>2</sup> In practice, however, the Chamber was a far less politically insular body than one might assume. While the governor

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<sup>1</sup>To be accurate the Executive Council was not a chamber in the sense of a body in which public debate was carried on. But the absence of an alternative term to cover the three bodies has led me to use the term 'chamber' throughout the thesis.

<sup>2</sup>Royal Gazette, June 15, 1855.

officially appointed members where the occasion arose, he did so from a list prepared by the government in power at the time. Active political members of the House or Executive often moved into the Legislative Council carrying with them strong partisan views. It was possible to retire from the Chamber (as with the case of Robert Thorburn), assume an active political career, and upon defeat, be reinstated in the Legislative Council. It was also possible to leave the Legislative Council and accept a portfolio in government, returning to Council with the defeat of that government. Of the seventy members of the Legislative Council who held seats during the 1855-1914 period, nearly fifty percent had, at one time or another, sat in one or both of the other Chambers of government. The Legislative Council could not initiate although it could amend money bills, and did initiate ordinary legislation.

The House of Assembly, or lower House, was an elective body. Two years of negotiations and political accommodation had finally resulted in establishing a reapportioned thirty-seat House at the beginning of responsible government in 1855.<sup>3</sup> With the advent of

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<sup>3</sup>The old representative government House had consisted of fifteen elected members. The new thirty-seat House was increased to thirty-one in 1873 when an additional seat was given to the District of Twillingate and Fogo (then combined). In 1882, the two treaty shore districts, with one member each, were added. In 1885, three districts received additional seats bringing the House total to thirty-six, where it remained throughout the period.

responsible government, the emphasis of political power had shifted from the Legislative Council to the floor of the House. From 1855 on, the majority party in the House would sit in direct support of the government (Executive Council), giving the latter parliamentary validation for its actions. Eighteen general elections took place during the period under study. This study, therefore, includes the 253 House of Assembly members who were elected as a result of those eighteen general elections.

The Executive Council, the third Chamber of government, was established by letters of patent in 1855, with instructions to the governor "to adopt the same practice in choosing members of the ... Executive Council as in Canada."<sup>4</sup> While there was no provision in any local Act which stipulated that members of the Executive should hold seats in either the House or the Legislative Council, this was tacitly understood by majority and opposition alike, and when Premier Phillip F. Little drew all his Executive Councillors from his House majority party in 1855, he established a precedent which was usually followed by the succeeding premiers in the nineteenth century.<sup>5</sup>

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<sup>4</sup> A.B. Keith: Responsible Government in the Dominions, Stevens and Sons, London, 1909, p. 19.

<sup>5</sup> In 1908, Robert Bond's Attorney General, James M. Kent, held the Portfolio for several months while not a member of either House. Michael P. Gibbs was appointed by E.P. Morris to his Executive in 1909 prior to the time a place was found for Gibbs on the Legislative Council.



The Executive Council portfolios of government had formerly been the property of Crown civil servants who, in turn, had normally sat with the Legislative Council during the 1832-1855 period of representative government. Nothing demonstrates more clearly the dramatic shift in power that took place when the Island moved to responsible government in 1855. Not only did the old salaried administrative positions of government become the lucrative prize of the majority party, but in addition, by filling those positions with membership drawn from within its own ranks in the House, the majority party could strategically exclude Legislative representation in government.<sup>6</sup>

The Executive Council was made up of at least five and no more than seven members. In order to give the Executive Council a maximum of strategic flexibility, the practice of introducing Ministers without portfolio was used from the 1870's. While not unique to Newfoundland,<sup>7</sup> there were times when there were as many as four ministers

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<sup>6</sup>Old animosities between House and Legislative, resulting from 1832-1855 period, were hard to break down and they often flared long after 1855, particularly in times of political crisis. It gradually became the practice, however, to include at least one (sometimes two) sympathetic Legislative Councillors in any government. This was not done simply out of any altruistic spirit, but rather for sound practical political motives. An elected government that hoped to survive needed all the support it could muster.

<sup>7</sup>The practice was also common in New South Wales, Victoria, Western Australia, and Queensland. From A.B. Keith: Responsible Government, pp. 76-77.

without portfolio in one government. By extending its own sphere of patronage in this manner, a government could maximize its chances of survival. In order to accommodate the ministers without portfolio into a government limited in size, the somewhat dubious practice of moving certain governmental positions 'outside of government' was introduced by the Carter government in the 1870's and used by all subsequent premiers during the period. Usually, it was the two politically sensitive positions of Chairman of the Board of Works and Surveyor General<sup>8</sup> that became appointive and 'non-responsible', in that the appointees owed their political allegiance directly to the premier and might not be elected representatives of the people. The vacancies created could, in turn, be filled by ministers without portfolio; often politically important members of the House who otherwise offered little else to the party in the way of talent.

The Executive Council under responsible government was the active policy-making Chamber. Membership into the Executive was highly selective, and while its membership

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<sup>8</sup>Occasionally other positions were: Financial Secretary, Minister of Agriculture and Mines (another highly sensitive position) and equally, Minister of Marine and Fisheries, the latter being kept 'outside of government' by both Robert Bond and E.P. Morris.

was drawn chiefly from the existing membership in the House of Assembly, the Chamber was generally recognised as an elite body in its own right, and it often found itself in public political confrontation with members of the Legislative Council.

Recent Newfoundland historiography dealing with the nineteenth century has concerned itself with issue-oriented surveys. G.E. Gunn's The Political History of Newfoundland, 1832-64<sup>9</sup> covers the transition from representative to responsible government in 1855. J.K. Hiller's recent thesis, A History of Newfoundland, 1874-1901,<sup>10</sup> covers much of the remainder of the nineteenth century, including not only the various administrations of the time, but in addition, such related political problems as the railroad financing, the Treaty Shore Problem, the Bait Acts, and the Bank Crisis. Perhaps S.J.R. Noel's Politics in Newfoundland<sup>11</sup> contains the most sweeping nineteenth century political survey thus

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<sup>9</sup>Toronto, University of Toronto Press, 1966.

<sup>10</sup>Ph.D., Cambridge, 1971.

<sup>11</sup>Toronto, University of Toronto, Press, 1970.

far. The book attempts to establish a basis of continuity between the nineteenth and twentieth centuries concentrating in more detail on the latter as the Island moved toward Confederation in 1949. St. John Chadwick's Newfoundland: Island into Province<sup>12</sup> covers the same period from more a Colonial Office point of view. Numerous articles have been written since Newfoundland has entered Confederation, and represent various viewpoints on nineteenth century political problems, including earlier attempts at confederation. There are certain important nineteenth century political personalities who find their way into most of these studies. Almost all of these studies are, quite naturally, concerned with what these personalities did in certain times of crisis; what individuals or groups confronted them and how they sought to resolve the pressing political problems that beset the Island during most of the latter half of the nineteenth century.

What is missing, however, is any attempt at a broad socially-oriented study of the nineteenth century political system as a whole. This thesis sets out to fill that void. It is by no means an exhaustive study of the membership of the three chambers during a sixty year period, but does introduce some 392 members of those chambers and

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<sup>12</sup>Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1967.

arranges them into aggregate groups reflecting a variety of readily distinguishable social characteristics. This thesis is, then, a social analysis of the membership in the three Chambers. It places much more emphasis on who the politicians were, than what they did. It is only through a broader understanding of all of the participants; their backgrounds, occupations, religious and family connections, that their relationship to the nineteenth century political process can be brought into the proper historical perspective it merits. Substantive generalizations can be drawn from quantitative data relating to Newfoundland's past which will some day bring a new depth of understanding, not only to Newfoundland's past and its present, but hopefully to its future. While this study deals primarily with the political elite, chapters II through VI have attempted, not only to place the political elite within the general elite framework, but, at the same time, to place the elite in some general perspective with the population of the Island as a whole.

The approach to this thesis was basically a simple one. Once a list of the 392 members of the three Chambers was compiled, it was a matter of researching as much specific social information (restricted to six or seven categories) as possible, working on the hopeful assumption that once the data was collected, it could then be arranged

in meaningful aggregate groupings which would provide insights into the political society of the period. Newspapers provided the best and most convenient source to this material. There are several books that served as helpful introductory guides to identifying many members, such as Devine and O'Mara, Notable facts in the History of Newfoundland,<sup>13</sup> Harris M. Mosdell, When was that?,<sup>14</sup> and Henry Y. Mott's Newfoundland Men.<sup>15</sup> In addition there were the Who's Who for 1914 and 1927, and the Newfoundland Business and General Directories. But newspapers were the richest source for marriage and obituary data. The Royal Gazette is particularly reliable for recording data concerning former government and civil service members, at least up to the early 1890's when its format changed. The Daily News published a year-end necrology, commencing with 1913, which can serve as a valuable index for quickly locating obituaries of members who died after that time. Marriages and births are also conveniently indexed along with the necrology.

The data was collected and recorded on 5 x 8 index cards with each card relating to a specific member.

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<sup>13</sup>St. John's, Devine and O'Mara, 1900.

<sup>14</sup>St. John's, Trade Print. and Pub. Co., 1923.

<sup>15</sup>Concord, New Hampshire, 1894.

The cards, in turn, were arranged by Chambers and provided the source for all subsequent tables in this thesis. The tables, for the most part, are designed as frequency distributions, arranged by subject with the related categories percentized to facilitate comparisons. In each chapter, some contingency tables were compiled which allowed the testing of certain data sets for statistical significance. At the end of each Chapter is a conclusion; certain generalizations and observations are drawn from the material found in the tables themselves. The generalizations give rise to other hypotheses, which, in turn, often lend themselves to qualification and further statistical testing. Finally, Chapter VII, is the thesis Conclusion; a summary of the significance of the observations and conclusions found in the body of the thesis itself.



## CHAPTER II

### AN AGGREGATE DESCRIPTION OF THE MEMBERS OF THE THREE BRANCHES OF GOVERNMENT IN NEWFOUNDLAND, 1855-1914

The primary purpose of this chapter is to present frequency distributions of seven social characteristics common to the members of each of the three chambers of government in Newfoundland during the period 1855-1914. The characteristics under consideration are: age at time of entry into the chamber; denominational affiliation; place of birth; residence; highest level of education acquired; place where formal education was received; and occupation. In conjunction with the proposed aggregate analysis, six individual members will be introduced - two representing each chamber in different periods of time - and the individual social characteristics of the six will be compared to the aggregates. Finally, the various characteristics of the six individual members will be summarized as to the typicality of each member in relation to the aggregate tendency in the three chambers. Six members were chosen to represent the three chambers with attention being paid to only one characteristic - age at time of entry. Each of the selected members, while entering

the various chambers at different points in time - represented the major modal age<sup>1</sup> category at time of entrance. Since this study covers sixty years in time, 'age at the time of entry' was one of the few measurable age characteristics which could be uniformly applied to produce aggregate results. The results, however, should not be viewed as representing the average ages at any point in time of any particular chamber. The members of the Legislative Council in particular tended to sit for long periods of time, and 'age at time of entry' is no realistic indicator of the actual age characteristics of that Chamber during the period. The median age, for example, of a thirteen member legislative council in 1874 is 56.0 years. The corresponding mean for the same year is 54.4 years. By 1882, the median age of this body had reached a period high of 63.5 years with a corresponding mean of 62.8 years. While there is a gradual decline in overall age throughout the remainder of the decade, the averages climb again in the nineties, reaching 62.5 (median) and 60.3 (mean) in the twelve member council of 1893. Table 2:1 then, despite its obvious limitations in revealing the dynamics of age in the political process - nonetheless, sheds light on the point in their careers that members of the Newfoundland business and professional

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<sup>1</sup>See Table 2:1, below.

TABLE 2:1

## AGE AT FIRST ENTRY INTO THE THREE CHAMBERS

	<u>Legislative</u>	<u>Executive</u>	<u>House</u>
Modal Category	46 - 50	46 - 50	36 - 40
Median Age	48.2	48.2	38.4
Mean	48.7	47.2	41.6
Standard Deviation	13.6	11.0	11.4
Coefficient of Variation	28.2%	22.8%	29.7%

community normally entered politics.

The age of members of the legislative and executive councils, at least at the time of appointment, was strikingly similar, despite the difference in function and tenure of the two bodies. The membership of the House, as might be expected, indicates that members were first elected at generally a younger age. The variance was, however, very large. Some men were in their seventies when first appointed or elected. In the legislative council, for instance, there were James Baird, appointed at age 70 (1860); Michael Power, 76 (1914); A.F. Goodridge, 74 (1914); and Patrick Keough, 74 (1860). In the executive there were John Rorke of Carbonear, age 72; Edward White of Greenspond, 71; C.F. Bennett, 77; and Robert Carter, 69. In the House there were men elected for the first time who were in their seventies - one was eighty - men like Clement Benning, 70; Peter Brennan, 80; John T. Oakley, 73; and Captain Nathan Norman, age 70. In contrast, the youngest members of the legislative council were Robert J. Pinsent, Jr., age 25; Edgar R. Bowring, 28; A.W. Harvey, 31; and W.J.S. Donnelly, 30. Young executive council members included E.P. Morris, 31; W.H. Horwood, 32; R.H. O'Dwyer, 32; and R. Bond, 33. Of the known ages of the members of the House, the youngest were M.H. Carty, 22; Robert Bond, 25; S.B. Carter, 25; and many

others.<sup>2</sup> Establishing averages is important in dealing with groups of individuals in history for, if nothing else, averages help to delineate the exceptions. For example, of the group of young politicians mentioned above representing exceptions to the general age patterns, all had, with the possible exception of one or two, unique or exceptional careers in Newfoundland politics during the period.<sup>3</sup>

The six members selected for individual case studies - two from each chamber - were more 'average' with respect to age than these young notables. John Casey<sup>4</sup> first entered the House of Assembly as a candidate for St. John's West in 1859, at the age of thirty-six. Henry W. LeMessurier<sup>5</sup> entered the House at the age of thirty-seven as a member for Burin. Casey and LeMessurier were thus representative of the thirty-six members of the House of Assembly who, during the period, first entered from the 36

<sup>2</sup>Of 220 members whose ages are known, 34 first entered the House in their twenties.

<sup>3</sup>One exception, Stanley B. Carter, son of Chief Justice F.B.T. Carter, and MHA from Twillingate 1878-82, died prematurely in 1888 at the age of 35. Another, M.H. Carty, died at age 40.

<sup>4</sup>John Casey, MHA, St. John's West, 1859; 1861; 1865-69. Poor Commissioner, 1874 until death in May 1893.

<sup>5</sup>Henry W. LeMessurier, MHA Burin, 1885-89. Editor of Evening Herald, 1889-92. H.M. Customs Department, 1894, Assistant Collector 1897; Deputy Minister of Customs, 1898. Superintended reorganization of Customs Department.

to 40 year age group. John Bemister<sup>6</sup> and Patrick J. Scott<sup>7</sup> represent typical members of the executive council. Bemister was forty-seven when first appointed to Hoyles' executive and Scott served on Greene's short-lived executive at the age of forty-six. Again, both members represent the seventeen members of the executive council during the period who fitted the 46-50 modal age category. Finally, of the two legislative council members selected, neither had ever been elected to the House. Both were merchants representing two different periods in Newfoundland history. The first, Richard O'Dwyer,<sup>8</sup> was appointed to the legislative council in 1861 by the Hugh W. Hoyles government. He was fifty at the time. The other, Robert K. Bishop,<sup>9</sup> was appointed in 1899 by James S. Winter at the age of forty-six. O'Dwyer and Bishop also fitted the modal age category of the legislative council. All six members, then, represent the most common 'age at time of entry' characteristics of each

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<sup>6</sup>John Bemister; MHA, Bay-de-Verde; 1855; 1859; 1861; 1865; 1869-70. Receiver General in Hoyles Executive, 1861-64; Minister without portfolio, Carter Executive, 1865-69; appointed Sheriff of the Northern District 1870-91 (at Harbor Grace).

<sup>7</sup>Patrick J. Scott; MHA, St. John's West, 1873; 1874; 1878; 1882; 1885-89; again in 1894-98. Receiver General in Greene Executive, 1894-95, and the makeshift Whiteway executive of 1895-97.

<sup>8</sup>Richard O'Dwyer, general merchant, appointed to Legislative Council in 1861. Retired in 1867 because of ill health. Died in Liverpool in 1875.

<sup>9</sup>Robert K. Bishop, one-time partner of Moses Monroe, was appointed MLC by Winter. Later, became a People's Party supporter and served on Morris' executive, 1909 through 1914.

of the three chambers as a whole.

Denominationalism has long been regarded in Newfoundland historiography as a critical variable. While it undoubtedly lies at the root of social and cultural organization in the various bay and regional communities, it offers very little insight into what were the real issues at stake in any nineteenth century election. Denominational representation was, to be sure, a characteristic of political representation in Newfoundland. In addition, denominational patterns seem to harden toward the close of the nineteenth century, particularly after 1885.<sup>10</sup> This fact, however, does not necessarily mean that political policy making in the period was foremost, denominationally grounded. While denominationalism might have been an ever present obstacle to overcome in the formulation of any uniform Island political policy, it was never in itself, the starting point around which such policies were created. The cry of 'Sectarianism' in any nineteenth century Newfoundland election contained some elements of truth and fiction. At times, it would represent little more than a last ditch rhetorical outburst from a partisan news editor

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<sup>10</sup>See Chapter IV of this study which deals with denominationalism in more detail.



who anticipated defeat.<sup>11</sup> But in a progress-oriented society with high expectations - an atmosphere prevalent in late nineteenth century Newfoundland - religion may be used as a scapegoat for the failure of those expectations to be realized. The myth of progress can be sustained by pointing to 'retrogressive' denominationalism, and the future remains bright and secularly unimpaired. The St. John's newspapers of the period are responsible for misleading much historical research in this area, for they have sometimes been quoted too liberally and literally. Moreover, the newspapers were often indifferent to outport opinion and they seldom editorialized on outport political developments except through a narrow, partisan urban self-interest. The fact that they were for the most part indifferent to outport opinion does not mean that strong outport political opinion did not exist. In addition, too much stress is laid in Newfoundland historiography to what local Archbishops or high Anglican clergy stated publicly - the majority of whom were centered in St. John's - for they no more reflected the Island vote of the common man than do the national

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<sup>11</sup>This does not mean that all outlying district candidates were greeted with the same unanimity by their local constituencies. According to accounts in the press, most outport districts had their favorites in any given election and were sometimes willing to eject physically the opposing candidate from the community. Again, this forcible ejection became more prevalent in the latter period of the nineteenth century as many of the pressing political issues came to a head.

union leaders of today, reflect the labour vote as a whole.

Table 2:2 examines Catholic-Protestant representation in the three Chambers. It shows that the three Chambers were generally similar in their Catholic and Protestant representation over the period under study. At the start of the responsible government period, however, Catholic-Protestant representation had reflected a close approximation to a 1:1 ratio in the House. In the initial years, little distinction was made between Methodism and Anglicanism, and much of the responsible government apportionment issue had centred around the formula of Catholic and Protestant seats. The 1845 census became the statistical source for these arguments. There had been little party consciousness on the Island other than the various responsible government factions which were not only inter-denominational in character, but reflected outport as well as St. John's opinion. By the 1870's, however, the various denominations tended to enter into more open political competition with each other, and denominationalism took on new implications, particularly over the sensitive issue of reapportionment in 1882 and 1885.

Complicating all political issues was the rise of the Methodists<sup>12</sup> as a significant political force in the late 1870's and 1880's. There had been little open antagonism

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<sup>12</sup>The rise of the Methodists is covered in more detail in Chapter IV of this study.

TABLE 2:2\*

CATHOLIC-PROTESTANT REPRESENTATION IN  
THE THREE CHAMBERS, 1855-1914  
(Percent)

	<u>Protestant</u>	<u>Catholic</u>	<u>Total</u>	<u>M.D.</u>
Legislative Council	68.1 (47)	31.8 (22)	(69)	(1.)
Executive Council	63.2 (43)	36.8 (25)	(68)	(1)
House of Assembly	63.7 (151)	36.2 (86)	(237)	(16)

\*In all tables, 'M.D.' means missing data.

between Methodists and Anglicans at the time of responsible government. After the first confederation election, however, the urban Methodist community, in the 1870's - rapidly rising in affluence - was in a position to make itself felt, politically, and loomed as a potentially strong force in Newfoundland politics. The urban Methodist elite stood as the potential leaders of a rapidly growing and expanding rural Methodist population in the northeastern districts of the Island. The circumstances surrounding their sudden interest in Island politics, in part, stemmed from an awareness of their political isolation resulting from the then firmly entrenched Anglican-Catholic elite coalition which had virtually eliminated confederation as an issue in 1869. Regardless of how the Methodists might have viewed confederation, it was obvious that any long lasting Anglican-Catholic coalition left them politically isolated. As a result, in 1874, a small group of Methodist elite were able to manipulate effectively what can best be described as a coup. They helped bring down the C.F. Bennett government, while at the same time supporting and bolstering Frederick B.T. Carter, a former Anglican premier, into a renewed position of political power on the Island - a power position which was firmly dependent on

Methodist support.<sup>13</sup> The impact of the growth of Methodism in Newfoundland in the nineteenth century has not received its proper claim in Newfoundland historiography.

Table 2:3 breaks down denominational representation in the three chambers into four denominational categories. The Presbyterians were considerably over-represented in the three chambers in relation to their actual numbers on the Island. This was due to the Nova Scotia influence, and, to some extent, probably mainland Canada trade influence, which was strong in certain periods, and in addition the Baine Johnston 'Scottish clan'. The latter extended even beyond the Grieves and Thorburns, relatives who also left their impact on Newfoundland politics.

The chi square test was used to test the statistical significance of the hypothesis, "that religious denominations were more or less evenly distributed throughout the three chambers of government". The findings indicate that the

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<sup>13</sup>The 1874 election was illustrative of a situation which continued to plague Newfoundland politics throughout the nineteenth and into the twentieth centuries. A tri-partite, denominationally based political system that found it next to impossible to adjust to a two party - nineteenth century British model - system which found its (the British) stability in the fact that it was essentially a two denominational system - Anglican vs. dissenter with the Catholics an insignificant though sometimes troublesome minority. Newfoundland was not afforded that luxury which took on a viable dichotomous character with time. See Chapter IV, Religion.

TABLE 2:3

RELIGIOUS REPRESENTATION: THREE CHAMBERS  
(Percent)

	<u>Legislative Council</u>	<u>Executive Council</u>	<u>House</u>
Anglican	36.2 (25)	30.8 (21)	33.8 (80)
Catholic	31.8 (22)	36.8 (25)	36.4 (86)
Methodist	17.3 (12)	23.5 (16)	22.4 (53)
Other*	14.4 (10)	8.8 (6)	7.2 (17)
	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>
	(69)	(68)	(236)
	M.D. (1)	(1)	(17)

\*The category 'Other' is predominately Presbyterian - either from the coastal areas of Northwest Scotland or Nova Scotia - as well as several Congregationalists, including the House's only United States-born member, a Bostonian.

hypothesis should be retained.<sup>14</sup> A visual inspection of the cells indicates that Catholic and Anglican representation is closely similar in all three chambers. Methodist representation, while strong, was consistently lower than that of the other two major denominations. There is the probability, however, that the Methodist community was somewhat under-represented at times and the Presbyterian sector, in relation to their numbers, was certainly over-represented, particularly in the 1880's and 1890's. Anglican representation was strongest in the Legislative Council (36.2%), and Catholic representation was strongest in the Executive Council (36.8%), the latter being the active policy making Chamber. Methodist Executive representation reflects their actual House apportionment.

The six individual members selected for special discussion, however, do not reflect the balance of denominational apportionment. Three are Catholic, two Methodist, and only one is Anglican. Of the two who represent the House, Henry LeMessurier falls in with a group of eighty known Anglicans (33.8%) who collectively represented that denomination in the House over the sixty

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<sup>14</sup>The chi square test was used on the 3 x 4 table (Table 2:3). It was found that  $\chi^2$ , with 6 d.f., was not significant at the 95% level or above;  $\chi^2 = 2.361$ . The hypothesis, therefore, was retained.



year period of study. John Casey, a Catholic, was one of eighty-six (36.4%), the largest aggregate denominational group in the House during the same period. John Bemister was an early Methodist member of the Executive Council, one of a group of sixteen (23.5%) known to have appeared between 1855 and 1914. Patrick J. Scott, a Catholic member, was one of twenty-five (36.8%), again the largest aggregate religious group to appear in the executive. Richard O'Dwyer, an early member of the Legislative Council (1861), was one of twenty-two (31.8%) Catholic members to that body,<sup>15</sup> while Robert Bishop was one of twelve Methodists (17.3%). Neither O'Dwyer nor Bishop was representative of the largest denominational category to that body -- the Anglicans.

In nineteenth century Newfoundland, a person's religious affiliation was often traceable to his place of birth. This applied to those born locally as well as in the United Kingdom. The concepts of religion and place of birth tended to reinforce each other in many subtle ways, which makes any attempt to study attitudes, values, and beliefs on individuals during the period an extremely difficult undertaking. There was no simple 'St. John's view' versus 'outport view', which is sometimes implied in Newfoundland

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<sup>15</sup>In contrast, prior to responsible government in 1855, there was only one Catholic member who sat in the Legislative: Lawrence O'Brien, a St. John's merchant.

historiography. A Placentia born Catholic and a Harbor Main Catholic often could have, politically, little in common. The same is true of a Carbonear born Methodist and a Twillingate Methodist. Even in St. John's West, among the Catholic community, there is newspaper evidence to suggest that the Wexford-born St. John's men did not always share the local political views of their Kilkenny-born neighbors. Religion, then, used as an independent variable, can at best allow one to make rather crude assumptions about the motives and actions of nineteenth century Newfoundland politicians which, if religion itself was the only factor considered, would probably lead to conclusions which would be insupportable under closer analysis.

Table 2:4 shows the distribution of members by place of birth. The chi square test was applied to the first three rows of the table - Newfoundland, United Kingdom and British North America categories - and the hypothesis that "the places of birth were randomly distributed among the three chambers" proved invalid.<sup>16</sup> The Legislative Council reflects a large percentage of members born in the United

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<sup>16</sup> A  $3 \times 3$  table - based on the first three rows of Table 2:4 - resulted in  $\chi^2 = 19.101$ . With the degrees of freedom = 4, it was found that there was a 99.999% probability that such distributions could not have occurred randomly, but that the results must have statistical significance. The hypothesis was therefore rejected.

TABLE 2:4

## PLACE OF BIRTH OF MEMBERS

(Percent)

	<u>Legislative Council</u>	<u>Executive Council</u>	<u>House</u>
Newfoundland	47.5 (24)	65.6 (42)	69.3 (147)
United Kingdom	44.2 (27)	23.4 (15)	24.5 (52)
British North America	8.5 (5)	11.0 (7)	5.6 (12)
United States	- (0)	- (0)	0.4 (1)
	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>
	(61)	(64)	(212)
M.D.	(9)	(5)	(41)

Kingdom, which is surprising when it is remembered that the period under study extends into the twentieth century. The Executive and the House show more of a proportional balance, the former, for the most part, being dependent on the latter for the selection of its members.<sup>17</sup> In addition, a surprisingly large number of British North American-born House members (12) were selected for positions on the Executive (7), or better than 58%.

Table 2:5 further divides the place of birth into regions within Newfoundland and the United Kingdom. The table reveals the relationships between those born in various parts of the United Kingdom. In the Legislative Council, for instance, there were actually more members represented who were born in Ireland than in England - somewhat the reverse of the popularly held myth that the Legislative Council was a British-dominated body. The overwhelming majority of both the Irish and English-born representatives on the Legislative Council were merchants, however, with the heaviest concentration of Irish membership

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<sup>17</sup>There were six exceptions during the period when Legislative Council members who had never been in the House were handed Executive portfolios. Robert K. Bishop - one of the individual member's understudy - was among this group.

TABLE 2:5

PLACE OF BIRTH  
(Percent)

	<u>Legislative Council</u>	<u>Executive Council</u>	<u>House</u>
St. John's	27.8 (17)	37.5 (24)	34.4 (74)
Outports	19.6 (12)	28.1 (18)	34.9 (75)
England	16.3 (10)	7.8 (5)	11.7 (25)
Ireland	18.0 (11)	4.7 (3)	9.4 (20)
Scotland	9.8 (6)	10.9 (7)	3.3 (7)
British North America	8.2 (5)	10.9 (7)	5.6 (12)
United States of America	- (0)	- (0)	0.4 (1)
	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>
	(61)	(64)	(212)
	M.D. (9)	(5)	(41)

occurring in the first half of the period (1855-1885).<sup>18</sup> United Kingdom representation was more or less evenly distributed in the three chambers.<sup>19</sup> A visual inspection of the cells suggests, however, that the forty-four percent total of aggregate membership of the Legislative Council being born in the United Kingdom, might have significance on closer analysis.<sup>20</sup> More than likely, such a large group who, owing to place of birth, upbringing, and possibly education, probably tended to exhibit certain characteristics, attitudes, and views, and might lend that Chamber a distinctive character. Highly individualistic, this colonial commercial elite could rarely agree on what were constructive programmes of governmental action. One of the few things on which they showed some signs of common concern was in the area of possible creeping plebeianism which began to infest the political machinery during the latter half of the nineteenth century. This probably was a

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<sup>18</sup>The decline of the Irish merchant class in St. John's, it might be noted, during the latter half of the nineteenth century is another area of study neglected in Newfoundland historiography and one which deserves serious attention.

<sup>19</sup>(chi square)  $\chi^2 = 8.229$ . Using the 3 x 3 table (Table 2:5) composed of the three United Kingdom rows only, and with a 4 d.f., the hypothesis (above) was found to be significant only at the 90% level, but not higher. The hypothesis "the U.K. distribution was evenly distributed in the three chambers", was retained.

<sup>20</sup>As compared with 26.6% for the Executive Council, and 24.5% in the House for the United Kingdom groups.

common concern of most United Kingdom born colonial elite everywhere during the period. They stood as elites among a larger group of colonial elites who were part of an inter-colonial trade system which, while not perfect, was technologically unique and was the envy of most other countries in the Western World. Each colony within the system often found itself beset with its own internal problems. In Newfoundland, a struggle had, for some time, centred around the issue of which colonial elite faction was going to control the government (and just as importantly, the railway). Even the United Kingdom born members, who had made up a fair portion of the political elite, were divided on the issue. Generally, those who had come to the Island prior to responsible government, including those who had been instrumental in blocking confederation in 1869, tended to be committed to the old fishing economy and felt, generally, that the fishing interests were in the best position to manage the Island's affairs. Some of those who had come from the United Kingdom before and after responsible government, and who were generally not heavily committed to the fishery trade, tended to side with the spokesmen who initiated the new railway economy. For the United Kingdom born members, time of arrival in Newfoundland (though it be only ten or fifteen years apart) probably played a part in how United Kingdom born viewed this struggle.

Of the six individual members under study, Robert K. Bishop, a Burin-born St. John's resident merchant sided actively with the new economy forces. Bishop, like many of the younger Island-born fish merchants, tended to side with the new economy progressives. He had been a former supporter of the James S. Winter government (1897-1900) and later became supporter of Edward P. Morris and the People's Party. Richard O'Dwyer, the other member of the Legislative Council, however, had long since retired to Liverpool, and died in 1875. Normally, one does not juxtapose political figures in historical time, but it can be suspected that O'Dwyer - like many of the older United Kingdom born members of the group - would have sided with the old economy group. O'Dwyer had been born in Waterford, Ireland, in 1811, and had conducted with his brother John, a highly successful fishery trade which included seal and herring exports. He was a member of the old St. John's Catholic elite, a group who generally looked unfavorably at the doctrine of secular rationalism, a strong popular component of the new People's Party rhetoric. The other four members under study had all been born in Newfoundland. Patrick J. Scott, a native of St. John's, had been born on Christmas Day, 1848. John Bemister had been born in Carbonear, while the two representatives of the House of Assembly, Henry W. LeMessurier and John Casey, were both born in St. John's.



Table 2:6 shows the place of residence of the members of the three chambers. The table includes the Newfoundland-born with the foreign-born, treating the patterns of the latter from their arrival on the Island. Using Richard O'Dwyer as an example; O'Dwyer, while Waterford-born, appears in the table in the Legislative Council column as one of the forty-eight St. John's residents. Bishop, on the other hand, Burin-born, appears in the table as one of nineteen St. John's residents with outport background. The table shows the strong concentration of the economically powerful and politically influential members of the Legislative Council concentrated in St. John's (95%). Only nineteen members (27%) of the total seventy had been either born or had any residential experience with outport communities during their early business careers. In the House, by contrast, nearly 50% of membership either resided in outport communities, had been born there, or had at one time in their careers residential experience with outport communities. This imbalance reflects a strong statistical significance and the test hypothesis that, "Residence patterns were equally distributed among the three chambers", can be rejected.<sup>21</sup> The disparity between

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<sup>21</sup>The chi square test, using a 3 x 3 table (Table 2:6), with d.f. = 4, yields  $\chi^2 = 30.65$ , making the findings significant at the 99.99% level.

TABLE 2:6

## PLACE OF RESIDENCE

(Percent)

	<u>Legislative Council</u>	<u>Executive Council</u>	<u>House</u>
St. John's	68.5 (48)	63.7 (44)	51.6 (126)
St. John's with Outport Background	27.1 (19)	23.3 (14)	14.3 (35)
Outport	4.2 (3)	15.9 (11)	34.0 (83)
	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>
	(70)	(69)	(244)
	M.D. (0)	(0)	(9)

the residence patterns of the Legislative Council members and those in the House is inherent in the nature of the two Chambers. The former was appointive and popular assent was not one of the prerequisites. The House, on the other hand, was directly sensitive to constituency reaction. The Legislative Council, in addition, was a generally recognized hierarchical chamber and since most of the influential members of the society resided in St. John's, it followed that urban selection would be heavily weighted.

Of the six individual members, five were St. John's residents. Only John Bemister remained an outport resident during his political career. Born and raised in Carbonear, Bemister represented nearby Bay-de-Verde during his active political career, and later, moved to nearby Harbor Grace as Sheriff of the Northern District in 1870, a post he maintained for twenty-one years. Casey, LeMessurier and Scott had all been born and raised in St. John's. Both Casey and Scott had, at different periods, run as representatives of St. John's West while LeMessurier had represented Burin as a St. John's resident in 1885.<sup>22</sup> O'Dwyer and Bishop were both St. John's residents.

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<sup>22</sup> Though born and raised in St. John's, LeMessurier's grandfather had been engaged in a whaling operation in the Burin area in about 1806.

Turning to education, Table 2:7 examines the formal education acquired by members of the three chambers. The totals include the three University-trained lawyers of the period (D.J. Greene, A.B. Morine, R.A. Squires), but does not include the forty-odd members of the legal profession who received their training as articled clerks and passed Bar examinations.<sup>23</sup> Educational patterns of the period varied widely. Members who entered any of the three chambers in the early years of responsible government for the most part, had little formal education. Members of the Legislative Council were most likely to have had at least some years of elementary education, to which might be added a clerical apprenticeship in a business house. Those born in the United Kingdom in the early nineteenth century and who came as immigrants or indentured servants to Newfoundland from southern Ireland or the south coast of Devon, probably had few educational advantages over their contemporary Newfoundland residents. In a pre-industrial world, formal education was not essential to the functional demands of society. Men like Lawrence O'Brien, Clement Benning, John Kavanagh and Thomas Byrne, all born in Ireland, stood

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<sup>23</sup> They are of course treated as professionals, however, and appear in Tables 2:12 and 2:14 which deal with occupational and professional categories.

as examples of the fact that there was little correlation between a formal education and the ability to make money. O'Brien,<sup>24</sup> for example, had come to Newfoundland as a youngster apprenticed to a cooperage firm. He became in time one of Water Street's most successful merchants (1840's-60's). O'Brien had succeeded in the rapidly expanding economic situation of the first half of the nineteenth century where, if one could obtain investment capital, it was possible to establish as an independent man of business with relative ease.<sup>25</sup> In O'Brien's time the emphasis on education was minimal. Its main function was to serve as an introduction to the Scriptures and basic Christian concepts of behavior. For additional nominal fees one could also learn simple mathematics and navigation. By the last third of the nineteenth century, however, expanded formal education was a goal set forth by the new progressive forces. The number of teachers more than doubled on the Island between 1890 and 1911. The sudden stress on the virtues of education came mostly from the forces representing the new

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<sup>24</sup>Lawrence O'Brien, MHA, St. John's, 1842; 1848-52. MLC, 1852. First president and governor's representative on the Legislative Council in 1855.

<sup>25</sup>The basis of O'Brien's wealth and overall success lay in his quick and early success in the sealing trade. The early newspapers attest to many, sometimes repeated, insolvencies, however.

economy. The need for technical and secondary education was obvious and there is evidence to suggest that some young members of the urban society were able to convert their sometimes modest educational accomplishments to political advantage. On the negative side, however, a generally accepted elite requirement of a secondary education, tended only to institutionalize, through the educational process, the already existent hierarchical social characteristics of the old elite system. Nothing helps point out more clearly, the middle class elite character of the new economy political movement. It was the children of the new progressively minded middle class elite who were in a unique position to take the most advantage of any social innovations such as education. In addition, secondary education rapidly became an expensive proposition.

Table 2:7 examines the highest level of education that members of the three Chambers obtained during the period. The chi square test was applied to Table 2:7 and it was found that the disparity in the distributions between the three Chambers is statistically insignificant.<sup>26</sup> Almost three-quarters of the House of Assembly received no

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<sup>26</sup> $\chi^2 = 5.95$ . With d.f. = 4,  $\chi^2$  is significant only at the 70% level. The test hypothesis "Levels of Education were equally distributed in the three chambers", was therefore retained.

TABLE 2:7

HIGHEST LEVEL OF EDUCATION OBTAINED  
(Percent)

	<u>Legislative Council</u>	<u>Executive Council</u>	<u>House</u>
Elementary	62.6 (42)	58.8 (40)	72.3 (165)
Secondary	23.5 (17)	33.8 (23)	19.2 (44)
University	11.9 (8)	7.4 (5)	8.3 (19)
	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>
	(67)	(68)	(228)
	M.D. (3)	(1)	(25)

more than a complete or partial elementary education - figures which are probably typical for the provincial Canadian members of government as a whole for the same period. The Executive Council shows a slightly higher percentage of those who received secondary education than the other two bodies - partly because many of them went on to article in law. For many, however, a clerical apprenticeship in a merchant firm served as a practical and more commonly acceptable form of education than formal secondary education itself, particularly in the first half of the period under study. The sons of merchants often received their clerical training at the hands of other merchants (usually friends of the family), finally returning to the family firm near the age of twenty-one. For an aspiring young clerk with limited family connections, however, practical skills were stressed. A good head for figures and a bold legible script, accompanied by character traits of sobriety and industry, were all requisites that increased a man's chances at a commercial career. These were traits which could be developed at the elementary school level, and the older generation of the earlier period saw little reason to waste time with the refinements of a secondary education.

In examining the six members under study, three received no more than elementary training; these were John Casey, Richard O'Dwyer, and John Bemister. Interestingly,



each of the three sat in one of the three chambers and all three represent typical early membership in those bodies. LeMessurier, Scott, and Bishop, all of whom appeared later in the period, had at least some form of secondary education. LeMessurier attended the local Protestant Academy (later Bishop Field College), worked briefly for Elmsley and Shaw, and was then sent to live with relatives in Chicago, Illinois, where he attended St. John's High School in that city. After a stay of approximately two years, he returned to Newfoundland. Patrick Scott, the son of William Scott, a local St. John's grocery and provision dealer, attended St. Bonaventure's College, and later studied law with Judge John Little.<sup>27</sup> Robert K. Bishop, born in Burin, received his elementary education there and later went to St. John's where he boarded at the then new Methodist Academy. He returned to Burin only briefly where, after working a short time for his father, left to start a successful business career in St. John's. The six members represent the educational trends of their respective time periods. The indication would be, then, that secondary education was beginning to play a more important role in relation to membership during the second half of the period under study than in the first. More members received secondary education

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<sup>27</sup>A close friendship developed between the two. Scott was introduced to Little's sister, Eleanor Margaret Little, of Charlottetown, P.E.I., whom he later married.

as the period progressed, a bias which the aggregate table does not reflect.

Of equal importance to how much formal education a potential member of government had in the nineteenth century, is the question of where he received it. Table 2:8 gives this breakdown. In examining the Legislative Council members whose formal education terminated with some level of elementary training, 50% had received this education in the United Kingdom (most prior to their arrival in Newfoundland). In addition, for those who attained a secondary education, again, almost half (47.0%) received it in the United Kingdom. This would suggest that a higher percentage of those educated in the United Kingdom found their way into the Legislative Council than in the other Chambers. It does not imply that the quality of the education received was necessarily superior to that received locally (since it was rural United Kingdom 'outport' education) but it does suggest a possible bias in the selection process. In the colonial scene, Anglicans may have tended to group together in two loose groupings; for instance, those born in Newfoundland and those born in England. While this would produce only a mild divisiveness, it might seriously tend to effect the hierarchical selection of leadership in the colonial process. The study of the mixed geographic patterns of education in the nineteenth century might shed valuable light on the dynamics

TABLE 2:8

EDUCATION BY LEVEL AND COUNTRY  
(Percent)

	<u>Legislative Council</u>		<u>Executive Council</u>		<u>House</u>
Elementary					
Newfoundland	45.2	(19)	67.5	(27)	66.2 (110)
United Kingdom	50.0	(21)	27.5	(11)	27.8 (46)
B.N.A.	4.7	(2)	5.0	(2)	4.8 (8)
U.S.A.	-	(0)	-	(0)	0.6 (1)
Secondary					
Newfoundland	41.7	(7)	52.2	(12)	72.7 (32)
United Kingdom	47.0	(8)	26.0	(6)	18.1 (8)
B.N.A.	11.8	(2)	21.8	(5)	4.5 (2)
U.S.A.	-	(0)	-	(0)	2.2 (1)
France	-	(0)	-	(0)	2.2 (1)
University					
Newfoundland	-	(0)	-	(0)	- (0)
United Kingdom	62.5	(5)	20.0	(1)	52.6 (10)
B.N.A.	25.0	(2)	60.0	(3)	31.5 (6)
U.S.A.	12.5	(1)	20.0	(1)	15.7 (3)
		<hr/>		<hr/>	<hr/>
		(67)		(68)	(228)
M.D.	(3)		(1)		(25)

of colonialism itself.

Significance tests were made on both the elementary and secondary education groupings in Table 2:8. In the former, the test hypothesis, "there was no significant difference in the educational distribution among the members of the three chambers", was retained.<sup>28</sup> In the latter test, using the secondary education groupings, the test hypothesis, that "there was no significance as to where one received his secondary education", could be rejected on statistical grounds.<sup>29</sup> The imbalance found in the secondary table stems principally from the disproportionate number of house members (32) who attended one of the three secondary academies in St. John's during the latter half of the period under study. St. Bonaventure's, Bishop Feild College, and the Methodist Academy, came to set the norm of the upper limits of education received by the sons of the urban and outport elites alike. Since all three of the schools were

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<sup>28</sup> $\chi^2 = 5.876$ , or it is statistically significant only at the 70% level. In actuality, however, test tables cannot qualify the interacting relationships of the three bodies to each other; it merely accepts them on equal terms. It is maintained, therefore, that the U.K. percentage in the Legislative Council, taking into consideration the nature of the Council - is highly significant. The proportions in the other two bodies are more like the Legislative Council than they appear at first glance.

<sup>29</sup> $\chi^2 = 11.310$ , and was found to be significant at the 95% level, and almost at the 98% level (11.668), which indicates a strong enough statistical probability to more than likely render the hypothesis invalid.

centred in St. John's, it was generally (though not always) only the more affluent members of the outport communities who could afford to board their sons in St. John's for long periods of time. The cost of a secondary education, a cost which was uniformly applicable to all, implying a fairness of application, had, of course, an opposite effect. The schools tended to take on an elite character by the turn of the century. And as mentioned earlier, secondary education became a more generally accepted prerequisite for admission into the House of Assembly. If education alone was the criterion for entrance into politics, it is doubtful whether three of the case studies - John Bemister, John Casey, and Richard O'Dwyer - would have gained entrance into politics.

Table 2:9 aggregates elementary education by specific locality in rather more detail. Less than one-half (45%) of the Legislative Council who received no more than an elementary education received it in Newfoundland. By contrast, both the Executive and the House of Assembly show a two-thirds majority for the same group. Of those who received their elementary education in outport communities, the Legislative Council shows a ratio of one in five, the Executive one in three, and the House a somewhat surprising two in five.

TABLE 2:9

**ELEMENTARY EDUCATION BY SPECIFIC LOCALITY**  
(Percent)

	<u>Legislative Council</u>	<u>Executive Council</u>	<u>House</u>
St. John's	23.8 (10)	35.0 (14)	27.2 (45)
Outports	21.4 (9)	32.5 (13)	39.3 (65)
England	21.4 (9)	12.5 (5)	15.1 (25)
Ireland	16.6 (7)	7.5 (3)	8.4 (14)
Scotland	11.9 (5)	7.5 (3)	4.2 (7)
B.N.A.	4.7 (2)	5.0 (2)	4.8 (8)
U.S.A.	- (0)	- (0)	0.6 (1)
	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>
	(42)	(40)	(165)

Table 2:10 provides the same breakdown for those whose highest educational attainment was at the secondary level. It should be pointed out that in the first category, 'Newfoundland', all three secondary academies were located in St. John's. In looking at the Legislative Council, England and Ireland totals equal those members who received their secondary education in Newfoundland. Better than half of the Executive Council who attained a secondary education received it in St. John's at one of the three denominational academies. Nearly three out of four members of the House also received their secondary education in St. John's.

University graduates were the exception in nineteenth century Newfoundland society. Table 2:11 examines those members who achieved a university education. Most of the university trained had established themselves in professional careers before appearing as members in the three chambers. While doctors sat in both the Legislative Council and the House during the period, none appeared in the Executive Council throughout 1855-1914. This accounts for the lack of members with English or Scottish university training in that chamber. In addition, the legal profession completely dominated the professional category in the Executive (24), with the three university trained members from British North America included in that total.

Table 2:12 sets out frequency distributions for occupational categories by membership in the three chambers.

TABLE 2:10

SECONDARY EDUCATION BY SPECIFIC LOCALITY  
(Percent)

	<u>Legislative Council</u>	<u>Executive Council</u>	<u>House</u>
Newfoundland	41.7 (7)	52.2 (12)	72.7 (32)
England	17.6 (3)	13.0 (3)	11.3 (5)
Scotland	5.8 (1)	- (0)	- (0)
Ireland	23.5 (4)	13.0 (3)	6.8 (3)
B.N.A.	11.7 (2)	21.7 (5)	4.5 (2)
France	- (0)	- (0)	2.2 (1)
U.S.A.	- (0)	- (0)	2.2 (1)
	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>
	(17)	(23)	(44)



TABLE 2:11

UNIVERSITY EDUCATION BY SPECIFIC LOCALITY  
(Percent)

	<u>Legislative Council</u>	<u>Executive Council</u>	<u>House</u>
England	37.5 (3)	- (0)	21.0 (4)
Scotland	25.0 (2)	- (0)	21.0 (4)
Ireland	- (0)	20.0 (1)	10.5 (2)
B.N.A.	25.0 (2)	60.0 (3)	31.5 (6)
U.S.A.	12.5 (1)	20.0 (1)	15.7 (3)
	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>
	(8)	(5)	(19)

TABLE 2:12

## OCCUPATION DISTRIBUTION

(Percent)

	<u>Legislative Council</u>		<u>Executive Council</u>		<u>House</u>
Commercial	65.2	(45)	39.7	(27)	41.4 (99)
Industry	2.8	(2)	2.9	(2)	2.5 (6)
Professions	21.7	(15)	46.6	(29)	29.2 (70)
Managerial	2.8	(2)	5.8	(4)	5.8 (14)
Office Clerk	-	(0)	-	(0)	1.2 (3)
Travellers	-	(0)	-	(0)	0.8 (2)
Master Mariners	4.3	(3)	5.8	(4)	5.0 (12)
Trades (Self)	2.8	(2)	1.4	(1)	4.2 (10)
Trades (Wages)	-	(0)	-	(0)	0.8 (2)
Rentiers	-	(0)	1.4	(1)	1.2 (3)
Planters	-	(0)	-	(0)	2.5 (6)
Civil Servants	-	(0)	-	(0)	3.3 (8)
Farmers	-	(0)	-	(0)	1.6 (4)
		<hr/> (69)		<hr/> (68)	<hr/> (39)
M.D.	(1)		(1)		(14)

The number and variety of occupational categories was expanded to include all of those represented in the House. The House sample size (239) as compared with the other two chambers (68 and 69), contributed to a wider occupational distribution. Occupation and Class will be treated in a separate chapter in this study.<sup>30</sup> It should be pointed out, however, that the character of the occupations represented in the thirteen categories in Table 2:12 remained static only in the broadest functional context. Sixty years of time did much to change the character and patterns of behavior of such occupations as master mariners, coopers, civil servants and clerks. The Bowring's clerk of the pre-1855 period who lived in an almost total employer-store environment, for instance, perceived and functioned in his world in a manner totally foreign to the Bowring's clerk of 1880, who had little supervision after working hours. The social signposts and guidelines changed rapidly with the times. All the members of the categories above were subject to this process of change.

None of the six individuals (with the possible exception of Patrick J. Scott), could be called, in the modern sense, a professional politician. Scott, a St. John's lawyer, was elected seven times to the House of

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<sup>30</sup>See Chapter V, Occupation and Class, below.

Assembly from St. John's West. A member of the bar since 1873 (the same year he first entered politics) he later became Receiver General in the Greene administration (1894-95) and the reconstituted Whiteway administration of 1895-97. While this is conjecture, had he lived,<sup>31</sup> Scott would have brought a different dimension to St. John's urban politics in the early twentieth century. He was the sometimes political adversary of E.P. Morris, another St. John's West politician, and he would have presented Premier Robert Bond, newly elected in 1900, with some interesting options or problems as the case may be. As it was, Morris, on Scott's death, emerged as the unchallenged leader of the West End.<sup>32</sup>

The two merchants, Bishop and O'Dwyer, both members of the Legislative Council during the period under study, represented two radically different periods in time. Neither man had ever served in the House. Bishop, however, became a member of the Morris Executive in 1909 and was

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<sup>31</sup> Scott died of a heart attack in St. John's on October 22, 1899, at the age of 51.

<sup>32</sup> Again conjecture; the problem might have been too much for Bond to juggle. One easy solution would have been to move Scott into a Judgeship, a tactic used with varying degrees of success before by Newfoundland politicians. Judgeships, in theory, were one way of "depoliticalizing" one of two rival lawyers in the same camp.

still active in politics at the close of the period. The O'Dwyer firm reached its peak in the days of sailing ships and direct company trade with Ireland, Spain, and Nova Scotia. The firm had boiled and processed its seal oil in huge vats on the premises of 287 O'Dwyer's Cove (Water St.), a common practice of the day which was slowly done away with.<sup>33</sup> O'Dwyer's activities kept him in close touch with the United Kingdom. Himself a native of Waterford, he married Wilhelmina Mary Horton, the daughter of John L. Horton, King's Co., Ireland, a business associate.<sup>34</sup> He probably viewed the coming of responsible government with certain reservations, though it was the general consensus at the time that the Irish merchant sector stood to profit most by the move - a prophecy which did not bear itself out. When he entered the Legislative Council in 1861, it was through an appointment by Hugh W. Hoyles. O'Dwyer suffered poor health in the 1860's, and retired from the Council in 1867. He died in Liverpool, in 1875, probably seeking specialized medical treatment. His son, Richard Horton O'Dwyer,<sup>35</sup> carried on the family business in the rapidly

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<sup>33</sup>Patrick K. Devine: Ye Old St. John's, 1750-1936, St. John's, 1936, p. 48.

<sup>34</sup>Patriot, September 23, 1854.

<sup>35</sup>Richard Horton O'Dwyer, MHA, Placentia, 1889-93. Appointed Poor Commissioner, 1893.

changing economic atmosphere of the late nineteenth century.

Bishop, a fish merchant like O'Dwyer, represented another world in both time and expression. A Newfoundland Nationalist,<sup>36</sup> circa 1900, Bishop (unlike O'Dwyer) had had no actual contact with the United Kingdom. Educated at the Methodist Academy, the concept, 'United Kingdom', was to him, at best, a mystical abstraction whose omniscient spirit blew gentle winds across the Island, and carried to other lands. He was closely attuned in spirit and action with the progressive-oriented thinking that had swept both the Colonial Office and British North America at the time. He was the son of a Burin planter who commenced his St. John's business career at Goodfellow's. A year later, he became a bookkeeper for Moses Monroe. At the age of twenty-three, he married Olivia Lily Fox, the daughter of a St. John's merchant. Five years later, Moses Monroe took

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<sup>36</sup>The most articulate expression of this attitude of the time is found in the more subjective passages of D.W. Prowse's History of Newfoundland. Prowse oscillates, at times, between an expression of deeply felt, jingoistic pride at his local nativism which he occasionally tempers with a deference - sometimes genuine, sometimes tongue in cheek - for the debt Newfoundland owed its British heritage. It would be interesting to compare the attitudes expressed in Prowse's history with those of native Canadian and Australian historians of the time to see what impact, if any, geography, economy, and distance had on attitudes toward the empire.

Bishop into his firm as a partner. With the death of Monroe, in 1895, Bishop continued operating the firm in Monroe's name, until 1909 when he dissolved it and formed "Bishop and Sons", exporters of cod, lobsters, and salmon. He had become interested in politics in the early 1890's, particularly at the time when his senior partner, Monroe, had made an unsuccessful attempt to join forces with Walter Baine Grieve, in 1893, in an effort to replace the Whiteway government. With the death of Monroe in 1895, Bishop then actively supported James S. Winter in 1897, when the latter ran in Bishop's home district of Burin. Winter, in turn, appointed Bishop to the Legislative Council in 1899. Bishop later became an active supporter of Morris' People's Party and served in Morris' first Executive Council in 1909. He was still active in politics at the close of the period under study.

Of the remaining members, John Bemister and John Casey represent (as did O'Dwyer) the early responsible government period. John Bemister was born and raised in Carbonear, the son of a Dorset-born Carbonear merchant. In addition, he was the only one of the six who remained an outport resident throughout his life. He blended business with politics, in the somewhat matter of fact fashion that typified the early political period, by both supplying and representing the district of Bay-de-Verde, which adjoined Carbonear. He was returned five consecutive times and

appeared on two Executive Councils, as Receiver General with Hoyles, 1861-64, and as a minister without portfolio in the Carter government, 1865-69. In 1870, he was appointed Sheriff of the Northern District, moving from Carbonear to nearby Harbor Grace, and held the position for the remaining twenty-two years of his life. The new position had no effect on the lasting business relationship he maintained with his old constituency, however, and in fact, he lived to see his son-in-law, H.J.B. Woods, represent the district in 1889.

All of the cases discussed thus far have come from one of two dominant occupational categories - the commercial and the professional. John Casey, on the other hand, was one of four farmers (all from St. John's) who were represented in the House at different times during the period. The son of a farmer, Casey had been an only child.<sup>37</sup> He represented St. John's West (the family farm was on Flower Hill), three successive times, 1859-1869. Retiring from active politics, Casey was appointed Poor Commissioner in 1874, a position he held for the next nineteen years. While a contemporary of John Bemister, Casey and he lived in two different worlds. Casey's world was a somewhat

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<sup>37</sup>As an only child, Casey married Mary Durnford, of Harbor Grace, herself an only child. A marriage of this sort was something of a rarity in nineteenth century Newfoundland. Royal Gazette, May 30, 1893.



semi-rural extension of the Irish urban world of St. John's. Bemister, however (though he rented a house at 41 Military Road in St. John's while the House was in session), belonged to the unique insular and self contained world of Conception Bay.

Finally, there was Henry W. LeMessurier, born in St. John's, the same year as Patrick J. Scott. LeMessurier started his business career with Elmsley and Shaw of St. John's. He was later Commissariat and Military Account Clerk for the Imperial troops during their final five-year stay in St. John's in 1865-70. He remained in business for the next nineteen years, from age twenty-three to forty-two working sometimes for his father, a commission merchant and one time City Appraiser, and sometimes for others. His brief appearance in the House came in 1885-89, as a supporter of Robert Thorburn. Defeated in 1889, he edited the Evening Herald between 1889 and 1892. He ran again for Burin in the election of 1893 and was defeated for a second time. Appointed to the Customs Service in 1894, LeMessurier embarked on a long governmental career. By 1897 he was Assistant Collector of Customs (appointed by Winter), and a year later, Deputy Minister of Customs. He later served as Superintendent in charge of the reorganization of the Customs Service and inaugurated the Trans-insular Service. In 1909, Morris appointed him to the honorary position of Imperial trade correspondent, and later that year, he

became Registrar of Shipping. In addition, in 1912, he was appointed Naval reporting officer and received a C.M.G. in 1916. LeMessurier was still active as Naval reporting officer as late as 1926, at the age of seventy-eight.

### Conclusion

In conclusion, then, the aggregate distributions suggest that the modal number for the House of Assembly was ten years lower (36-40) than the modal numbers of the other Chambers. The median age for Legislative and Executive Council members at time of entry is the same - 48.2 years. The arithmetic means were also close - 48.7 years for the former, 47.2 years for the latter. The standard deviation was highest in the Legislative Council and the coefficient of variation (the standard deviation expressed as a percentage of the arithmetic mean) showed a narrower spread (22.8%) in the Executive than any of the other Chambers. The Legislative and Executive Councils were quite similar in patterns of age at time of entry. Since the former was more or less a permanent chamber and the two were frequently in political competition with each other, the findings suggest that age may have been a factor in selection to the Executive (or some consideration of seniority) since, it becomes obvious that older men were consistently selected from a House which was, for the most part, made up of men some eight to ten years younger.

Protestants outnumbered Catholics roughly 2:1 in the denominational aggregates of the three Chambers. In addition, there was a slightly higher percentage of Protestants on the Legislative Council and a correspondingly higher percentage of Catholics on the Executive Council.

But in fact, there were three important denominations present in the Chambers. Methodists, while never reaching the one-third level, nonetheless, were a significant denominational factor from the 1870's on. In addition, there was strong Presbyterian leadership in and around the Executive in the 1880's and 90's, with their presence disproportionate to their actual numbers on the Island.

The aggregates show that there was a high degree of statistical imbalance in relation to place of birth between the three Chambers. The Legislative Council revealed a large percentage of United Kingdom born in relation to the other Chambers, suggesting a possibility for political divisiveness due to different social and cultural attitudes and opinions which might flare in time of crisis. Contrary to popular myth, however, English born members did not dominate United Kingdom representation on the Legislative Council. Of the twenty-seven United Kingdom born members during the period, only ten were born in England, eleven were Irish born and six were Scottish. Both the House and Executive Council showed a lower percentage of United Kingdom born members - 24.4% and 23.4% respectively - compared with 44% for the Legislative Council. While it was found that there was no statistical significance in the imbalance between the number of United Kingdom born members on the Legislative Council and the other two Chambers ( $\chi^2$  was only significant at the 90% level), there is, nevertheless,

a substantial amount of impressionistic evidence that, indeed, this was an influential factor in Newfoundland politics, particularly in the late nineteenth century when "nativism" became a political weapon.

In examining residency patterns, it was found that there was a high degree of statistical significance to the imbalance of residency patterns found in the three Chambers. The Legislative Council showed little outport residence membership, though some twenty-seven percent were St. John's residents with outport backgrounds. The Executive Council pattern was not much different from that of the Legislative Council. The former showed thirty-nine percent of total membership either St. John's with outport background or outport resident to the latter's thirty-one percent. It was in the House of Assembly, however, where outport representation was strongest. Forty-eight percent of all House members were either St. John's residents with outport backgrounds or were resident outport members. A surprising thirty-four percent of all House members were outport residents during the period.

Variations in Educational patterns among the three Chambers were generally statistically insignificant. The Executive Council showed the highest percentage of secondary education among its members, which probably meant that secondary education became a prerequisite for law during the second half of the nineteenth century. The Legislative

Council held the highest percentage of university graduates (a numerically insignificant group in the period), primarily because doctors appeared in that body, although occasionally they also made appearances in the House of Assembly. No doctors were selected for the Executive Council, however, during the 1855-1914 period. The Legislative Council contained the highest percentage of members who received their elementary, secondary, and university training in the United Kingdom. Differences between Chambers with regard to where members received their secondary education were found to be highly significant. Forty-eight percent of Legislative Councillors who received secondary education, received it in the United Kingdom. A corresponding twenty-six percent were found in the Executive Council and eighteen percent for the House. Forty-one percent of Legislative Councillors who received secondary education, received it in Newfoundland. The same group in the Executive Council stood at fifty-two percent, and for the House it was seventy-two percent.

Occupation will be dealt with in a later chapter. It should be mentioned here, however, that the two dominant groups in all three Chambers were the commercial and professional classes. The Legislative Council revealed the highest percentage of commercial class to total membership, sixty-five percent. The professionals were the next largest single class at twenty-one percent. In the Executive

Council, thirty-nine percent were in the commercial class, and significantly, forty-six percent (largely lawyers) were in the professional class. Since the House showed forty-one percent in the commercial and twenty-nine percent in the professional classes, the findings suggest that the Executive tended to select a disproportionate number of the professional class from the House of Assembly when forming governments. The significance of this practice will be developed later in this thesis.

And finally, with regard to the six case studies whose most common characteristic was their ages at time of entry, it becomes apparent just how diverse individual membership became during the 1855-1914 period. The six can be divided into groups of three, each group representing different periods in time. It becomes obvious, for instance, that while O'Dwyer and Bishop were both fish merchants and both served on the Legislative Council, they were two very different fish merchants with regards to attitudes, beliefs and political orientation. With regard to religion, all six fitted into the three major denominational categories of the period with geography playing a part in this; the three Catholics all resided in St. John's, while of the two Methodist members, one resided in an outport, and the other had been born in one. With regard to residence, only one, John Bemister, was an outport resident. He represented one of a small percentage group, 16% (11), of Executive Council

members who managed to maintain their outport residency. In looking at Education, it would seem that time influenced educational patterns, for the three members who made early appearances in the Chambers (O'Dwyer, Bemister and Casey) had received no more than a partial elementary education. The later members, however, (Scott, LeMessurier and Bishop), all received at least some secondary education. With respect to occupations, it was seen that three of the men were merchants involved in the fish trade. But each (Bemister, O'Dwyer and Bishop), was a different kind of merchant using different practices and methods. Geography made Bemister a different kind of merchant from O'Dwyer, and time made them both different from Bishop. Of the others, P.J. Scott was a lawyer belonging to the professional class, the second largest group in the three Chambers during the period. He came the closest to being a professional politician of the group, having been elected six times during the period and represented the highly politicalized district of St. John's West. John Casey, on the other hand, had represented St. John's West in quieter times (1859-1869), for the St. John's West of the 1890's and early 1900's was a different political world. John Casey was a farmer, only one of four who appeared in the House of Assembly during the period. LeMessurier was a sometimes commission merchant and a government civil servant. Perhaps one characteristic



that Bemister, Casey, and LeMessurier had in common was with regard to their careers following upon active politics. All three held civil service positions after they left politics. Bemister was Sheriff of the Northern District at Harbor Grace, Casey was Poor Commissioner (a post later filled by his son-in-law) and LeMessurier had a long career in the Customs Department at St. John's. Throughout the period under study, the active political career often opened the door to the more lucrative and secure positions in the civil service.

### CHAPTER III

#### AN ANALYSIS OF THE IMPORTANCE OF GEOGRAPHY IN NEWFOUNDLAND POLITICS

This chapter is primarily concerned with viewing M.H.A. and Executive Council Member residence in relation to constituencies. Members will be broken into regional and constituency aggregates for purposes of analysis. In order to facilitate this process, the Island has been divided into five geographic regions, including: the northern districts of Twillingate, Fogo, Bonavista, and Trinity; Conception Bay with its five responsible government constituencies; the two St. John's districts (East and West); the southern shore, including Ferryland, Placentia and St. Mary's, Burin, Fortune Bay, and the district of Burgeo and LaPoile, a relatively unbroken 200 mile strip of southern coast line referred to in the contemporary literature as the 'western shore'; and finally, the fifth region; the two 'treaty shore' constituencies of St. George's and St. Barbe, both of which received representation in the House of Assembly in 1882.

The northern region was particularly well situated with natural resources. With the possible exception of a

# NORTHERN DISTRICTS, 1885-1914

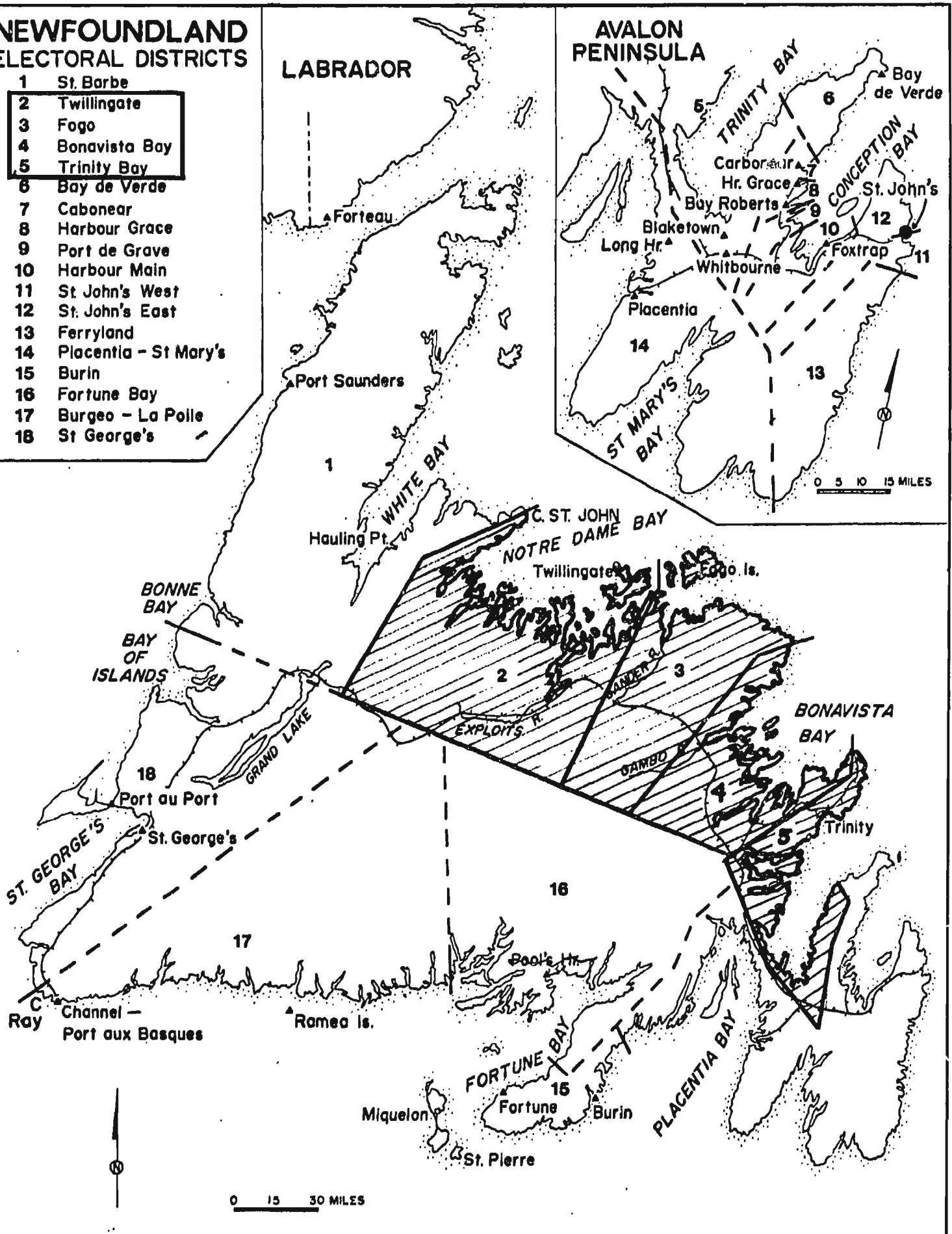
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## NEWFOUNDLAND ELECTORAL DISTRICTS

- 1 St. Barbe
- 2 Twillingate
- 3 Fogo
- 4 Bonavista Bay
- 5 Trinity Bay
- 6 Bay de Verde
- 7 Cabonear
- 8 Harbour Grace
- 9 Port de Grave
- 10 Harbour Main
- 11 St. John's West
- 12 St. John's East
- 13 Ferryland
- 14 Placentia - St Mary's
- 15 Burin
- 16 Fortune Bay
- 17 Burgeo - La Poile
- 18 St George's

## LABRADOR

## AVALON PENINSULA



large segment of Bonavista Bay,<sup>1</sup> the north contained much of the Island's easily exploitable timber resources, as well as a high ratio of irregular inlets and small bays which offered prospects of settlement. In addition, Twillingate was the site of the first profitable mining operations on the Island: the Tilt Cove copper mine opened there in 1864, followed by the even more productive Bett Cove mine. This was followed by the Little Bay mining operation in 1878. The combination of a good inshore and summer migratory Labrador fishery, a timber and boat building industry, and an active mining industry contributed to predictions that the future prosperity of the northern districts were bright.<sup>2</sup>

Early nineteenth century settlement and trade patterns in the northern districts had centered around

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<sup>1</sup>It was the general lack of shore facilities - geographic deprivation - along a section of Bonavista Bay that in the view of one contemporary observer, caused "a great part of the poverty in Bonavista". He estimated that half the fishermen had no shore premises, forcing them into the self-defeating practice of operating as 'shoremen' (share fishing where the fisherman gives up half his catch) Phillip Tocque: Newfoundland, as it was and is, 1877. London 1877, pp. 147-148.

<sup>2</sup>The Anti-confederation election strategy of 1869, in part, was built on this assumption. C.F. Bennett, the anti-confederation premier, merchant and owner of the Tilt Cove mine, canvassed the bays exhibiting a large chunk of copper ore with which he promised jobs and prosperity. The north was beginning to realize its Manifest Destiny and other regions would soon follow suit. There was, therefore, no reason to give the Island away to Canada. The mines did produce jobs, however. Devine: Ye Old St. Johns, p. 71.

early resident merchants, many of whom were connected with the Poole, Dorset trade.<sup>3</sup> Among early nineteenth century resident merchant firms were; J.B. Garland & Co.,<sup>4</sup> J. Colbourne, Joseph Pearce, J. Slade & Co.,<sup>5</sup> and the Greenock firm of Muir & Co.<sup>6</sup> Although the fishery merchants were northern bay residents, ships were generally sent out from Poole with supplies and the cured fish, in turn, was loaded onto ships in the northern bays for direct shipment to England. This probably accounted in part for the predominance of small, locally built ships in the region. For the local planters, while a highly mobile group, were little concerned as to where their product was shipped. The fact that the Dorset trade was easily supplanted in time by a small group of resident ship owning merchants of St. John's is understandable enough,

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<sup>3</sup>Tocque: Newfoundland, 1877, p. 154.

<sup>4</sup>J.B. Garland: M.H.A., Trinity, 1832-38. Garland later sold to Brooking and Sons, St. John's, a firm with London connections.

<sup>5</sup>J. Slade, M.H.A., Fogo, 1842-48.

<sup>6</sup>Muir, for a period, was partner with Charles Duder, a St. John's fish exporter and an influential force in Northern politics during the period under study. Though Duder was Devon-born, he married into a Scottish family; see Newfoundlander, Feb. 1, 1864; Jan. 31, 1879; Royal Gazette; Aug. 18, 1896.

particularly in view of the fact that the Island rapidly moved through stages of governmental administrative restructuring in keeping with trends in British North America at the time. The coming of responsible government added a new emphasis to the already growing economic and political power of this St. John's based ship owning class. The northern districts, geographically isolated from St. John's, nonetheless, owed much of their mid-nineteenth century stability to the economic patronage of this merchant class. The north, for the most part, maintained these strong patronage links through better than three-quarters of the nineteenth century. The region's early nineteenth century settlement patterns, shaped by geographic isolation, in time, produced a strong feeling of localism which found expression in strong family and community bonds. Early environmental hardships were compensated for, at least somewhat, by the knowledge that the region's modest prosperity, its relative economic and social stability were the result of mutually held West Country Protestant ties which cut across fisherman and merchant class lines. This linkage found early political expression. The north, generally, was a region that supported the status quo through most of the nineteenth century. It was solidly committed to the traditional fishery trade - of which it was an integral part - and it

gradually developed, first a suspicion, and later in the century, an open political hostility toward what it considered were certain alien and threatening developments in St. John's - the growth of costly government which little benefited the isolated north, the unconcern with the traditional fishery evidenced in the actions of the new politicians, and the apparent links between some of the new politicians and the foreign railway interests.<sup>7</sup>

Through most of the period under study, the North, for the reasons mentioned, often provided safe electoral seats for career-minded politicians who themselves represented the traditional fishery and status quo. This linkage was reinforced by Northern regional representation on the Executive Council throughout the period - the policy making chamber which corresponded to the British Cabinet.

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<sup>7</sup>This growing political mistrust crossed party lines. By 1900, the traditional fishery question was as much a 'political issue' as it had been a reality, in spite of the fact that people still fished. The pro-fishery groups in Bonavista, for instance, centered around representatives like Abram Kean and A.B. Morine, conservatives, while in Twillingate, it found its expression in the Northern Liberal Association, strong supporters of Robert Bond. The fishery was no longer the dominant focal point of all Island politics (as it had been, 1855-80). By 1900, fishermen became merely a 'special interest group' rather than the dominant force around which the society was structured. Yeomen farmers felt this same pinch in Canada at the same time.

Table 3:1 shows this Executive distribution. Eighty percent of Executive Council representation came from the two most populated districts in the north; Twillingate and Trinity. The former increasingly became the seat of northern Methodism; the latter remained predominately Anglican. Each then, offered natural outlets for the political expressions of the St. John's Protestant elite who had little chance of being returned from the two Catholic-dominated districts of St. John's. In the course of eighteen general elections the northern constituencies produced five of the Island's thirteen premiers - all Protestant - during the period.

Turning to the House of Assembly, it is seen that a total of 100 contestants from the northern districts successfully sat for a total of 165 seats during the 1855-1914 period. Twillingate had the highest percentage of membership returned two or more times, 60% (or 12 of 20), while Trinity had the highest one-term turnover of any of the northern districts, 60% (18 of 30). Table 3:2 shows that twenty members from Twillingate sat for a possible forty-nine seats during the period, and that 40% (8) were returned only once; 20% (4) were elected three times, while one member was returned on six separate occasions. Fogo, combined with Twillingate from 1855 to 1884, became a separate district after that time, and between 1885 and



TABLE 3:1

EXECUTIVE COUNCIL DISTRIBUTION IN NORTHERN DISTRICTS

(Total: 22 Members)

	<u>Twillingate</u>	<u>Fogo</u>	<u>Bonavista</u>	<u>Trinity</u>
Attorney General	1	-	1	4
Colonial Secretary	3	-	2	4
Solicitor General	-	-	-	-
Agriculture and Mines	2	-	1	-
Without Portfolio	2	-	-	2
	—	—	—	—
	8	0	4	10

TABLE 3:2

NUMBER OF TIMES MEMBERS WERE ELECTED IN THE NORTHERN DISTRICTS, 1855-1914

<u>No. of Times Elected</u>	<u>Twillingate</u> (20=100%)	<u>Fogo</u> (4=100%)	<u>Bonavista</u> (28=100%)	<u>Trinity</u> (30=100%)
Once	40.0 (8)	25.0 (1)	46.4 (13)	60.0 (18)
Twice	15.0 (3)	25.0 (1)	28.6 (8)	13.3 (4)
3 times	20.0 (4)	25.0 (1)	14.3 (4)	20.0 (6)
4 times	15.0 (3)	25.0 (1)	7.1 (2)	3.3 (1)
5 times	5.0 (1)	- (0)	3.6 (1)	- (0)
6 times	5.0 (1)	- (0)	- (0)	3.3 (1)
7 times	- (0)	- (0)	- (0)	- (0)
	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>
	(20)	(4)	(28)	(30)

1914, four members from Fogo sat for a total of ten seats. It is striking that in Table 3:2 the number of seats in the district correlates positively with the likelihood that one would sit for one term.

In Twillingate, of the five most frequently returned members; none had a direct personal connection with the fish trade. Robert Bond (6 times), the independently wealthy son of a former Island seine twine franchise holder, was a highly respected member of the St. John's Methodist elite. James A. Clift (5 times), a colleague of Bond and a St. John's lawyer, was also a member of the Methodist elite and related by his sister's marriage to the influential Duder family who held extensive fishery interests in the northern region and Twillingate in particular. Of the three elected four times; one was Thomas Knight,<sup>8</sup> a partner in a family owned timber operation in Green Bay (Notre Dame Bay); Smith McKay, a Nova Scotia born mineral explorer and co-partner of O.F. Bennett's Tilt Cove copper mine enterprise; and finally, late in the period, there was George Roberts, editor of the local newspaper, The Twillingate Sun. Bond and Clift - who sat for a total of thirteen times for Twillingate - represent the growing complexity of the

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<sup>8</sup>Thomas Knight, M.H.A., Twillingate; 1855-69.

political situation as it was viewed in the isolated northern districts. Both were sophisticated urban spokesmen for the locally concerned fishing interests of their districts. Clift - who had little or no direct interest with the fishery - was an officer in the Society of United Fishermen, a paternal organization which took on the characteristics of a brotherhood whose interest it was to act as lobbyist-spokesman for the schooner-holding fishing class. In addition, Clift (and Bond) were members of the Northern Liberal Association, a northern regional political organization with its headquarters in Twillingate, and whose platform was radically pro-fishery at a grass roots level. As the fishermen became a political force by 1900, the complexities of Island politics were such that they could not hope to represent themselves, but had to lean on outside help - spokesmen like Bond and Clift - who in addition to being advocates of local regional autonomy and a vigorous, healthy fishery, were also well versed in dealing with all the other unsavory complexities of St. John's urban politics - feared and little understood by the local fishermen themselves.

Bonavista Bay, on the other hand, experienced greater turnover in House membership than Twillingate, some 75% (21) of its members served two terms or less during the period. Only John H. Warren, a Devon-born St. John's merchant managed to get elected consistently (5 times), and

this, during the stable years of the fishery trade, 1855-78. Two St. John's lawyers, who were partners, A.B. Morine and Donald Morison managed to get elected consistently (4 times each)<sup>9</sup> during the second half of the period. Both men - like Bond and Clift - served as agent-spokesman, representing both the local fishing class and the St. John's merchants with vested interests in Bonavista.

The district of Trinity showed the largest one term turnover of any district in the north. Sixty percent (18) of its members were elected only once. In contrast, only two members were elected four or more times; William V. Whiteway (who in addition had run in Twillingate in his youth) and Stephen Rendell, a long-time agent and eventual partner in the Job Bros. firm of St. John's. The direct 'Merchant to district' links, a feature of the early period under study, gave way with the increasing complexities of Island politics in the latter period, to a group of specialists who came to dominate the political scene. This group, often lawyers - though not always so - men like Bond, Clift, Morine and Morison, were willing to devote much more time to politics than their predecessors had been.

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<sup>9</sup>Four times in general elections; Morine actually served 5 terms, with a career that started with a Bonavista by-election in 1886.

Table 3:3 shows the place of residence of Northern District membership.<sup>10</sup> The chi square test was used to determine whether the test hypothesis, "St. John's residents had an equally good chance of gaining a seat in any of the Northern Constituencies", was valid. The findings led to a rejection of the hypothesis.<sup>11</sup> A visual inspection of the cells suggests that in Bonavista and Fogo, St. John's residents probably had difficulty in getting elected. St. John's resident membership fell into four categories; those born and raised in St. John's; those born in the United Kingdom; British North America; and lastly, those born in outports who had moved to St. John's, the growing seat of economic and political power. Nearly three quarters of the membership from Twillingate (73.8%) came from one of these four categories; nearly two-thirds of Bonavista representation (64.3%) and four out of every five members from Trinity (79.3%) came from this group. Local representation was markedly limited. With the exception of Fogo, a district that had opted for autonomy in 1885, the remaining larger districts show low

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<sup>10</sup> All districts shown, with the exception of Fogo, cover the 1855-1914 time period. The four Fogo members served during the 1885-1914 period only.

<sup>11</sup>  $\chi^2$  (calc.) - 61.094. Testing for significance of  $\chi^2$  with 6 d.f. at the 0.001 confidence level we found  $\chi^2$  - 22.457. Therefore, the null hypothesis (above) can be rejected.

TABLE 3:3

RESIDENCE OF NORTHERN DISTRICT MEMBERSHIP, 1855-1914  
(Percent)

	<u>Sample</u>	<u>St. John's</u>	<u>Local</u>	<u>Outport</u>	<u>Missing</u>
Twillingate	(19)	73.8 (14)	21.1 (4)	5.3 (1)	(1)
Fogo	(4)	25.0 (1)	75.0 (3)	- (0)	(0)
Bonavista	(28)	64.3 (18)	32.1 (9)	3.6 (1)	(0)
Trinity	(28)	79.3 (25)	7.2 (2)	3.6 (1)	(2)

percentages of local representation. Local resident members, however, often performed functions related to St. John's influence. These included, local suppliers or agents, captains, and occasionally, a doctor or local journalist. Captains were often outport suppliers as well, and were usually linked, economically and politically, with large St. John's firms. In Bonavista, for instance, members such as Edward White, Samuel Blandford, and William C. Winsor, Jr., were all, at various times, ship captains and employees of Job Bros., St. John's.

There is substantial impressionistic newspaper evidence to support the position that, at least during the early period 1855-1884, there was little resentment in the North that so much relative economic and political power was centered in St. John's.<sup>12</sup> It is important to remember that as long as the Island's economy centered on the fishery, the North was secure. The North was a vital and dynamic part of that industry, and as long as the Island's political machinery was in the hands of those who were allied with fishing interests, the North had little to fear.

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<sup>12</sup>Much of this evidence is drawn from St. John's newspapers, however. Even so, with the possible exception of factions in Bonavista, the statement seems to hold true.



It was only in the second half of the period, however, that the traditional economy was challenged. The long-term relative security and well being of the Northern Districts were threatened. As a result, the North soon became the regional political power base for those politicians advocating retrenchment, or at least moderation in new directions of economic policy.<sup>13</sup> It was this existing situation, 1885-1914, that helps explain, at least in part, much of the political actions - and reactions - that emanated from the North during the latter period. Its previous physical isolation from St. John's - never much of a factor earlier when it was economically and ideologically linked with the urban Protestant elite - worked the reverse through much of the latter period. It tended to accentuate local fears and apprehensions regarding change. Distance helped to magnify the differences between Northern rural values and interests and the new emerging political and economic interests centered in St. John's. It made the North easy prey to political demagoguery.

Table 3:4 shows the patterns of residence and background for members of the Northern Districts. St.

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<sup>13</sup>This important point will be stressed again in Chapter IV dealing with religion. Robert Thorburn: Trinity, 1885; A.F. Goodridge, Twillingate, 1893 and 1897; Robert Bond, Twillingate, 1900-09, were all premiers who took varying radical views in support of the traditional economy.

TABLE 3:4

RESIDENCE AND BACKGROUNDS OF NORTHERN DISTRICT MEMBERS, 1855-1914  
(Percent)

	<u>Twillingate</u>	<u>Fogo</u>	<u>Bonavista</u>	<u>Trinity</u>
St. John's born	31.6 (6)	25.0 (1)	37.5 (10)	35.7 (10)
St. John's with Foreign Background	31.6 (6)	- (0)	10.7 (3)	35.7 (10)
St. John's with Outport Background	5.3 (1)	25.0 (1)	14.3 (4)	17.9 (5)
Local Born and Raised	21.1 (4)	- (0)	32.1 (9)	3.6 (1)
Local Resident with St. John's Background	- (0)	50.0 (2)	3.6 (1)	3.6 (1)
St. John's, born in British North America	5.3 (1)	- (0)	3.6 (1)	- (0)
Other Outport	5.3 (1)	- (0)	- (0)	3.6 (1)
	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>
	(19)	(4)	(28)	(28)
M.D.	(1)	(0)	(0)	(2)

John's residents are divided into the four categories already mentioned, local residents into two. The foreign born St. John's residents who appeared in the House of Assembly representing the North were largely Devon-born. All of Twillingate's foreign born membership (6) were Devon-born. Bonavista had one of three born in Devon; and Trinity, eight of ten. Of the Northern Districts, Bonavista shows the highest percentage of resident representatives, 32.9 (9), during the period. Most of this local representation (7) appeared in the latter half of the period (1885-1914), and included four steamer captains and a blacksmith who himself became a steamer captain after his term in the House of Assembly. In the Twillingate District, four resident members included two local journalists, a local merchant, and in 1913, a store manager for the Fishermen's Protective Union appeared. While there were several St. John's residents in the House who had been Trinity-born, only two were local residents at the time of their elections. One was a newspaper editor who had previously worked on a newspaper in Harbor Grace and the other, a St. John's tinsmith who had moved to Trinity and was returned for Trinity in 1913. At the time of his election, he was a local Fishermen's Protective Union store manager.

Tables 3:5 through 3:8 examine constituencies by place of residence of the members in two periods; 1855-1884, and 1885-1914. Each table includes not only an extensive breakdown of residency by constituency but also an aggregate of that distribution (lower section of each table) under two headings; "St. John's connexion", and "no direct St. John's connexion". The use of this aggregate facilitates the comparison of residency patterns of one Northern District with another. Table 3:5 deals with Twillingate. Column one of that table, headed 1855-1884, includes total membership resulting from the nine general elections which took place during that period. Column two, 1885-1914, again includes all membership resulting from the nine general elections of that period. The following null hypothesis was tested: "the time period was not significant in the chances of a St. John's resident winning in Twillingate". The test supported the hypothesis and indicated that it should be retained, in spite of the fact that only one Twillingate resident was returned in the early period, while eight were returned in the latter.<sup>14</sup>

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<sup>14</sup>The 2x2 Table (bottom, Table 3:5) was tested with  $\chi^2$ -1.981. With 1 d.f.,  $\chi^2$  is only significant at the 80% level. Observation of the cells suggests that there was more turnover in the latter period, that while St. John's residents maintained their same numerical proportion, there was an increase in local resident representation. It should also be remembered, that the table makes no distinction as to the 'character' of St. John's representation in either period. Residency only, is the factor considered.

TABLE 3:5

## TWILLINGATE RESIDENCY PATTERNS FOR TWO PERIODS: 1855-84; 1885-1914

<u>Twillingate</u>		<u>1855-1884</u>	<u>1885-1914</u>	<u>Total</u>
1	St. John's	31.8 (7)	53.8 (14)	
2	St. John's, Foreign born	40.9 (9)	11.5 (3)	
3	St. John's, Outport born	- (0)	- (0)	
4	St. John's, B.N.A. born	13.6 (3)	3.8 (1)	
5	Twillingate	- (0)	23.1 (6)	
6	Twillingate with other Outport Background	4.5 (1)	7.7 (2)	
7	Other Outport	9.1 (2)	- (0)	
		<hr/>	<hr/>	
		(22)	(26)	
		M.D. (0)	(1)	
<u>Twillingate</u>		<u>1855-1884</u>	<u>1885-1914</u>	<u>Total</u>
St. John's Connexion		19	18	37
No Direct St. John's Connexion		3	8	11
Total		<hr/> 22	<hr/> 26	<hr/> 48

Table 3:6 examines the Fogo District, a one seat constituency created in the reapportionment of 1884. The time factor comparison will therefore not apply to Fogo. Four members sat for a total of ten seats during the 1885-1914 period. Fogo membership was characterized during that time by long established commercial and familial ties in the area. A sharp break with this pattern occurred in 1913, when William W. Halfyard, a St. John's school teacher and then recently elected vice-president of the Fishermen's Protective Union was elected to represent the district.

Table 3:7 treats Bonavista residency patterns in the same manner as Twillingate above. The table includes a detailed distribution of residency backgrounds and an aggregate table for the purposes of testing. There is a noticeable drop in percentage of St. John's residents in the second period in table 3:7 and a corresponding rise in the percentage of Bonavista born representatives. The hypothesis was tested that "there was no time significance in the residency patterns of successful candidates in Bonavista for the two periods"; and it was found that the hypothesis should be rejected.<sup>15</sup> A visual inspection of the

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<sup>15</sup>In the chi-square test of the 2x2 Table (bottom, Table 3:7),  $\chi^2 = 6.180$ . With 1 d.f.,  $\chi^2$  is statistically significant at the 98% level. The null hypothesis should therefore be rejected, since a statistical significance is strongly implied by the findings.

TABLE 3:6

FOGO RESIDENCY PATTERNS FOR TWO PERIODS, 1855-1884 AND 1885-1914

<u>Fogo</u>	<u>1855-1884</u>	<u>1885-1914</u>
Fogo Resident	-	60.0 (6)
Fogo Resident with St. John's Background	-	30.0 (3)
Outport Resident with St. John's Background	-	10.0 (1)
		<hr/>
		(10)
		M.D. (0)

TABLE 3:7

## BONAVISTA RESIDENCY PATTERNS FOR TWO PERIODS: 1855-1884 and 1885-1914

	<u>Bonavista</u>	<u>1855-1884</u>	<u>1885-1914</u>
1	St. John's	48.1 (13)	35.0 (8)
2	St. John's, Foreign born	25.9 (7)	3.7 (1)
3	St. John's, Outport Background	14.8 (4)	11.1 (3)
4	St. John's, B.N.A. Background	- (0)	14.8 (4)
5	Bonavista born	11.1 (3)	37.0 (10)
6	Other Outport with St. John's Background	- (0)	3.7 (1)
		<u>(27)</u>	<u>(27)</u>
		M.D. (0)	(0)

	<u>Bonavista</u>	<u>1855-1884</u>	<u>1885-1914</u>	<u>Total</u>
1	St. John's Connexion	24	16	40
	No Direct St. John's Connexion	3	11	14
		<u>27</u>	<u>27</u>	<u>54</u>



cells shows two noticeable shifts in representation during the second period: St. John's resident representation decreases while local resident representation increases. The rise in local representation was, in part, due to certain peculiar elite occupational patterns in the district. The local towns of Bonavista, Wesleyville, and Norton's Cove were the places of residence of prominent steamer captains (who played a significant political role during the later period under study), and were often agents for politically influential St. John's firms such as Bowring's and more particularly, Job Bros.

Table 3:8 looks at Trinity District. The same test hypothesis was applied to Trinity; "There was no time significance in the residency patterns of successful candidates in Trinity for the two periods." It was found to be significant only at the 90% level.<sup>16</sup> The hypothesis was therefore retained even though an examination of the cells indicates a trend away from 'St. John's born' and 'St. John's, Foreign born' membership during the latter period. Trinity had the most turnover of any of the Northern Districts. Sixty percent of its total membership for both periods served only one term in the House of

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<sup>16</sup>2x2 Table (bottom, Table 3:8) with  $\chi^2 = 3.172$ . With a 1 d.f., the results were statistically significant only at the 90% level. The findings then, imply that the test hypothesis should be retained.

TABLE 3:8

## TRINITY RESIDENCY PATTERNS FOR TWO PERIODS: 1855-1884 AND 1885-1914

	<u>Trinity</u>	<u>1855-1884</u>	<u>1885-1914</u>	
1	St. John's	37.0 (10)	26.9 (7)	
2	St. John's, Foreign born	48.1 (13)	26.9 (7)	
3	St. John's, Outport born	7.4 (2)	23.1 (6)	
4	Trinity	- (0)	3.8 (1)	
5	Trinity with Foreign Background	3.7 (1)	3.8 (1)	
6	Trinity, with St. John's Background	- (0)	3.8 (1)	
7	Outport	- (0)	11.5 (3)	
8	Outport with Foreign Background	3.7 (1)	- (0)	
		<u>(27)</u>	<u>(26)</u>	
		M.D. (0)	(1)	
	<u>Trinity</u>	<u>1855-1884</u>	<u>1885-1914</u>	<u>Total</u>
	St. John's Connexion	25	20	45
	No Direct St. John's Connexion	2	6	8
	Total	<u>27</u>	<u>26</u>	<u>53</u>

Assembly. In addition, the district was strategically important in nineteenth century Newfoundland politics. It was the closest in proximity to St. John's of all the Northern Districts. It stood adjacent to Conception Bay, a five-constituency region whose backgrounds and political character contrasted with the Northern bays. Trinity was the first of the Northern Districts to feel the impact of railway once it had spread through Conception Bay, and hence it became an important model district in the ideological struggle between the old and the new economic orders. To the former it served as a palatine, a bastion-like constituency whose function it was to preserve the traditional economic integrity of the North. Once Trinity fell politically - in something like a domino theory - the North might be lost. To the new order, on the other hand, Trinity was treated with loving care. It was strategically important that with coming economic change in Trinity came local prosperity.<sup>17</sup> The district was to serve as the

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<sup>17</sup>It had been Whiteway's intention, stemming from negotiations of the 1893 Railway Contract, that Whitbourne (So. Trinity Dist.) serve as a 'new industrial town'. All of the railway storage sheds, shops, and marshalling yards were to be centered in Whitbourne - a choice but obvious plum dangled at the newly enfranchised male voters of Trinity. Premier Winter reversed these plans, however, in his contract of 1898, moving all the equipment back into St. John's West, in spite of the fact that Whitbourne had mushroomed into something of a boom town by those who anticipated railway jobs.

springboard for their anticipated political invasion of the North. In one of the important political confrontations of the period; W.V. Whiteway, Robert Bond and David C. Webber, challenged and successfully dislodged Premier Thorburn, W.B. Grieve and E.C. Watson in Trinity, in 1889.<sup>18</sup>

Finally, Table 3:9 looks at the residency patterns of the Northern Districts in a Regional perspective. The 4 x 3 table was devised from data furnished in Tables 3:5 through 3:8. The extended number of 'background' categories were compressed into three aggregate categories; 'St. John's', 'Local', and 'Outport' which more readily serve the purposes for testing the proposed Regional hypothesis; namely, "that St. John's residents had an equally good chance of gaining a seat in any of the Northern Constituencies." The chi-square test revealed a high degree of significant residency pattern imbalance in the Regional table.<sup>19</sup> Outport residency membership patterns varied markedly throughout the period. St. John's newspapers sometimes give the

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<sup>18</sup>'Old order' representation consisted of Thorburn and Grieve, first cousins, whose families in Greenock, Scotland owned Baine, Johnston and Co., and Ellis C. Watson, an agent for Job Bros., St. John's, stationed at Stephen Rendell's old post in Hant's Harbor, Trinity Bay.

<sup>19</sup> $\chi^2 = 61.094$ . With 6 d.f., the findings are significant at the 99.999% level. The null hypothesis that St. John's residents had an equally good chance of gaining a seat in any of the Northern Districts is not statistically supportable.

TABLE 3:9

NORTHERN REGIONAL RESIDENCY PATTERNS, 1855-1914  
(Number of Members)

	<u>St. John's</u>	<u>Local</u>	<u>Outport</u>	<u>Total</u>
Twillingate	14	4	1	19
Fogo	1	3	0	4
Bonavista	18	9	1	28
Trinity	25	2	1	28
	—	—	—	—
Total	58	18	3	79

impression that all outport representation stemmed from the same source; namely, St. John's merchant representation. This was not the case, however.<sup>20</sup>

Tables 3:10 through 3:13 are concerned with the relationship of the residency patterns of successful as well as unsuccessful candidates in the Northern Districts. The tables attempt to resolve the question as to whether there was any markedly different residential pattern among winners and losers; i.e., successful St. John's candidates winning out over unsuccessful local candidates. Residential data was collected on unsuccessful candidates<sup>21</sup> for the period 1885-1914, a period in which many outport constituencies looked with growing suspicion at the state of government in St. John's. Table 3:10 deals with Twillingate. Using the aggregate table (bottom, Table 3:10), the hypothesis, "there was no significant difference in the residency patterns of successful and unsuccessful candidates in Twillingate during the period 1885-1914", was tested with the findings indicating that it should be

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<sup>20</sup>Newfoundland historiography has been dominated in the past by what, in all fairness, can only be called a 'St. John's view'. This is understandable enough since St. John's nineteenth century newspapers provide a rich - if heavily biased - source of material. The 'town' versus 'outport' syndrome is apparent in the newspapers from the 1870's on. There was nothing monolithic about outport life.

<sup>21</sup>Successful and unsuccessful candidates for the period appear in the Newfoundland Almanacs (Blue Books) along with vote totals. Residential data were gathered from newspapers and Business Directories of the period.

TABLE 3:10

## RESIDENCY AMONG ALL TWILLINGATE CANDIDATES, 1885-1914

		<u>Winners</u>	<u>Losers</u>
1	St. John's	(4)	(7)
2	St. John's, Outport Background	- (0)	- (0)
3	St. John's, Foreign Background	(1)	(1)
4	St. John's, B.N.A. Background	(1)	(3)
5	Local	(4)	(6)
6	Other Outport	(0)	(1)
		<hr/>	<hr/>
		(10)	(18)
	M.D.	(1)	(2)
<u>Twillingate</u>	<u>Winners</u>	<u>Losers</u>	<u>Total</u>
St. John's	6	11	17
Not St. John's	4	7	11
Total	<hr/> 10	<hr/> 18	<hr/> 28

maintained.<sup>22</sup> In looking at the cells, it is obvious there is almost perfect proportions between the two columns.

Samples for the district of Fogo are too small to allow testing. An examination of the cells, however, shows little difference between winner and loser residency patterns.

Table 3:11

RESIDENCY AMONG ALL FOGO CANDIDATES, 1885-1914

	<u>Winners</u>	<u>Losers</u>
St. John's	- (0)	(1)
Local	(4)	(2)
Other Outport	- (0)	(1)

Bonavista representatives were heavily challenged by unsuccessful St. John's candidates (11) as well as a substantial number of unsuccessful local candidates. The high proportion of challengers (25) to successful candidates (14) indicates the intensity of political activity in that district. The hypothesis that "the residency patterns were of no importance as a determinant of winners and losers in Bonavista in 1885-1914" was

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<sup>22</sup> $\chi^2$  - 0.003, or no statistical significance whatever.



TABLE 3:12

## RESIDENCY AMONG ALL BONAVIDA CANDIDATES, 1885-1914

	<u>Winners</u>	<u>Losers</u>
1 St. John's	(4)	(11)
2 St. John's, Outport Background	(1)	(2)
3 St. John's, Foreign Background	(1)	(1)
4 St. John's, B.N.A. Background	(1)	(2)
5 Local	(6)	(9)
6 Other Outport	(1)	- (0)
	<hr/>	<hr/>
	(14)	(25)
	M.D. (0)	(0)

<u>Bonavista</u>	<u>Winners</u>	<u>Losers</u>	<u>Total</u>
St. John's	7	16	23
Not St. John's	7	9	16
	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>
	14	25	39

tested and the null hypothesis retained.<sup>23</sup> Bonavista - like Trinity - was a district with high turnover of members. The district had a large floating labour force,<sup>24</sup> many of whom turned their back on the old economy in 1889 and sided with the new railway forces in hopes of securing steady employment and security. Spokesmen for a large portion of this group were the Blandford family;<sup>25</sup> three brothers, born in Bonavista, who allied themselves, first with W.V. Whiteway, later the Reid's, and finally, Edward P. Morris' People's Party. The fact that neither Whiteway, nor Morris later, were able to meet the challenge of rising expectations and demands among the labour force of the district, accounted in part for the local success of three Fishermen's Protective Union candidates in 1913; one of them the Union's president, William F. Coaker. The F.P.U. Bonavista platform originated in a district that had in fact been demanding reform for nearly twenty-five years.

Table 3:13 looks at winners and losers from the Trinity District during the period 1885-1914. A visual

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<sup>23</sup> $\chi^2$  - 0.727, and with 1 d.f. resulting from the 2x2 table;  $\chi^2$  is statistically significant only at the 80% level. The hypothesis, therefore, was accepted.

<sup>24</sup>Tocque: Newfoundland, 1877, p. 147.

<sup>25</sup>The brothers; Samuel Blandford, MHA and MLC; Darius Blandford, MHA; and unsuccessful MHA candidate; James Blandford. In addition, Samuel Blandford's son, Dara Sidney Blandford was a successful MHA from the district, and later appointed MLC by E.P. Morris.

TABLE 3:13

## RESIDENCY AMONG ALL TRINITY CANDIDATES, 1885-1914

	<u>Winners</u>	<u>Losers</u>
1 St. John's	(5)	(6)
2 St. John's, Outport Background	(4)	(3)
3 St. John's, Foreign Background	(5)	(3)
4 St. John's, B.N.A. Background	(0)	(0)
5 Local	(2)	(3)
6 Other Outport	(1)	(2)
	<hr/>	<hr/>
	(17)	(17)
	M.D. (2)	(2)

<u>Trinity</u>	<u>Winners</u>	<u>Losers</u>	<u>Total</u>
St. John's	14	12	26
Not St. John's	3	5	8
	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>
	17	17	34

inspection of the cells reveals an almost even distribution of winners and losers by residency, and the test hypothesis that "there was no significance in the residency patterns of winners and losers in the Trinity District during 1885-1914" was sustained.

Finally, Table 3:14 provides the Regional aggregate of all winners and losers for the Northern Districts during 1855-1914. A visual inspection of the cells in the aggregate table at the bottom of Table 3:14 reveals that the distribution of both winners and losers is in strikingly similar balance; 60.0% as compared with 63.0% for St. John's representation, for example. We can therefore conclude, that whatever form Regional political reaction took in the North, it did not disrupt the traditional character of residency pattern representation in that Region. No dichotomy developed, for example, between 'unsuccessful hinterland candidates' on the one hand, and 'successful town candidates' on the other. Both the successful and the unsuccessful were products of the same residency and background patterns.

East of Trinity Bay was the old district of Conception Bay. Conception Bay in the first half of the nineteenth century engaged in an independent cod and seal fishery and trade. By the 1850's, it was the most thickly populated and heavily cultivated bay on the Island. The Bay remained a three member constituency during the period

TABLE 3:14

NORTHERN REGIONAL RESIDENCY PATTERNS AMONG ALL CANDIDATES, 1855-1914  
(Percent)

		<u>Winners</u>	<u>Losers</u>
1	St. John's	28.9 (13)	38.5 (25)
2	St. John's, Outport Background	11.1 (5)	9.2 (6)
3	St. John's, Foreign born	15.6 (7)	7.7 (5)
4	St. John's, B.N.A. born	4.4 (2)	7.7 (5)
5	Local	35.6 (16)	30.8 (20)
6	Other Outport	4.4 (2)	6.2 (4)
		<hr/>	<hr/>
		(45)	(65)
		<u>Winners</u>	<u>Losers</u>
		<u>Total</u>	
	St. John's	60.0 (27)	63.0 (41)
	Local	35.6 (16)	30.8 (20)
	Outport	4.4 (2)	6.2 (4)
		<hr/>	<hr/>
	Total	(45)	(65)
			(110)

of the fifteen member House, 1832-1854, and the clamour of some for reapportionment added impetus to the movement for responsible government. In 1855, with a population of some 33,000 - better than one-quarter of the Island's total population at that time - the Bay was divided into five electoral districts; Port-de-Grave (1 seat); Carbonear (1 seat); Harbor Grace (3 seats); Bay-de-Verde (1 seat until 1884; 2 after that time); and Harbor Main (2 seats), giving the Bay an immediate 160% increase in representation. One of the common characteristics of the newly formed districts was that each was the residential domain of one or more merchants who operated within a Conception Bay based economy, independent of St. John's influence. Port-de-Grave had several such merchants.<sup>26</sup> The district of Carbonear, with its early Dorset connexions, had important early firms such as the Kemps, and the firm of Gosse, Pack,<sup>27</sup> and Fryer. During the second half of the century, principal merchants were John Rorke, J. & B. Maddock,<sup>28</sup> and

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<sup>26</sup>An exception was the firm of Robert Prowse and Son. Based in St. John's, Prowse nonetheless, had strong local Port-de-Grave connexions. He was one of those opposed to responsible government in principle and the extension of local representation in particular.

<sup>27</sup>Robert Pack, M.H.A., Conception Bay, 1832-37.

<sup>28</sup>Both Rorke and one of the Maddocks were M.H.A.s during the period under study.

# CONCEPTION BAY DISTRICTS, 1855-1914

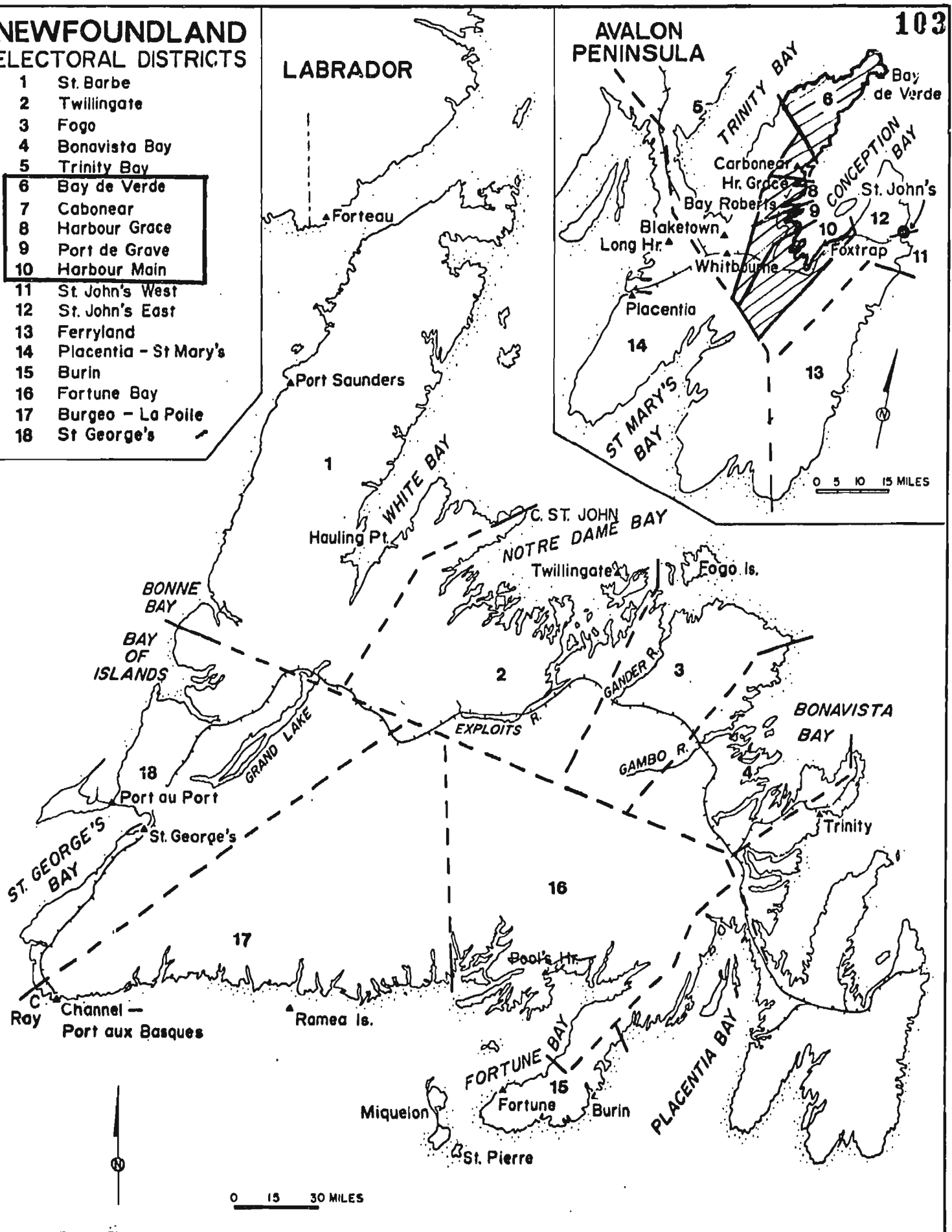
## NEWFOUNDLAND ELECTORAL DISTRICTS

- 1 St. Barbe
- 2 Twillingate
- 3 Fogo
- 4 Bonavista Bay
- 5 Trinity Bay
- 6 Bay de Verde
- 7 Carbonear
- 8 Harbour Grace
- 9 Port de Grave
- 10 Harbour Main
- 11 St. John's West
- 12 St. John's East
- 13 Ferryland
- 14 Placentia - St Mary's
- 15 Burin
- 16 Fortune Bay
- 17 Burgeo - La Poile
- 18 St George's

## LABRADOR

## AVALON PENINSULA

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Benjamin Gould. In addition, Carbonear had two early local newspapers, The Sentinel and The Star, both defunct by the 1870's. Bay-de-Verde had the firms of Charles Cozens, later a Stipendiary Magistrate, and Robert Brown, both of whom were located in the town of Brigus,<sup>29</sup> Harbor Grace, the largest town in the Harbor Grace District, saw John Munn and the Ridley's engaged in keen competition.<sup>30</sup> Early community newspapers emanating from Harbor Grace were The Mercury, The Herald, Conception Bay Man, and finally, The Harbor Grace Standard, owned by the Munn family; the latter, the only paper to survive during the period under study. South of Harbor Grace - in the same district - was Bay Roberts, the early domain of Gosse, Pack, and Fryer. Their premises were later leased and operated by William S. Green,<sup>31</sup> an English-born resident of

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<sup>29</sup>Charles Cozens, M.H.A., C.B., 1832-37. Robert Brown - (son of Peter Brown, M.H.A., C.B., 1832-42) -- was M.H.A., Port-de-Grave, 1855-59. Brown left Brigus to become manager of the newly formed Commercial Bank in St. John's in 1859.

<sup>30</sup>Thomas Ridley, M.H.A., C.B., 1842-48, and again in 1869 as an anti-confederate. An Irish-born Portestant, he was also a M.L.C. John Munn, a native of Scotland, was a member of both the House of Assembly and the Legislative Council.

<sup>31</sup>William S. Green, M.H.A., Harbor Grace, 1865-69. Green was, in addition, the son-in-law of Robert Pack (M.H.A.), and was later appointed J.P. for the Northern District.



Bay Roberts since 1844. In addition to Green, there had been the firm of James Cormack<sup>32</sup> at Bay Roberts and a McLellan firm. With the eventual deaths of Green and Cormack, the political void in Bay Roberts was filled by various members of the Dawe family. Finally, there was the district of Harbor Main, closest in proximity to St. John's. Early settlers in the district were from England and Jersey, many of whom were now Catholics, following the influx of a large immigrant Irish population in pre-responsible government days. Richard Rankin,<sup>33</sup> later Stipendiary Magistrate at Bay-de-Verde, was an important early Harbor Main merchant.

The Conception Bay cod fishery usually began in June and ended in late September. After that time, the potato harvest was usually dug - it was also the most cultivated district on the Island - and then, most of the male population were idle for about five months. Often, single men, known as "winter dieters" traveled about the district cutting and hauling wood for local residents. It was generally accepted practice that the men expected "no

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<sup>32</sup>James Cormack was an early member of the Legislative Council under responsible government.

<sup>33</sup>Richard Rankin, M.H.A., C.B., 1848-52.

more than room and board for wages."<sup>34</sup> By March, however, Conception Bay shook off its economic hibernation and the centers of Harbor Grace, Carbonear, Bay Roberts and Brigus became crowded with activity as the Bay readied itself for its own local seal trade, an activity which lasted into the 1880's. Munn and Ridley, for instance, had three steamers which served in seal fishery duty during the 1870's. The Bay produced its share of colourful planter-captains, some of whom found their way into Newfoundland politics. Most notable, of course, were the Brigus Captains; the Bartletts, the Normans, Perceys, Mundens, and others. But there were many others, and all Conception Bay districts were capable of producing their share. In Harbor Main, for instance, there was William Woodford Sr., a successful sealer captain who in addition, accumulated considerable real property holdings in the Topsail area of Harbor Main, an area which became a quite fashionable resort area after the extension of the railway late in the century. His son, William Woodford, Jr., was to play an important - if sometimes controversial - part in Newfoundland politics during that period with a career that lasted from the 1890's into the 1920's. Woodford managed a tenacious hold on the Harbor Main constituency for nearly three decades.

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<sup>34</sup>Tocque: Newfoundland, 1877, p. 123.

Conception Bay then, through much of the first half of the nineteenth century, can be seen as a collection of Bay communities in which resided certain independent and locally influential fishery merchants. With the granting of responsible government in 1855, Conception Bay emerged as a unique five-constituency region, and unlike most other regions on the Island at the time, political power generally rested in the hands of local Bay merchants. The town of Harbor Grace was the hub of much of the autonomous commercial activity of the bay; with Carbonear, Bay Roberts and to some extent Brigus, rounding out the intra-bay competition. The collective competitive distrust that the bay towns exhibited in their relationship with St. John's was often offset by the fact that they were also, locally, in competition with each other. Conception Bay was the first outport region to experience the impact of the railway and was hit in a unique way by its resulting social and economic consequences. The problems resulting were compounded by the almost simultaneous collapse of the Munn family Harbor Grace fishery. The result was a series of local social and economic crises<sup>35</sup> which demanded immediate

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<sup>35</sup>The populations of three of the five districts; Carbonear, Harbor Grace and Port-de-Grave declined steadily during the years 1884-1901. The Census Officer in 1901 states "It is impossible to account for low averages during 1884-1891." No birth, death, or emigration records were kept for those seven years. Newfoundland Census, 1901, p. vii.

political action from government. The unemployed turned in desperation to those leaders representing the new economy. Harbor Main became the ward of St. John's West. Whatever validity there was to the politically-motivated criticisms emanating from the St. John's press with regard to abuses in the distribution of public works money at the time, the fact remained that those were grim times - particularly along Conception Bay - in the 1880's and 90's.

Table 3:15 shows the number of Executive Councillors who were representing Conception Bay constituencies during the period, 1855-1914. The area produced no premiers during that sixty year period. Harbor Grace, the largest and in many ways the most politically important District on the Bay during the period, shows a surprisingly small number of Executive Councillors (6) as compared to the smaller District of Bay-de-Verde (8). Part of this imbalance rests with the relative political instability of the former. Executive Councillors usually gravitated toward constituencies in which there was some assurance of local political stability. It was important to a premier when running for re-election that he could, to some degree, anticipate the successful return to office of certain key men; often his councillors. Bay-de-Verde, a small district under the economic sphere of Carbonear for much of the period, presented an opposite picture of Harbor Grace. The district - due to its denominational characteristics -

TABLE 3:15

## CONCEPTION BAY EXECUTIVE COUNCILORS, 1855-1914

(Number of Members)

	<u>Bay-de-Verde</u>	<u>Carbonear</u>	<u>Harbor Grace</u>	<u>Port-de-Grave</u>	<u>Harbor Main</u>
Attorney General	-	-	1	-	2
Colonial Secretary	1	-	-	-	-
Solicitor General	-	-	2	-	-
Surveyor General	2	4	-	-	-
Fisheries	-	-	2	-	-
Agriculture and Mines	-	-	1	-	-
Receiver General	2	-	-	-	-
Without Portfolio	3	1	-	1	1
	-	-	-	-	-
	8	5	6	1	3

established itself, in spite of a high turnover rate, as a safe seat for Methodists.<sup>36</sup> When it became important that Methodists be equally represented on the Executive Council during the latter nineteenth century, Bay-de-Verde provided an ideal opportunity for this expression.

Turning to the issue of how often candidates were returned for the Region, Table 3:16 presents a composite of all the Conception Bay Districts, showing the number of times the successful candidates were elected. Bay-de-Verde, already mentioned, had the highest turnover rate of any district on the Bay, 70.6% (12), while Carbonear showed the most stability. Of the six candidates who represented Carbonear during the period - all of them local - none was elected for only one term; two were elected twice, three members served three terms each, and one was returned five times. Bay-de-Verde's most successful candidate was John Bemister, already mentioned as a case study in Chapter II. John Rorke represented Carbonear on five occasions during 1865-1882. A one-time clerk for C.F. Bennett, and later for the Riddleys in Harbor Grace, Rorke rose, beginning in the early 1830's, to a fishery supply merchant of local prominence in Carbonear.<sup>37</sup> Captain Eli Dawe represented

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<sup>36</sup>Sixteen of the seventeen members returned for the district during the period were Methodists. The seventeenth, while unknown, probably conforms to the pattern.

<sup>37</sup>Rorke was the brother-in-law of Rev. Phillip Tocque whose history of Newfoundland is often cited in this study.

TABLE 3:16

NUMBER OF TIMES MEMBERS WERE ELECTED IN CONCEPTION BAY DISTRICTS, 1855-1914

<u>No. of Times Elected</u>	<u>Bay-de-Verde (17=100%)</u>	<u>Carbonear (6=100%)</u>	<u>Harbor Grace (22=100%)</u>	<u>Port-de-Grave (12=100%)</u>	<u>Harbor Main (15=100%)</u>
Once	70.6 (12)	- (0)	50.0 (11)	58.3 (7)	40.0 (6)
Twice	11.8 (2)	33.3 (2)	18.2 (4)	33.3 (4)	33.3 (5)
3 times	11.8 (2)	50.0 (3)	18.2 (4)	8.3 (1)	- (0)
4 times	- (0)	- (0)	9.1 (2)	- (0)	6.7 (1)
5 times	5.8 (1)	16.7 (1)	- (0)	- (0)	13.3 (2)
6 times	- (0)	- (0)	4.5 (1)	- (0)	6.7 (1)
7 times	- (0)	- (0)	- (0)	- (0)	- (0)
	<hr/> (17)	<hr/> (6)	<hr/> (22)	<hr/> (12)	<hr/> (15)

the Harbor Grace District six times during 1889-1909. Running from the town of Bay Roberts, Dawe was in both the Whiteway and Bond executives. Port-de-Grave had only one member elected as many as three times; John Leamon, a Brigus merchant who followed in the footsteps of Robert Brown in that town. The son of a Blandford, Dorset fisherman, Leamon maintained fishing rooms in Holden, Ice Tickles, Batteaux and Rogers Harbors.<sup>38</sup> Harbor Main had three members elected five or more times. The first, Patrick Nowlan, was a Brigus general merchant and fishery supplier.<sup>39</sup> Another was Joseph Little, the son of a Prince Edward Island merchant. Little represented Harbor Main from 1869 to 1884, when he was appointed to the Supreme Court.<sup>40</sup> And finally, William Woodford, Jr. was elected six times during the 1889-1914 period, serving in important positions with nearly all of the premiers of that period.<sup>41</sup> Long term resident members from Conception Bay, then, were

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<sup>38</sup>Newfoundlander, May 25, 1865; Times, Dec. 1, 1866; Courier, Jan. 3, 1846.

<sup>39</sup>Newfoundland Business Directory, 1871 (St. John's and Conception Bay only).

<sup>40</sup>Royal Gazette, July 15, 1902.

<sup>41</sup>Times, Sept. 6, 1893; Colonist, July 20, 1889.



usually connected with the local fishery trade. Five of the seven mentioned were fishery merchants. The exceptions were: Woodford, a Harbor Main real estate developer, and Little, a lawyer heavily engaged in St. John's West politics who habitually ran from the adjacent District of Harbor Main.

Table 3:17 examines the residential patterns of the members in each of the five districts of Conception Bay. It is seen that in only two Conception Bay Districts did local representation reach majority proportions (Carbonear, Harbor Grace) during the 1855-1914 period. Bay-de-Verde produced only two local members during the period; Eli Garland and George E. Moores,<sup>42</sup> both local merchants. By contrast, all of Carbonear representation was local. By 1909, however, after an economic recession which lasted for nearly twenty years, Carbonear, while retaining its strong political tradition of local representation, nonetheless, finally succumbed to the domination of the St. John's-based People's Party.<sup>43</sup> Harbor Grace also shows a strong local representative

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<sup>42</sup>Moores, elected as a Whiteway supporter in 1893, became one of the first political victims of the unseating proceedings in 1894.

<sup>43</sup>John R. Goodison, grandson of John Rorke (MHA) and an in-law of Alfred Penny (MHA Carbonear, 1882-89) ran and won as a People's Party candidate in 1909, defeating Joseph Maddock, a local Carbonear merchant and three time MHA.

TABLE 3:17

RESIDENCY AND BACKGROUNDS OF CONCEPTION BAY MEMBERS, 1855-1914  
(Percent)

		<u>Bay-de-Verde</u>	<u>Carbonear</u>	<u>Harbor Grace</u>	<u>Port-de-Grave</u>	<u>Harbor Main</u>
1	St. John's	35.3 (6)	- (0)	9.1 (2)	33.3 (4)	6.7 (1)
2	St. John's, Foreign Born	5.9 (1)	- (0)	4.6 (1)	- (0)	13.3 (2)
3	St. John's, Outport Background	17.6 (3)	- (0)	9.1 (2)	16.7 (2)	20.0 (3)
4	St. John's, B.N.A. Background	- (0)	- (0)	4.6 (1)	8.3 (1)	6.7 (1)
5	Local	11.8 (2)	66.7 (4)	40.9 (9)	33.3 (4)	33.3 (5)
6	Local with Foreign Background	- (0)	33.3 (2)	18.2 (4)	- (0)	- (0)
7	Local with St. John's Background	- (0)	- (0)	13.6 (3)	- (0)	- (0)
8	Conception Bay	11.8 (2)	- (0)	- (0)	8.3 (1)	13.8 (2)
9	Conception Bay, St. John's Back- ground	- (0)	- (0)	- (0)	- (0)	6.7 (1)
10	Other Outport	17.6 (3)	- (0)	- (0)	- (0)	- (0)
		<u>(17)</u>	<u>(6)</u>	<u>(22)</u>	<u>(12)</u>	<u>(15)</u>
	M.D.	(0)	(0)	(1)	(0)	(0)

tradition - 72.7% in the three local categories - with the town of Harbor Grace dominating the District, in the first half of the period, and then, with Harbor Grace and Bay Roberts vying with each other during most of the latter period in intra-district competition. In Port-de-Grave, Brigus supplied the source of local representation. This representation - local merchant and planter-captain elite - came to an end by 1885. The same is true of Harbor Main. Four candidates of a grass roots character - fishermen-planters - had appeared in the House before 1889.<sup>44</sup> Harbor Main District was dominated after that period, by a series of members who, for the most part, lived in St. John's and whose economic and political interests were centered there.

Tables 3:18 through 3:22 divide House membership into two time periods to determine whether there are any noticeable changes over time in residency patterns of Conception Bay membership. The first period, 1855-1884, covers the high water mark of the Conception Bay fishery; the second, 1885-1914, starts with its collapse and extends to World War I. Using the aggregate table (bottom, Table 3:18) for the purposes of testing, the hypothesis was tested "that there was no significant difference in the

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<sup>44</sup>The fifth representative - an exception to the others - was John Lewis, of Holyrood, Harbor Main, a foreign-port Captain for Job Bros. Lewis died while in service for that company in the port of Naples, Italy, in 1922. Evening Telegram: Jan. 24, 1922.

TABLE 3:18

## BAY-DE-VERDE MEMBERSHIP RESIDENCY PATTERNS FOR TWO PERIODS; 1855-84, 1885-1914

(Numbers of members)

	<u>Residency</u>	<u>1855-1884</u>	<u>1885-1914</u>
1	St. John's	(0)	(6)
2	St. John's, Foreign Background	(0)	(1)
3	St. John's, Outport Background	(1)	(2)
4	Local	(1)	(1)
5	Other Outport	(2)	(3)
		<hr/>	<hr/>
		(4)	(13)

	<u>1855-84</u>	<u>1885-1914</u>	<u>Total</u>
St. John's	1	9	10
Not St. John's	3	4	7
	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>
Total	4	13	17

TABLE 3:19

CARBONEAR MEMBERSHIP RESIDENCY PATTERNS FOR TWO PERIODS: 1855-1884, 1885-1914

(Number of Members)

<u>Carbonear</u>	<u>1855-84</u>	<u>1885-1914</u>
1 St. John's	(0)	(0)
2 Carbonear	(2)	(2)
3 Carbonear, Foreign Background	(1)	(1)
	—	—
	(3)	(3)

TABLE 3:20

HARBOR GRACE MEMBERSHIP RESIDENCY PATTERNS FOR TWO PERIODS: 1855-1884, 1885-1914  
(Number of Members)

	<u>1855-1884</u>	<u>1885-1914</u>	
1 St. John's	(1)	(1)	
2 St. John's, Foreign Background	(0)	(1)	
3 St. John's, Outport Background	(0)	(2)	
4 St. John's, B.N.A. Background	(0)	(1)	
5 Local	(4)	(5)	
6 Local with Foreign Background	(2)	(2)	
7 Local with St. John's Background	(2)	(1)	
	<hr/>	<hr/>	
	(9)	(13)	
M.D.	(0)	(1)	
St. John's	<u>1855-1884</u> 1	<u>1885-1914</u> 5	<u>Total</u> 6
Not St. John's	8	8	16
	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>
	9	13	22

TABLE 3:21

## HARBOR MAIN MEMBERSHIP RESIDENCY PATTERNS FOR TWO PERIODS: 1855-1884, 1885-1914

(Number of Members)

	1855-1884	1885-1914
1 St. John's	(0)	(1)
2 St. John's, Foreign Background	(2)	(0)
3 St. John's, Outport Background	(0)	(2)
4 St. John's, B.N.A. Background	(1)	(0)
5 Harbor Main	(3)	(3)
6 Conception Bay	(2)	(0)
7 Conception Bay, St. John's Background	(0)	(1)
8 Other Outport, Conception Bay Background	(0)	(0)
	<hr/>	<hr/>
	(8)	(7)
M.D.	(0)	(0)

<u>Harbor Main</u>	<u>1855-1884</u>	<u>1885-1914</u>	<u>Total</u>
St. John's	3	3	6
Not St. John's	5	4	9
	<hr/> 8	<hr/> 7	<hr/> 15

TABLE 3:22

PORT-DE-GRAVE MEMBERSHIP RESIDENCY PATTERNS FOR TWO PERIODS: 1855-1884, 1885-1914

(Number of Members)

	1855-1884	1885-1914
1 St. John's	(1)	(3)
2 St. John's, Foreign Background	(1)	(0)
3 St. John's, B.N.A. Background	(0)	(1)
4 St. John's, Outport Background	(0)	(1)
5 Conception Bay	(0)	(1)
6 Port-de-Grave	(4)	(0)
	—	—
	(6)	(6)

	<u>1855-1884</u>	<u>1885-1914</u>	<u>Total</u>
St. John's	2	5	7
Not St. John's	4	1	5
	—	—	—
	6	6	12



residency patterns between Bay-de-Verde members in two periods in time". The results support the hypothesis indicating that it should be retained.<sup>45</sup> But statistical significance at a high level of confidence is difficult to achieve with such a small number of cases, and examination of the cells does suggest a movement away from the earlier pattern in the later period. In the first period, the district is virtually controlled by Carbonear with only one St. John's member, J.J. Rogerson, a merchant, appearing in 1873 and again in 1874. In the latter period, Carbonear influence wanes and St. John's dominates the district (9) with some Bonavista influence (Other Outport:3).

In turning to the Carbonear District, which is too small to test statistically, we find the patterns for both periods identical. It is obvious that, regardless of the changing economic climate of the latter period, Carbonear maintained its traditional policy of local representation, although with the election of John R. Goodison in 1909 the District as already mentioned, lost some of its autonomous political character.

Harbor Grace - like Carbonear - managed to keep a fairly balanced residency pattern through both periods. In the early period, however, six of the eight local

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<sup>45</sup> $\chi^2$  - 2.471. With 1 d.f., the 2x2 table is only significant at the 80% level, not sufficiently high enough to justify rejection.

representatives resided in the town of Harbor Grace while in the latter period, only two of six, the other four being residents of nearby Bay Roberts. The hypothesis, "there was no significant difference in the residency patterns of members from Harbor Grace in two time periods", was tested and retained.<sup>46</sup> An inspection of the cells in Table 3:20, however, reveals two forces moving against local representation from the town of Harbor Grace in the later period; the first is an obvious increase in St. John's representation in the district during the second period, and the second, the shift within the district to representation from Bay Roberts.

Harbor Main District - with the same denominational profile - was in too close proximity to St. John's West not to be affected by its politics. As early as 1869, it became a safe district for urban politicians - first for the old guard - then the new; candidates like Frank J. Morris, brother of Edward P., and John J. Murphy, Utility and Power Co. owner, helped the rising political status of St. John's West to expand its power base along the southeastern shore of Conception Bay. Early railway construction tied the district even more closely to the

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<sup>46</sup> $\chi^2$  - 2.006. With 1 d.f.,  $\chi^2$  was found to be significant only at the 80% level, again, not sufficiently high enough to warrant rejecting the null hypothesis.

city. A visual examination of the cells of Table 3:21 shows an almost identical apportionment of residency patterns for the two periods. The test hypothesis was confirmed; "that there was no significant difference in residency patterns for the two time periods".<sup>47</sup> Despite the fact that Harbor Main moved from a rural fishing and farming district in the early period to a district that felt the first impact of the railway and experienced something of a land boom in the late 1880's and 90's, the character of its membership in terms of residency changed little over two periods.

In turning to the Port-de-Grave district, it is seen that it had similar residency characteristics to the district of Bay-de-Verde. Two-thirds of its representation (4) in the earlier period were local, while in the latter period, the district produced no local representation. The test hypothesis, "that there was no significant difference in residency patterns for the Port-de-Grave representatives over time", and was found significant at the 90% level, which considering the very small population is perhaps sufficient to warrant the rejection of the null hypothesis.<sup>48</sup> There is one markedly different residency

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<sup>47</sup> $\chi^2$  - 0.044, or no statistical significance at any level.

<sup>48</sup> $\chi^2$  - 3.083, significant at the 90% level.

pattern in the two periods which warrants investigation. A closer study reveals that there were no important local merchants in the district after the death of Leamon in 1866. The planter-captains who represented the district after that time had died by the late 1880's. The withdrawal of Munn's from the Labrador trade undoubtedly hurt the district. Once more, Job Bros. of St. John's, who helped, partially, to fill the vacuum created by the departure of Munns, themselves suddenly withdrew from the Brigus supply trade in 1896.<sup>49</sup> This was part of a general retrenchment by the larger St. John's merchants at that time. The vacuum created what some historians have euphemistically called 'the rise of the new merchants',<sup>50</sup> with the implication given that these men somehow had fought their way to the top. More accurately, the baton of economic opportunity was passed by the major merchants, almost willingly at times, to those on the next rung of the ladder. Some of these new merchants were undoubtedly successful. A few even found their way into the higher echelons of the People's Party in the 1900's, and continued to dominate Island affairs well into the twentieth century.

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<sup>49</sup>Smith: Fifty-two Years in Labrador, p. 69. A careful reading of Smith can offer many illuminating insights into the Labrador trade. Smith accounts a chilling tale of how one community (Brigus) had to scramble for survival after being dropped by their accustomed supplier.

<sup>50</sup>Noel, for example, in Politics in Newfoundland, p. 103.

In an effort to place Conception Bay into regional perspective, a contingency table was compiled from data supplied in Tables 3:18 through 3:22. The hypothesis tested was the same as that for the Northern Regional table; namely, "that St. John's candidates had an equally good chance of winning in any of the Conception Bay Districts during the period 1855-1914". The chi-square test revealed that St. John's candidates did not in fact have an equally good chance of winning in any of the Conception Bay Districts.<sup>51</sup> In studying the cells, it is seen that Harbor Grace and particularly Carbonear were not favourable to St. John's representation.

Tables 3:24 through 3:28 looks at both winning and losing candidates in Conception Bay during the period 1855-1914. The purpose is to discern, as was done for the North, whether any noticeable differences occurred between the residency patterns of successful and unsuccessful candidates in the Bay. Table 3:24 examines Bay-de-Verde. A glance at the cells suggests that there would be little statistical difference between the proportions representing winners and losers in Bay-de-Verde, and the test of the hypothesis "that there was no significant difference between the residency patterns of winners and losers in Bay-de-Verde

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<sup>51</sup> $\chi^2 = 18.685$ ; with an 8 d.f.,  $\chi^2$  is just significant at the 98% level. We can therefore reject the null hypothesis.

TABLE 3:23

## CONCEPTION BAY REGIONAL RESIDENCY PATTERNS, 1855-1914

(Number of Members)

	<u>St. John's</u>	<u>Local</u>	<u>Outport</u>	<u>Total</u>
Bay-de-Verde	10	4	3	17
Carbonear	-	6	-	6
Harbor Grace	5	17	-	22
Port-de-Grave	7	5	-	12
Harbor Main	7	8	-	15
	—	—	—	—
Total	29	40	3	72

TABLE 3:24

RESIDENCY PATTERNS OF ALL BAY-DE-VERDE CANDIDATES, 1885-1914  
(Number of Members)

	<u>Bay-de-Verde</u>	<u>Winners</u>	<u>Losers</u>
1	St. John's	(6)	(10)
2	St. John's, Foreign Background	(1)	(1)
3	St. John's, Outport Background	(2)	(2)
4	Local	(1)	(2)
5	Other Outport	(3)	(4)
		—	—
		(13)	(19)
	M.D.	(0)	(0)

<u>Bay-de-Verde</u>	<u>Winners</u>	<u>Losers</u>	<u>Total</u>
St. John's	9	13	22
Not St. John's	4	6	10
	—	—	—
Total	13	19	32

TABLE 3:25

CARBONEAR RESIDENCY PATTERNS OF ALL CANDIDATES DURING 1885-1914  
(Number of Members)

	<u>Winners</u>	<u>Losers</u>
1 St. John's	(0)	(0)
2 Carbonear	(2)	(6)
3 Carbonear, Foreign Background	(1)	(0)
	<hr/>	<hr/>
	(3)	(6)
M.D.	(0)	(0)



during the period", indicates that it should be retained.<sup>52</sup>

In Carbonear, six local inhabitants challenged three incumbent members during the period. Carbonear was unique then, in that all of the politically active - the successful and unsuccessful alike - were local residents. All represented the local commercial class with the exception of one; J. Powell, a Burnt Head (Carbonear Dist.) planter who unsuccessfully challenged the town elite in 1900. The District of Carbonear is too small to test. The cells suggest that there was no statistical difference in the residency patterns between the successful and unsuccessful, however.

Table 3:26 looks at nearby Harbor Grace. Test of the hypothesis "that there was no significance in the residency patterns of winners and losers in Harbor Grace during the period" resulted in its acceptance.<sup>53</sup> In reviewing the cells, however, it is apparent that many local candidates (12) ran and lost during the 1885-1914 period. This might have significance (if not strict statistical significance) since we have discovered earlier that there was an increase of St. John's members in Harbor Grace during the 1885-1914 period, and that there seemed to be a shift in successful local representation away from

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<sup>52</sup> $\chi^2$  - 0.006; not significant at any level.

<sup>53</sup> $\chi^2$  - 0.611; with  $\chi^2$  significant only at the 50% level.

TABLE 3:26

## HARBOR GRACE RESIDENCY PATTERNS OF ALL CANDIDATES DURING 1885-1914

(Number of Members)

	Winners	Losers
1 St. John's	(1)	(2)
2 St. John's, Foreign Background	(1)	(1)
3 St. John's, Outport Background	(2)	(1)
4 St. John's, B.N.A. Background	(1)	(0)
5 Harbor Grace	(5)	(12)
6 Harbor Grace, Foreign Background	(2)	(0)
7 Harbor Grace, St. John's Background	(1)	(0)
	<hr/>	<hr/>
	(13)	(16)
M.D.	(1)	(2)

<u>Harbor Grace</u>	<u>Winners</u>	<u>Losers</u>	<u>Total</u>
St. John's	5	4	9
Not St. John's	8	12	20
	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>
	13	16	29

the town of Harbor Grace to Bay Roberts, an intra-district rival.<sup>54</sup>

In Port-de-Grave, there was little difference between losing and winning patterns, even though three local candidates ran and lost during the period. The test hypothesis, "that there was no significant difference between successful and unsuccessful candidates in Port-de-Grave during the period", was therefore retained.<sup>55</sup>

Table 3:28 deals with the District of Harbor Main. Despite an increase of unsuccessful St. John's challengers during the period, the overall proportions of the loser column are not significantly different from those of the winners.<sup>56</sup>

In looking at Conception Bay as a whole, Table 3:29 is a composite of all the winners and losers in Conception Bay during the 1885-1914 period. The purpose of the table is to determine whether any discernible Regional pattern emerges between winners and losers. The hypothesis that "Residency patterns were equally distributed among winners and losers in the Conception Bay region during

<sup>54</sup>It is information such as this, not readily available in traditional sources of historical material, that could possibly add a new dimension to such incidents as the Harbor Grace riots.

<sup>55</sup> $\chi^2=0.728$ ; or significant only at the 50% level.

<sup>56</sup>In testing,  $\chi^2=0.382$  - significant at about the 40% level. The test hypothesis was therefore retained.

TABLE 3:27

PORT DE GRAVE RESIDENCY PATTERNS OF ALL CANDIDATES DURING 1885-1914

(Number of Members)

	<u>Winners</u>	<u>Losers</u>
1 St. John's	(3)	(4)
2 St. John's, Foreign Background	(0)	(1)
3 St. John's, B.N.A. Background	(1)	(0)
4 St. John's, Outport Background	(1)	(0)
5 Port-de-Grave	(0)	(3)
6 Other Outport	(1)	(0)
	<hr/>	<hr/>
	(6)	(8)
M.D.	(0)	(0)

	<u>Winners</u>	<u>Losers</u>	<u>Total</u>
St. John's	5	5	10
Not St. John's	1	3	4
	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>
Total	6	8	14

TABLE 3:28

## HARBOR MAIN RESIDENCY PATTERNS OF ALL CANDIDATES DURING 1885-1914

(Number of Members)

		<u>Winners</u>	<u>Losers</u>
1	St. John's	(1)	(6)
2	St. John's, Foreign Background	(0)	(1)
3	St. John's, Outport Background	(2)	(1)
4	St. John's, B.N.A. Background	(0)	(0)
5	Harbor Main	(3)	(5)
6	Conception Bay	(0)	(0)
7	Conception Bay, St. John's Background	(1)	(1)
		<hr/>	<hr/>
		(7)	(14)
		M.D. (0)	(0)
		<hr/>	<hr/>
		<u>Winners</u>	<u>Losers</u>
	St. John's	3	8
	Not St. John's	4	6
		<hr/>	<hr/>
	Total	7	14
		<hr/>	<hr/>
		<u>Total</u>	<u>Total</u>
		11	21

TABLE 3:29

CONCEPTION BAY REGIONAL RESIDENCY OF ALL CANDIDATES DURING 1885-1914  
(Number of Members)

	<u>Winners</u>	<u>Losers</u>	<u>Total</u>
1 St. John's	22	36	58
2 Local	15	23	38
3 Outport	5	4	9
	<u>—</u>	<u>—</u>	<u>—</u>
Total	42	63	105

the period" was tested and retained.<sup>57</sup>

East of the District of Harbor Main, on the north-east side of the Avalon Peninsula is St. John's. The city itself stretched along the northside of a naturally protected harbour from which it grew gradually, somewhat reluctantly, up the slopes of hills which carried it away from the waterfront. Its three main streets, running in parallel terraced lines with the harbour front were called, simply, lower, middle, and upper roads at the beginning of the nineteenth century, but were soon renamed Water St., Duckworth, and Gower Sts. Water St., "very substantial though not handsome in appearance",<sup>58</sup> was the site of most of the commercial activity of the town. Shops, stores, and warehouse premises of general and commission merchant firms fronted both sides of the street with the monotony of harbour side storefronts occasionally broken by an archway that opened on paths and gangways leading to the harbour's wharves.

The first half of the nineteenth century saw the rise on Water St. of a group of resident ship owning merchants who not only exported fish and seal oil, but took

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<sup>57</sup> $\chi^2$  - 1.015, with 2 d.f.,  $\chi^2$  is not significant at any level.

<sup>58</sup>Joseph Hatton & Rev. Moses Harvey: Newfoundland, Doyle and Whittle, Boston, 1883, p. 126.

# ST. JOHN'S DISTRICTS, 1855-1914

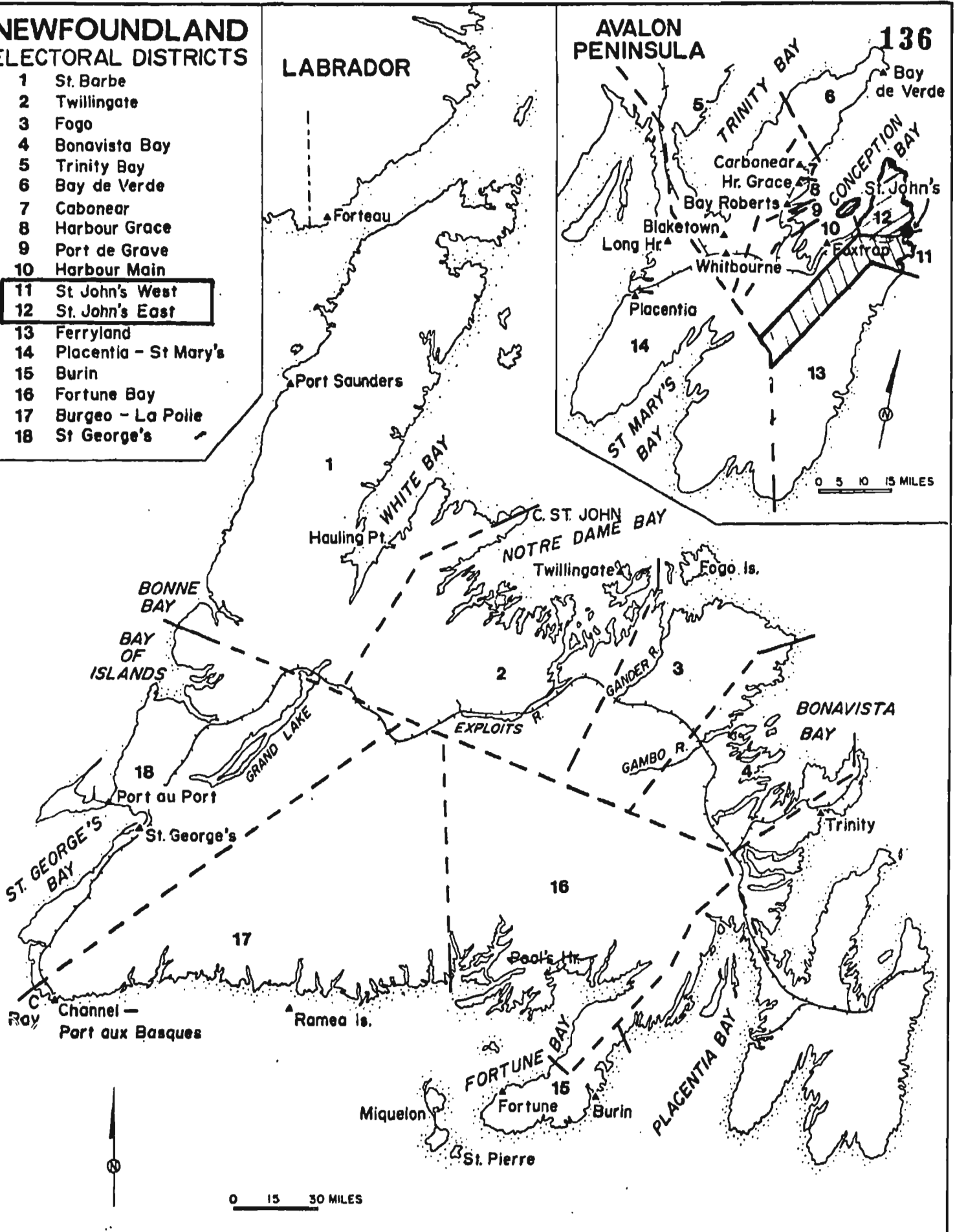
## NEWFOUNDLAND ELECTORAL DISTRICTS

- 1 St. Barbe
- 2 Twillingate
- 3 Fogo
- 4 Bonavista Bay
- 5 Trinity Bay
- 6 Bay de Verde
- 7 Cabonear
- 8 Harbour Grace
- 9 Port de Grave
- 10 Harbour Main
- 11 St John's West
- 12 St John's East
- 13 Ferryland
- 14 Placentia - St Mary's
- 15 Burin
- 16 Fortune Bay
- 17 Burgeo - La Poile
- 18 St George's

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part in the intra-colonial trade with the rest of British North America and the West Indies. Harvey & Co., for instance, kept a fleet of seven large brigantines, painted all white, and brought in large quantities of staples from Philadelphia, New York and New England. There was the Greenock firm of Peter and Robert McBride who did a steady trade with Hamburg, specializing in the import of bricks, hard bread, boots and butter.<sup>59</sup> The firm of Richard and John O'Dwyer, engaged in the seal and herring fishery and distributed Irish goods to Halifax and the east coast. C.F. Bennett had a large share of the Spanish trade and his large brick waterfront warehouse was regularly filled with fruits, wines, cork, onions and salt shipped direct from that country.<sup>60</sup> Between Rogerson's and John Bond's wharves was the firm of Peter and Lewis Tessier, who by mid-century were one of the largest West end employers of fish handling labour. Large shippers to Brazil, the Tessiers usually sent at least one large salt cod laden vessel per fortnight, during the months of June through December, to that country.<sup>61</sup> The Shea's, early agents for

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<sup>59</sup>Devine: Ye Old St. John's, p. 41.

<sup>60</sup>Ibid., p. 69.

<sup>61</sup>Ibid., p. 77.

Allan Line of Aberdeen, developed an extensive carrying trade with Montreal and generally became one of the chief Island suppliers of Canadian products such as flour, butter, wood products, and finally, manufactured goods.

All of the firms had certain common characteristics. They were family organizations, small partnerships of father and sons, or brother and brother, and occasionally, for special ventures such as seal trade speculation, short term contractual agreements were made between family and family in efforts to spread costs and minimize risks. Under such a closely knit organizational structure, there was no impelling drive toward ruinous expansion and growth. Development and growth proceeded at what today might seem cautious and hesitant.<sup>62</sup>

Growth was limited or controlled by such factors as the presence and sometimes talents of available male heirs within the family structure. An untimely death could sometimes drastically alter the company's economic stability. The mortality rate of Water St. firms was high during the first half of the nineteenth century.<sup>63</sup> Only

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<sup>62</sup> An interesting account of this early nineteenth century non-frantic business ethic based on sound credit and cautious expansion is given in David Keir: The Bowring Story, William Clowes & Co., London, 1962, particularly in the letters cited between Benjamin and C.T. Bowring - St. John's representative at that time - where the former stresses caution to the latter.

<sup>63</sup> A cursory examination of the Public Ledger or Newfoundland, for instance, during the periods 1830-50 will support this statement. In addition, insolvencies continue to appear in the 1860's, 70's and 90's.

a few firms reached what could be called sound creditor status in the colony; Job Bros.; Bowring's; Harvey's; Ayre's; and Baine, Johnston & Co.,<sup>64</sup> while most remained entangled in a giant interlocking credit system, locally based but secured in the United Kingdom, in which often this year's profits went toward paying last year's debts.

It was this St. John's commercial class who stood as the elite of the Island at mid-nineteenth century and who, for the most part - contrary to popular legend - were in favor, at least in principle, of responsible government. For one thing, the concept of responsible government implied such things as improved fire protection, more uniform application and enforcement of law and order, improved communications and mail service - the existing service was a constant complaint of many merchants - and in addition, the ending of an almost constant and tiring bickering on petty issues which were never resolved in the House, and which were complicated by the obstructionist tactics of a House refusing to cooperate on fiscal matters and bringing administrative functions of government to a stand still. Representative government of the 1832-54 period had been viewed by many as having been a disillusioning experience

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<sup>64</sup>David Keir: Bowring, p. 110. C.F. Bennett should be added to this group, and Ayre did not join this company until late in the nineteenth century.

and had provoked at least one member of the press, Henry Winton, Sr., the proprietor of The Public Ledger, to cry out "that villianous nuisance, the House of Assembly, meets in session today. The Legislative, we will presume, will be opened at the usual hour; but nobody seems to take the slightest interest in the affair."<sup>65</sup>

One of the compensating aspects of the new responsible government system was the immediate opportunity for large profits on public works. Certain merchant firms - with United Kingdom connections - were suddenly offered ancillary opportunities for local profits never dreamed of before. An example was the new St. John's water system, proposed after years of insistence by Dr. William Carson, for all of the nineteenth century sanitary reasons, and tenders were let for the supply of 2,400 tons of water pipe to the local firms of Grieve, Job's, and Brookings, each with connexions in Greenock, Liverpool and London.<sup>66</sup> Large firms such as Bowring's or Harvey's could contract for steamer mail service, purchase one or two ships on the Clyde and capitalize the cost against the subsidy granted in the mail contracts. Each new mail contract could comfortably support the expansion of a merchant's steamer fleet. In addition, unprofitable business ventures could

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<sup>65</sup>Public Ledger, January 3, 1840.

<sup>66</sup>Patriot, Mar. 26, 1860.

sometimes be foisted off on the government under the guise of helping the government increase its expanding services.<sup>67</sup>

With the granting of responsible government, the old electoral district of St. John's was divided into two constituencies; East and West, each containing three members. St. John's East included its immediate outlying area from Beck's Cove, east, plus Belle Island, Portugal Cove and other communities. St. John's West ran from Beck's Cove, west, and included outlying communities of Petty Harbor, Madox Cove, Freshwater and Cape Spear. Table 3:30 shows the number of Executive Councilors from each District during the 1855-1914 period. In addition to the Executive Councillors, St. John's East produced one premier; John Kent, in 1859. Two Island premiers represented St. John's West during the period; the first, Phillip F. Little, the Island's first premier under responsible government, and at a much later date in 1909, Edward P. Morris. Neither of the two urban districts produced as many Councillors as one might expect for a period covering sixty years, and for a city which was the political centre of the colony. Of the eight Councillors shown for St. John's West, it should be pointed out that

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<sup>67</sup>Bowring's for example, managed to unload the unprofitable Atlantic Hotel, a building euphemistically described as being 'ahead of its time', to the Government for use as Custom House expansion. The price; \$6,500. Daily News, Oct. 25, 1893.

TABLE 3:30

## ST. JOHN'S EXECUTIVE COUNCILLORS, 1855-1914

	<u>St. John's East</u>	<u>St. John's West</u>
Attorney General	(1)	(3)
Receiver General	(1)	-
Colonial Secretary	(2)	(1)
Surveyor General	-	(1)
Without Portfolio	(1)	(3)
	<hr/>	<hr/>
	(5)	(8)

E.P. Morris filled six of those positions in six different governments including two of his own.

Table 3:31 shows the number of times members were elected from the two districts. Edward P. Morris and Robert J. Parsons, members from two different generations, were returned the most times. Morris was elected nine successive times for St. John's West during the period, starting in 1885. Parsons, representing St. John's East, was elected seven times during the responsible government period.<sup>68</sup> Of the seven most elected members in St. John's East during the period, six were professionals; only one, John Kent, could be considered a merchant having a direct relationship with the fish trade.<sup>69</sup> The same holds true of St. John's West; of its ten members elected three or more times, only one, Lewis Tessier<sup>70</sup> a co-partner in the firm

<sup>68</sup>In addition, Parsons had served in the old 15 member House as early as 1848.

<sup>69</sup>Even Kent hardly represents the 'typical Water St. Merchant', A Brother in the firm of Robert and James Kent, of Waterford and St. John's, Kent was elected 4 times prior to 1855, and 4 times after that period. Something of a Whig elitist, Kent has been misrepresented occasionally as an egalitarian.

<sup>70</sup>Lewis Tessier and his brother, Peter, were known as "Kings of the Westend" - in a labour giving sense. Devine: Ye Old St. John's, p. 75. In addition, Lewis, a bachelor, lived in a flamboyant style which made him a popular local celebrity. He owned one of the few English style coaches with matched horses in Town. He built a large residence at the foot of Springdale St. in the heart of the Westend, something unheard of at the time. After his death, his former residence became the headquarters of the "Westend Club", a political and social club.

TABLE 3:31

NUMBER OF TIMES MEMBERS WERE ELECTED, 1855-1914

<u>Number</u>	<u>St. John's East</u>	<u>St. John's West</u>
Once	31.6 (6)	47.8 (11)
Twice	15.8 (3)	8.7 (2)
3 times	15.8 (3)	30.4 (7)
4 times	21.1 (4)	4.3 (1)
5 times	10.5 (2)	4.3 (1)
6 times	- (0)	- (0)
7 times	5.3 (1)	- (0)
8 times	- (0)	- (0)
9 times	- (0)	4.3 (1)
	<hr/>	<hr/>
	(19)	(23)
M.D.	(0)	(0)



of P. & L. Tessier, heavy employers of the Westend labour force, was an active and large fish merchant. Generally, then, the urban electorate of St. John's did not look for their representation from the merchant sector.

Residential relationships and backgrounds of the representatives of the two St. John's districts are shown in Table 3:32. Strong local identity with the urban St. John's community was an essential prerequisite for success in nineteenth century St. John's politics. In St. John's East, only one member was elected during the period who had not been born either in St. John's or the United Kingdom. He was Jeremiah Hallaren, a semi-nomadic Nova Scotian who had drifted around the Maritimes and the east coast in his early years. He had learned the carpenter and joiner trade in Halifax and spent his time in construction work with the Little Glace Bay Mining Co., finally moving on to Portland, Boston, New York and Brooklyn. He drifted into St. John's at the age of thirty-two and started doing odd carpentry jobs in 1875. Four years later, he and George Herder started a planing and moulding mill business. For a time, the pair manufactured the first commercial-built dories produced on the Island.<sup>71</sup> Table 3:32 strongly

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<sup>71</sup>Devine: Ye Old St. John's, pp. 93-94. Also Mott: Newfoundland Men. Hallaren was elected to the House in 1889; he was also president of the Mechanics Society, 1891 through 1894. Hallaren's business partner was the brother of the owner of the Evening Telegram.

TABLE 3:32

ST. JOHN'S RESIDENCY AND BACKGROUND RELATIONSHIPS  
OF ITS MEMBERS, 1855-1914

	St. John's East	St. John's West
1 St. John's	63.2 (12)	50.0 (11)
2 St. John's, Foreign Background	31.6 (6)	31.8 (7)
3 St. John's, Outport Background	- (0)	9.1 (2)
4 St. John's, B.N.A. Background	5.3 (1)	9.1 (2)
	<hr/>	<hr/>
	(19)	(22)
M.D.	(0)	(1)

suggests a similar residency pattern for both urban districts.

Tables 3:33 and 3:34 deal with the residency and background patterns of urban members in two periods of time; 1855-1884 and 1885-1914. The first deals with St. John's East. There was a strong emotional tie in the district between St. John's and Ireland. Among foreign born members in the first period, four of five were natives of the south coast of Ireland. In the first four elections under responsible government, eight of the twelve seats were filled by Irish-born residents of the District. In the latter period, of the seven St. John's born members, six were first or second generation sons of Irish immigrants.

In St. John's West, the first period pattern is the same. Four of five of the foreign born members in the early period came from Ireland. In the latter period, however, of two foreign-born members, one had been born and raised in London; the other, a native of Saltscoat, Scotland. But generally, an Irish cultural background prevailed for District membership in both periods.

Turning to urban winners and losers, Table 3:35 looks at St. John's East for the period 1885-1914. The patterns for both are basically the same; the only noticeable difference being that a great many more St. John's born residents tried unsuccessfully to get elected

TABLE 3:33

ST. JOHN'S EAST RESIDENCY PATTERNS FOR TWO PERIODS: 1855-1884, 1885-1914

(Number)

		1855-1884	1885-1914
1	St. John's	(5)	(7)
2	St. John's, Foreign Background	(5)	(1)
3	St. John's, Outport Background	(0)	(0)
4	St. John's, B.N.A. Background	(0)	(1)
		<hr/>	<hr/>
		(10)	(9)
	M.D.	(0)	(0)

TABLE 3:34\*

ST. JOHN'S WEST RESIDENCY PATTERNS FOR TWO PERIODS: 1855-1884, 1885-1914

	<u>1855-1884</u>	<u>1885-1914</u>
1 St. John's	(6)	(5)
2 St. John's, Foreign Background	(5)	(2)
3 St. John's, Outport Background	(1)	(1)
4 St. John's, B.N.A. Background	(1)	(1)
	<hr/>	<hr/>
	(13)	(9)
M.D.	(1)	(0)

\* The total for St. John's West for the two periods is 23; St. John's East (Table 3:33), 19. The difference is accountable to 23 members sitting for a total of 54 seats from St. John's West during the period covering 18 general elections, while only 19 members sat for 54 seats from St. John's East for the same period. St. John's East returned fewer candidates more often.

TABLE 3:35

## ST. JOHN'S EAST RESIDENCY PATTERNS FOR ALL CANDIDATES DURING 1885-1914

		<u>Winners</u>	<u>Losers</u>
1	St. John's	(7)	(17)
2	St. John's, Foreign Background	(1)	(2)
3	St. John's, Outport Background	(0)	(1)
4	St. John's, B.N.A. Background	(1)	(1)
		<hr/>	<hr/>
		(9)	(21)
	M.D.	(0)	(1)

than those who actually succeeded.

Of the eighteen known challengers (of 20) who were unsuccessful in their bid for a seat from St. John's West during the period 1885-1914 all, with the exception of one, were born in St. John's. Eight of the eighteen were tradesmen, and of these, four were self-employed coopers and two were local carriage makers, descendents of the same men to whom Little had spoken of responsible government in 1854. Table 3:36 shows St. John's West residency patterns of winners and losers. Close identity to geographic place - often routed in long term family identity within the community - characterized local nineteenth century St. John's political participation. In addition, this participation tended to center around issues which were local, urban, and often times only indirectly related to the fishery trade problems. No more than five - possibly six - of the forty-three successful candidates who represented the two St. John's Districts during the 1855-1914, could be classified as large local fishery trade merchants. As a form of urban-populism began to take hold in the late nineteenth century, centering around the railway issue, the urban working population turned its back, with finality, on traditional merchant class leadership.<sup>72</sup> The bank crisis of the

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<sup>72</sup>This will be discussed in more detail in Chapter VI, dealing with Kinship and Marriage.

TABLE 3:36

## ST. JOHN'S WEST RESIDENCY PATTERNS OF ALL CANDIDATES DURING 1885-1914

	<u>Winners</u>	<u>Losers</u>
1 St. John's	(5)	(17)
2 St. John's, Foreign Background	(2)	(1)
3 St. John's, Outport Background	(1)	(0)
4 St. John's, B.N.A. Background	(1)	(0)
	<hr/>	<hr/>
	(9)	(18)
M.D.	(0)	(2)



nineties had destroyed their credibility as those who had had an unquestioned right to community leadership. The countdown for the eventual victory of the new economy had begun. By 1909, the People's Party rose like a giant phoenix from the funeral pyre of the old economy and once born, it carried with it the hopes and expectations of the wage-earning St. John's working class. There were other groups, however, on the Island - those in most northern districts, for example - who viewed the People's Party launching with increasing apprehension. For the People's Party, with its popular urban Anti-fish merchant bias (a bias that did not exclude them from high echelon membership in the Party), was by implication, an anti-fisherman position. The fisherman, abstracted in the urban conscious into something he was not by the 1890's, was now threatened with extinction at the hands of the People's Party. For in 1909, the Party welcomed all fishermen into its ranks, particularly those who were willing to become road construction workers, miners, and pit prop cutters.

The fourth Region under consideration includes the southern shore and south coast of the Island. Ferryland, south of St. John's, was one of the first settled areas of the Island and a one-seat constituency in the old fifteen member House of Assembly, 1832-54. The district's principal

# SOUTHERN SHORE AND SOUTH COAST DISTRICTS, 1855-1914

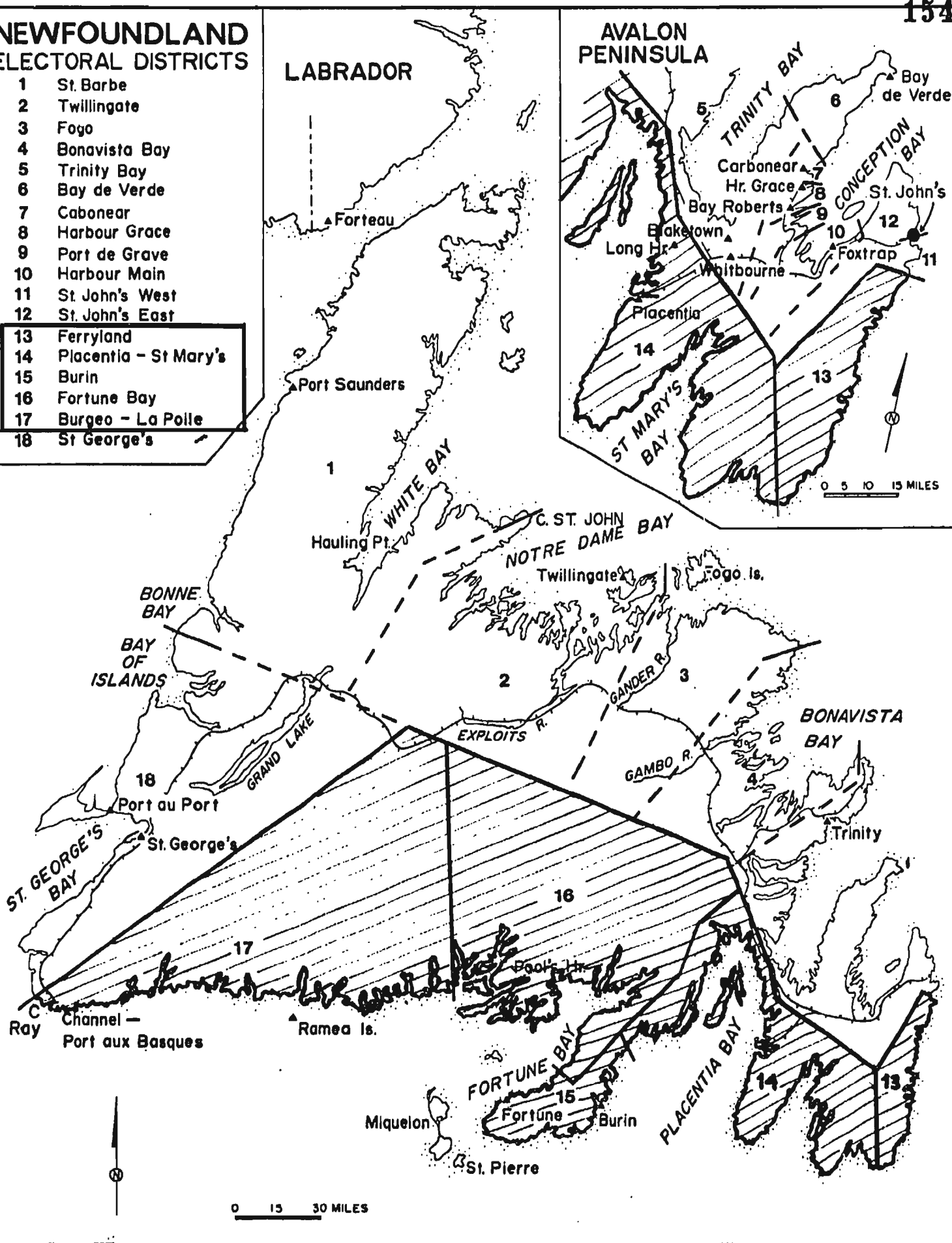
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## NEWFOUNDLAND ELECTORAL DISTRICTS

- 1 St. Barbe
- 2 Twillingate
- 3 Fogo
- 4 Bonavista Bay
- 5 Trinity Bay
- 6 Bay de Verde
- 7 Cabonear
- 8 Harbour Grace
- 9 Port de Grave
- 10 Harbour Main
- 11 St. John's West
- 12 St. John's East
- 13 Ferryland
- 14 Placentia - St Mary's
- 15 Burin
- 16 Fortune Bay
- 17 Burgeo - La Polle
- 18 St. George's

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representative during that period was Peter Winsor,<sup>73</sup> a captain-planter from the town of Aquaforte, a community in the Ferryland District. The Winsor family were also engaged in transporting Irish immigrants to the Island early in the nineteenth century. The common practice was to defer passage fare until after the first fishing season in Newfoundland. If they did not settle their account at that time, their families in Waterford or Cork would be liable - security for their passage had been set by bondsmen in Ireland - and the new immigrants, in effect, would find themselves in the same position as bail jumpers.<sup>74</sup> Thomas Glen was also another important representative from Ferryland, 1842-48. A former Bay Bulls merchant, the Scottish born Glen later moved to St. John's and became an important member of Government during the early responsible government years serving as the Island's Receiver General in three governments. Robert Carter, R.N. retired, was another important Ferryland resident and member of government.<sup>75</sup> The 1857 census shows Ferryland

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<sup>73</sup>Peter Winsor; MHA, Ferryland; 1837-42; 1848-55, and again, 1855-59.

<sup>74</sup>Public Ledger, Oct. 16, 1829. Winsor later, after 4 terms in the House, became Stipendiary Magistrate at Ferryland, holding the office until his death in 1864.

<sup>75</sup>Carter at the time was related to Chief Justice Carter, of the New Brunswick Supreme Court. A nephew of Carter, F.B.T. Carter, later held the same position for Newfoundland. Patriot, Dec. 6, 1852.

consisting of seventeen scattered communities at that time, the five principal towns ranging in size from 600 to 800.

West of the southern tip of Ferryland were two bays; the first, St. Mary's, located on the southern side of the Avalon Peninsula, and west of it, the larger bay of Placentia, at one time the largest French community on the Island. The two bays formed one geographic two-member constituency during the 1832-54 period, and with reapportionment in 1855, membership was increased to three seats and remained so during the period under study. Considerable trade was carried out of St. Mary's Bay during the first half of the nineteenth century by Slade, Elson & Co.,<sup>76</sup> a Carbonear firm with Dorset connexions. At Placentia, three principal firms were based there during the early nineteen hundreds; Roger Sweetman & Co.,<sup>77</sup> the Murphy's, and a firm known as the Irish House. During the 1832-54 period, the district's ten seats were filled by eight merchants, most of them based in St. John's. The district was characterized by a vast rambling shore line and numerous small, widely scattered communities; a

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<sup>76</sup>J.H. Martin, MHA: Placentia & St. Mary's, 1832-37. Martin was Slade, Elson & Co.'s agent at St. Mary's.

<sup>77</sup>Roger Sweetman, MHA, Placentia & St. Mary's, 1832-37.

condition which did not help its political development. In addition, since the district contained two bays, each tended to develop its own insular patterns independent of the other. At the beginning of our period, the 1857 census shows over 90 communities, widely scattered, the principal settlements of Placentia, Little Placentia, St. Mary's, Trepassey and Oderin containing no more than 400 to 600 persons. Almost seventy of the district's communities at the time had populations of less than 100; nearly forty of these had populations under thirty. Such conditions made effective local political organization almost impossible at that time. Local families - such as the McGraths - might from time to time control enough votes to find places in the House of Assembly, but the chances of local autonomous control of the district was next to impossible. Initially, healthy economic activity in nineteenth century Newfoundland was not necessarily commensurate with political power alignments. Placentia in the 1830's, according to Tocque, had a healthy foreign trade from locally based ships.<sup>78</sup> Forty years later, this local trade had long since disappeared. Politics and economics became more inseparably linked throughout the nineteenth century.

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<sup>78</sup>Tocque: Newfoundland, 1877, p. 175.

The Burin Peninsula separates Placentia from the rest of the south shore of the Island. Once more, the southern tip of the Peninsula is only a short fifteen miles from the French Islands of St. Pierre and Miquelon. This strategic significance often made Burin a potentially sensitive spot in Island political power plays which were often designed to appeal to the Colonial Office, at the expense of the inhabitants of the south coast, and the community of Lamaline, Burin, became an important customs station, port of entry, and intelligence center for any alleged illegal trade connected with the area.<sup>79</sup> An important early resident merchant of Burin was William Hooper,<sup>80</sup> who also did trade through the firm of Harrison and Hooper at nearby Mortier.<sup>81</sup> Other important local merchants in the early nineteenth century, were R.J. Falles<sup>82</sup> - a Jersey firm - and the O'Neil family.

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<sup>79</sup>James M. Winter, father of James S. Winter, premier 1897-1900, had the important civil service posts of Custom's Officer and Stipendiary Magistrate at Lamaline at one time. Newfoundlander, June 22, 1863.

<sup>80</sup>William Hooper, MHA, Burin, 1832-37.

<sup>81</sup>Tocque: Newfoundland, 1877, p. 178. Harrison, on the other hand, was also a one-time partner of the Riddleys at Harbor Grace.

<sup>82</sup>J.G. Falles, a relative; MHA, Burin; 1848-52.

In addition was the large and flourishing Greenock firm of Spurrier & Co., who from about 1775 through 1815 conducted a lively trade from the Island's south coast. Dedicated to an extreme position of the concept of 'Free trade' - which in practice verged on commercial anarchy - the firm did a risky, but highly profitable business through those war-torn years.<sup>83</sup> Spurrier's vacant and dilapidated south coast premises at Oderin were taken over by James Furlong<sup>84</sup> of St. John's, a merchant who carried on an extensive trade with Halifax. Also vacant by the 1870's was the old Newman premises at St. Lawrence (Burin Dist.). Tocque mentions, in 1877, visiting the ruins and finding there a Mr. Thorn, the son of the late Newman's agent who had worked 49 years for that firm.<sup>85</sup> Also representing Burin in the early period was Clement Benning,<sup>86</sup> a local planter who was later appointed Stipendiary

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<sup>83</sup>The firm is mentioned in David Macmillan's fine study of Greenock Scottish firms in the Maritimes, in David Macmillan, ed., Canadian Business History. The firm's Newfoundland operation, at least, was bankrupt by 1830; Public Ledger, Nov. 23, 1830.

<sup>84</sup>James Furlong, MLC, died suddenly at the age of 48, in 1856. His business was carried on in a less extensive fashion by his family; however. There were also Furlong's in Placentia. Patriot, April 7, 1856.

<sup>85</sup>Tocque: Newfoundland, 1877, p. 179.

<sup>86</sup>Clement Benning, MHA, Burin; 1842-48; and 1852-59.

Magistrate at Lamaline after three terms in the House of Assembly.

The Burin Peninsula formed the southeastern arm of the District of Fortune Bay. Fortune, a one-seat constituency during the 1832-54 period, remained so during the responsible government period under study. In 1845, the district was reported to have a population of close to 5,000. Twelve years later, the 1857 census reported a total of something under 3,500; a drop of 30% if the figures can be considered accurate. Early in the century were two large firms based at Harbor Breton; Newman Co., and the House of Phillip Nicoll, Jr. Nicoll's firm represented the twilight years of something over 100 years of Jersey commercial activity here and on the Gaspé. Newman's was one of the Island's oldest firms with, at one time, four large establishments at St. John's, Harbor Breton, Burgeo, and Gaultois. By the mid-nineteenth century, the St. John's branch was closed<sup>87</sup> and Gaultois had become something of a whale factory. Newman's had extended their whaling operation to include Hermitage Bay (Fortune) when

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<sup>87</sup>Newman's was still active, however, and in addition leased its former St. John's premises to other firms; J. & A. Stewart, for one.



they had bought out Peter LeMessurier around 1810. Both Newman's and the Nicoll firm worked in apparent harmony at Harbor Breton, each employing similar methods to exploit the fishery. Each brought men - from England, and later, Jersey - engaged by contract to serve one, two, or three years. In addition to sleeping barracks, the companies provided cook rooms, cooper's shops, a sail loft, boat repair yard and carpenter's and blacksmith's shops. After the usual deductions for room and board, the net wages were usually paid from England or Jersey directly to the fishermen's families at home.<sup>88</sup> Price fixing was augmented with a policy of not selling to each other's customers - a policy that accelerated the practice of smuggling on the south coast - an expression of local economic protest which was forever being misread by the government in St. John's as a subversive and unpatriotic activity. In 1848, to add to the burdens already imposed on the local fisherman-consumer, the two firms were granted the only liquor licences on the south shore.<sup>89</sup> It then became, indirectly, the job of the local customs officers to see to it that the two firms enjoyed an unimpeded profit from their liquor sales. Tocque saw local conditions in

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<sup>88</sup>Tocque: Newfoundland, 1877, p. 185.

<sup>89</sup>Ibid., p. 186.

Fortune as particularly bad (1848). While most of the local problems were historically rooted, the result of years of isolation, exploitation, and abuse; St. Pierre had at least provided something of a social safety valve for the region. With the coming of responsible government, the south coast would, in addition, be burdened with troublesome St. John's interference. Whatever the government's intentions, with its expanded authority after 1855, local political power quite naturally accrued to these already despised local agent-operators. Tocque put it, in a letter to Colonial Secretary Crowdy, this way: "in order to see the influence of the[se] agents ... you must become a resident. Each is regarded as a sovereign in his own right ... the power of these men seems unbounded ... added to which, is the power the government has thrown into their hands."<sup>90</sup> The most populous settlement on Fortune Bay (1870's) was Grand Bank, which was not actually a part of the Fortune District, but was annexed to Burin. William Evans, an early merchant and one time Stipendiary Magistrate, had carried on an extensive local business there which was later conducted by his son, Edward Evans.<sup>91</sup>

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<sup>90</sup>Tocque: Newfoundland, 1877, pp. 189-90.

<sup>91</sup>Edward Evans, MHA, Burin; 1861, 1865, 1869.

West of Fortune was a relatively straight strip of coastline stretching for over 200 miles to Cape Ray, the nineteenth century terminus of western sovereignty. This coastline - parts of which did not lend itself to a conventional inshore fishery - was formed into an electoral district in 1855 known as Burgeo and La Poile. Its population characteristics were like those of the disputed western Treaty Shore. The 1857 census lists some 57 scattered communities in the district; over half with populations of under thirty persons. The principal town at mid-century, Burgeo, was overshadowed at the close of the century by Channel (Port-aux-Basques), a fishing and farming community that became a port of entry and the terminus of the Newfoundland Railway system. Channel provided steamer connections to North Sydney twice weekly and the coastal mail steamer from St. John's stopped fortnightly. In addition, in 1900, a winter seal fishery was conducted in the gulf of the St. Lawrence from the port.

In summary, life on the south shore at mid-century compared with life, say, in the Northern Districts, presented two different worlds. The North had made a relatively smooth transition from early nineteenth century patterns of a resident fishery to an economy of St. John's based marchants - a resident ship owning class. The south shore, by contrast, virtually isolated from contact with

St. John's, spent half the nineteenth century in a state of slow transition from a style of resident fishery that was the economic holdover of another era. The St. John's dominated House of Assembly showed little concern with the affairs of the south coast other than to try to curtail the illicit traffic with the French and the migratory French bank fleets.<sup>92</sup> Debates were often conducted in a hawkish tone - probably as much for the benefit of the colonial office as each other - with the implication being that certain residents of the south coast persisted in giving aid and comfort to a century old enemy of England<sup>93</sup> who had just undergone another revolution, the consequences of which, no one could be sure. The bait question, with all its internal as well as external implications, was going to plague Island politics into the twentieth century.<sup>94</sup> The Northern Region presented, at mid-nineteenth century, a near perfect model of what a colonial

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<sup>92</sup>Journal of the House of Assembly, 1856, p. 90.

<sup>93</sup>Ibid., p. 90.

<sup>94</sup>What the Southwest coast and Southern Treaty Shore lacked in natural facilities for a profitable inshore fishery, they more than made up in bait supply. The herring struck in early April. Then the caplin struck to the coast in June, followed by a brief appearance of squid. The herring then reappeared in early July and remained until August. The sale of bait was the area's economic mainstay.

hinterland should be in a properly functioning colonial system. The south coast, on the other hand, was a thorn in the side of the fathers of responsible government. Geographic isolation coupled with its own unique economic and social history, gave the districts west of Burin a frontier quality which, for the most part, remained throughout the period.

The southern shore and south coast region produced more Executive Councillors than any other geographic region discussed.<sup>95</sup> Most of the Councillor representation was centered east of Burin, however. The figures in Table 3:37 relate to Councillors per election, and do not necessarily mean that six different members, for example, were Receiver Generals from Ferryland on six different occasions. Thomas Glen held the portfolio in four separate elections during the period. Michael Cashin, some thirty-five years later, held the portfolio on two occasions, making a total of six Receiver Generals from Ferryland during the sixty-year period. The same holds true for the

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<sup>95</sup>By 1885, the number of representatives per region were; the North, ten members to the House; Conception Bay, nine; St. John's, six; southern shore and south coast, nine; and the treaty shore, two; making a total House membership of thirty-six.

TABLE 3:37

## SOUTHERN SHORE AND SOUTH COAST EXECUTIVE COUNCILLORS

URING PERIOD 1855-1914

	<u>Ferryland</u>	<u>Placentia &amp; St. Mary's</u>	<u>Burin</u>	<u>Fortune</u>	<u>Burgeo &amp; LaPoile</u>
Attorney General	-	1	3	-	-
Colonial Secretary	-	-	-	2	-
Receiver General	6	?	1	-	-
Solicitor General	-	-	1	-	-
Surveyor General	-	1	-	-	-
Board of Works	-	1	-	-	-
Without Portfolio	2	2	4	2	1
	-	-	-	-	-
	8	12	9	4	1

other districts; Donnelly was Minister of Finance (Receiver General) three times as a member from Placentia and St. Mary's. He sat as a member for the district on two other occasions. W.J.S. Donnelly was an important figure in Newfoundland politics and despite being a native and resident of Harbor Grace, he found a Placentia and St. Mary's seat particularly easy to hold.<sup>96</sup> His first wife was Ellen Shea,<sup>97</sup> the sister of Ambrose and Edward Dalton Shea, powerful members of the St. John's Irish elite community. Donnelly shifted allegiance during his political career. He first supported W.V. Whiteway in the late seventies, then shifted his support to Robert Thorburn in the mid-eighties.<sup>98</sup> It was at this time he became a close

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<sup>96</sup>Donnelly was Catholic - not a political asset in Harbor Grace - and being politically ambitious, he aligned himself with A.F. Goodridge, running out of St. Mary's Bay with the support of Goodridge's Catholic agents in that area.

<sup>97</sup>Patriot, June 22, 1857. Witnesses to the marriage included James Cormack, MLC, and Bishop Mullock.

<sup>98</sup>This rapid shift might, in part, be explained by the financial difficulties Donnelly found himself in at the time.

associate of A.F. Goodridge. He was dislodged by James F. McGrath in 1889, a local candidate, and "a rough and tumble, excellent political canvasser."<sup>99</sup> Donnelly was, however, back in his old seat in four years time. Later, he was appointed Stipendiary Magistrate for Placentia - a J.S. Winter appointment - and finally, permanent Inspector of Customs for the Island,<sup>100</sup> this time by Robert Bond.

Table 3:38 shows the number of times members from the Southern Shore and south coast were elected in their respective districts. Only eight members of a total of eighty-four elected in five districts were elected more than three times. Ferryland, the district with the least turnover, produced three; D.J. Greene (5); Thomas Glen (6); and Michael P. Gashin (7). Both Greene and Gashin had been born and raised in the district; and Glen had been a one time resident of the district. Only one member from Placentia and St. Mary's, W.J.S. Donnelly, had been elected more than three times. A native of Harbor Grace, Donnelly's connexion with St. Mary's is an unusual case that has already been mentioned. Burin's most successful candidate was James S. Winter, a St. John's lawyer and eventual premier of Newfoundland, 1897-1900. Winter had

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<sup>99</sup>Mott: Newfoundland Men

<sup>100</sup>Daily News, May 30, 1902.



TABLE 3:38

NUMBER OF TIMES MEMBERS WERE ELECTED ON THE SOUTHERN SHORE  
AND SOUTH COAST, 1855-1914  
(Percent)

<u>No. of Times</u>	<u>Ferryland</u>	<u>Placentia &amp; St. Mary's</u>	<u>Burin</u>	<u>Fortune</u>	<u>Burgeo &amp; LaPoile</u>
Once	30.7 (4)	51.6 (16)	52.6 (10)	66.7 (8)	44.4 (4)
Twice	30.7 (4)	29.0 (9)	26.3 (5)	25.0 (3)	22.2 (2)
3 times	15.4 (2)	16.1 (5)	5.3 (1)	8.3 (1)	22.2 (2)
4 times	- (0)	- (0)	10.5 (2)	- (0)	11.1 (1)
5 times	7.7 (1)	3.2 (1)	5.3 (1)	- (0)	- (0)
6 times	7.7 (1)	- (0)	- (0)	- (0)	- (0)
7 times	7.7 (1)	- (0)	- (0)	- (0)	- (0)
	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>
	(13)	(31)	(19)	(12)	(9)

been born and raised in Lamaline, Burin. The son of a customs official, Winter had been in school in St. John's when first his mother, then his father had died at Harbor Breton. Winter (and seven younger children) had been looked after by his uncle, Dr. John Winter of St. John's, an MHA and later, MLC. Fortune had no members elected more than three times and in addition, experienced the greatest turnover of the five districts; 66.7% (8) of the twelve members elected for the period served only one term. Robert Moulton represented Burgeo and LaPoile four times during the period. A local Burgeo district merchant as late as 1908; Moulton finally set up headquarters with a Water St., St. John's office by 1913.<sup>102</sup> There is a suggested link, therefore, between a member's former local residency in his district and his later success as a member from that district.

In turning to the residency patterns of the members from the Southern Shore and south coast districts, Table 3:39 looks at the Region as a whole. With the exception of Placentia and St. Mary's, most of the Regional membership came from St. John's residents. This does not mean that the southern shore and south coast

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<sup>102</sup>Business Directories of Newfoundland, 1908 and 1913.

TABLE 3:39

## SOUTHERN SHORE AND SOUTH COAST RESIDENCY PATTERNS OF MEMBERS

DURING 1855-1914

(Percent)

		Ferryland	Placentia & St. Mary's	Burin	Fortune	Burgeo & LaPoile
1	St. John's	42.6 (6)	37.9 (11)	31.6 (6)	41.7 (5)	11.1 (1)
2	St. John's, Foreign Background	30.8 (4)	13.8 (4)	21.1 (4)	8.3 (1)	22.2 (2)
3	St. John's, Outport Background	- (0)	6.9 (2)	21.1 (4)	25.0 (3)	44.4 (4)
4	St. John's, B.N.A. Background	- (0)	- (0)	5.3 (1)	16.7 (2)	22.2 (2)
5	Local	15.4 (2)	29.0 (9)	15.8 (3)	8.3 (1)	- (0)
6	Local with Foreign Background	- (0)	- (0)	5.3 (1)	- (0)	- (0)
7	Other Outport	7.6 (1)	10.3 (3)	- (0)	- (0)	- (0)
		<hr/> (13)	<hr/> (29)	<hr/> (19)	<hr/> (12)	<hr/> (9)
	M. .	(0)	(2)	(0)	(0)	(0)

constituencies were particularly well satisfied with this leadership - as evidenced by the high turnover rates shown in Table 3:38 - and the most successful candidates during the period were those who, while St. John's residents, still had some ties with their districts. Geographic Regional political ties can be roughly divided into three patterns; the first, Ferryland and Placentia and St. Mary's were tied to the St. John's Catholic community, with economic patterns often taking the form of small St. John's grocers or provision merchants supplying agents (usually family members acting as agents), in what amounted to a modest but profitable fishery trade pattern.<sup>103</sup> Burin, for most of the period, was a strategically important political district and was what Prowse has called, the Island's "pivotal district"; as Burin went, so went the Island, but this is not particularly valid - at least in the latter period under study. It was an important district, however, and well worth extensive investigation. The subject of a great deal of controversy

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<sup>103</sup>This does not mean to imply that St. John's Irish grocers had any monopoly on the area - on the contrary. Job Bros. (Bay Bulls) and Goodridge (Ferryland) had agents in the area. In addition, Goodridge had a large operation in St. Mary's Bay - mentioned already in connexion with Donnelly. His agent there was Francis Ireland. Protestant merchants did supply Catholic areas. They almost invariably worked through local Catholic agents, however.

during the responsible government apportionment debates, Burin, it was assumed, would tip the scales in any hotly contested, polarized election. The concern at the time was based on the erroneous assumption that the Island would maintain its patterns of sectarian rigidity (circa 1855). The fathers of responsible government - showing their human capacity to confuse the vested interest judgements of the present with the laws of eternity - probably talked the 'Burin issue' out of all sense of proportion with its actual significance. By 1859, the sectarian rigidity of 1855 had already begun to dissolve in some quarters. The district's important significance as a subject for historical analysis, however, lies in the fact that in certain jingoistic elections - partly at the insistence of a St. John's faction and partly through self-induction - Burin, often saw itself as the Anglo-bastion of law and order on a south coast (in spite of a rising Catholic population),<sup>104</sup> surrounded by districts that teemed with subversive and illegal activity. It was a heavy burden to bear, particularly for a district with just as many local

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<sup>104</sup>Burin, a two member constituency, could have easily supported one Catholic candidate by 1890, with its rapidly growing Catholic population. There were no Catholic challengers at that time, however, a situation which makes candidacy a much more complex study than that implied in Neel: Politics in Newfoundland, who tends to view denominational distributions deterministically. See, in this study, Chapter IV on Religion.

pressing economic and social problems as its more permissive neighbors. The only foreign-born, local resident member from the entire region was, ironically, an Irish Catholic merchant from Burin, elected in 1855. He was Patrick Morris,<sup>105</sup> who at one time in 1846, had briefly moved from Burin to Ferryland, accepting the position of Sheriff of the Southern District at a salary of £150 a year. The old Sheriff was reinstated the following year, however, and Morris was forced to return to Burin. One of his first petitions, upon entering the House in 1855, was a claim for compensation due himself, for "the great expense and loss of business caused by the confusion", eight years earlier.<sup>106</sup> West of Burin were the districts of Fortune and the sparsely settled Burgeo and LaPoile. Newman's continued to dominate much of Fortune,<sup>107</sup> even as late as 1897, while in Burgeo and LaPoile, two local St. John's firms were quite active; John Steer and James Baird - the former a native of Devon, the latter, from Saltcoats, Scotland.

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<sup>105</sup>Not to be confused with Patrick Morris, St. John's merchant and MHA, St. John's, 1837-42, later a MLC.

<sup>106</sup>Journal of the House of Assembly, 1855, pp. 71-72.

<sup>107</sup>Newman Agents active in Fortune at the time were, R. Marshall (English Harbor), George Power (Fox Cove), Walter Rive (Gaultois). Charles Way, an independent local dealer and former MHA, was local Collector of Customs at Hermitage at the time, also Newman territory.

Tables 3:40 through 3:44 test the residency hypothesis applied to the other Regions of the Island. Residency patterns of membership have been divided into two time periods, 1855-1884, and 1885-1914, to determine whether there was any change in residency patterns for these two periods. The first table deals with Ferryland. The test hypothesis, "that St. John's candidates had an equal chance of success in Ferryland in both periods in time" was retained.<sup>108</sup> In looking at the cells, it is also quite obvious that there is little significant difference between the two time periods. A visual inspection of the cells suggests even a less degree of variation between the two Placentia time periods than for Ferryland. The hypothesis was tested, however, and as expected, it was retained.<sup>109</sup>

Again, it is quite evident that the same proportions prevailed for both time periods in Burin. The hypothesis, "that St. John's members had an equal chance of winning in Burin in both time periods", was tested and as expected, retained.<sup>110</sup>

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<sup>108</sup> $\chi^2$  - 0.377; with 1 d.f.,  $\chi^2$  is significant only at the 30% level.

<sup>109</sup> $\chi^2$  - 0.082; with 1 d.f.,  $\chi^2$  is significant at the 20% level.

<sup>110</sup> $\chi^2$  - 0.434. With 1 d.f.,  $\chi^2$  was significant just under the 50% level.

TABLE 3:40

FERRYLAND RESIDENCY PATTERNS IN TWO PERIODS OF TIME  
(Number of Members)

	1855-1884	1885-1914	Total
1 St. John's	6	4	10
2 Not St. John's	2	1	3
	—	—	—
Total	8	5	13



TABLE 3:41

PLACENTIA AND ST. MARY'S RESIDENCY PATTERNS  
IN TWO PERIODS OF TIME  
(Number of Members)

	<u>1855-1884</u>	<u>1885-1914</u>	<u>Total</u>
1 St. John's	9	8	17
2 Not St. John's	7	5	12
	—	—	—
Total	16	13	29

TABLE 3:42

BURIN RESIDENCY PATTERNS IN TWO PERIODS OF TIME  
(Number of Members)

	<u>1855-1884</u>	<u>1885-1914</u>	<u>Total</u>
1 St. John's	8	6	14
2 Not St. John's	2	3	5
	—	—	—
Total	10	9	19

TABLE 3:43

FORTUNE BAY RESIDENCY PATTERNS IN TWO PERIODS OF TIME  
(Number of Members)

	<u>1855-1884</u>	<u>1885-1914</u>	<u>Total</u>
1 St. John's	5	6	11
2 Not St. John's	0	1	1
	—	—	—
Total	5	7	12

TABLE 3:44

BURGEO AND LAPOILLE RESIDENCY PATTERNS IN TWO PERIODS OF TIME  
(Number of Members)

	<u>1855-1884</u>	<u>1885-1914</u>	<u>Total</u>
1 St. John's	5	4	9
2 Not St. John's	0	0	0
	—	—	—
Total	5	4	9

Fortune Bay follows the pattern of the other Southern shore and south coast districts in that residency patterns of members tended to be the same for both the time periods under study. A visual inspection of the cells makes the testing of the hypothesis unnecessary, the same holds true for Burgeo and LaPoile. Patterns in both time periods are nearly identical, as evidenced in Table 3:44. Burgeo had no representation outside of St. John's in either time period. Five members represented the one-member constituency during eight elections in the first period; four members were returned in eight elections during the second.

In order to establish a Regional pattern of residency for the Southern Shore and south coast districts, a 5 x 3 contingency table was devised from data already given. The same test hypothesis that was used in the Northern and Conception Bay Regional tables was employed, namely, "that a St. John's resident had an equal opportunity of being elected in any one of the five southern shore and south coast districts during the period 1855-1914". The hypothesis was tested and found to be statistically valid.<sup>111</sup> St. John's resident representation

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<sup>111</sup> $\chi^2 = 10.82$ ; for the 5 x 3 contingency table (3:45). With 8 d.f.,  $\chi^2$  is significant only at the 50% level, which suggests that the hypothesis be retained.

dominates the Region despite some local Placentia representation and to a lesser degree, local Burin representation present during the period.

What can we conclude about residency patterns on the Southern Shore and south coast during the period? First, that regardless of the historical significance of particular individual regional representation that might have unfolded in the process of eighteen general elections during that period, in the overall aggregate pattern presented in Table 3:45, it is evident that Regional residency representation tended to follow a more or less consistent pattern of St. John's dominance. In other words, whatever the multiplicity of issues at stake during the eighteen general elections in the period, those issues did not seriously effect the established residency patterns of district membership.<sup>112</sup> In addition, the established residency patterns of representation did not seem to be adversely affected by time, as evidenced in Tables 3:40 through 3:44. Admittedly, the categories represented by those tables are crude. Reducing membership to the jarring rigidity of "St. John's" and "not St. John's" categories,

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<sup>112</sup>This brings up again the important question of the viability of representation in the nineteenth century system. What were the options open to outport constituencies during the period? Which were looking for options, which were not? This question will be dealt with in Chapter VII.

TABLE 3:45

SOUTHERN SHORE AND SOUTH COAST REGIONAL RESIDENCY PATTERNS  
FOR THE PERIOD 1855-1914  
(Number of Members)

	<u>St. John's</u>	<u>Local</u>	<u>Outport</u>	<u>Total</u>
Ferryland	10	2	1	13
Placentia	17	9	3	29
Burin	15	4	-	19
Fortune Bay	11	1	-	12
Burgeo & LaPoile	9	-	-	9
	—	—	—	—
Total	62	16	4	82

however, does not alter the validity of the assumptions made above.

In turning to the question of all candidates, both winners and losers, Tables 3:46 through 3:50 looks at the residency patterns of these two groups in the Southern Shore and south coast districts for the period, 1885-1914. Table 3:46 deals with the district of Ferryland. The hypothesis, "that there was no difference in the residency patterns among winners and losers in the district of Ferryland during the period", was tested and retained.<sup>113</sup> The only difference noticeable on visual inspection is the large number of losing St. John's candidates in relation to winners. This is accountable by the fact that certain successful candidates tended to dominate seats for long periods of time. Michael P. Cashin, for instance, sat seven consecutive times during the period covered by the table. He entered the House in 1889 and was still an active House member at the close of the period in 1914.

A visual inspection of the cells of the Placentia table shows a decided imbalance in the proportion of winners to losers. The hypothesis that "there was no

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<sup>113</sup> $\chi^2 = 0.487$ . With 1 d.f.,  $\chi^2$  is significant only at the 50% level.



TABLE 3:46

## RESIDENCY PATTERNS OF ALL FERRYLAND CANDIDATES

FOR THE PERIOD 1885-1914

(Number of Members)

		<u>Winners</u>	<u>Losers</u>
1	St. John's	(3)	(6)
2	St. John's, Foreign Background	(1)	(1)
3	St. John's, Outport Background	(1)	(4)
4	Ferryland	(0)	(1)
		<hr/>	<hr/>
		(5)	(11)
	M. .	(0)	(1)

		<u>Winners</u>	<u>Losers</u>	<u>Total</u>
1	St. John's	5	10	15
2	Not St. John's	0	1	1
		<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>
	Total	5	11	16

TABLE 3:47

## RESIDENCY PATTERNS OF ALL PLACENTIA AND ST. MARY'S CANDIDATES

FOR THE PERIOD 1885-1914

(Number of Members)

	<u>Winners</u>	<u>Losers</u>
1 St. John's	(5)	(9)
2 St. John's, Foreign Background	(1)	(1)
3 St. John's, Outport Background	(2)	(4)
4 Placentia and St. Mary's	(5)	(0)
5 Other Outport	(0)	(1)
	<hr/>	<hr/>
	(13)	(15)
M. .	(1)	(3)

	<u>Winners</u>	<u>Losers</u>	<u>Total</u>
St. John's	8	14	22
Not St. John's	5	1	6
	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>
	13	15	28

difference between the residency patterns of winners and losers during the 1885-1914 period", was tested. The findings implied a statistical significance, sufficient to warrant rejection of the hypothesis.<sup>114</sup> In looking at the Placentia table again, one can notice some trends. First, among successful candidates during the period, there seems to be at least a stabilized foundation of local candidates (5) as opposed to successful St. John's candidates (8)<sup>115</sup> In addition, there seems to be a substantial pressure from St. John's based candidates (14) who challenged, unsuccessfully, the district's seats during the period. Since thirteen of the fourteen unsuccessful St. John's challengers were Catholic, and the eight successful St. John's and five local members were also Catholic, the district warrants further study to ascertain what rifts, if any, were taking place in the traditional patronage alignments between St. John's and the district of Placentia and St. Mary's during the latter period of

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<sup>114</sup> $\chi^2 = 4.180$ . With 1 d.f.,  $\chi^2$  was found to be significant at the 95% level - not a strong statistically significant position - yet probably strong enough to warrant rejection with closer historical analysis.

<sup>115</sup>In the earlier 1855-1884 period, the ratio was St. John's (9), "Not St. John's" (7) (Table 3:41). Of the seven, (3) were from "other outports", however, leaving (4) local Placentia candidates for the period. With the reduction of "other outport" candidates, (0) in the 1885-1914 period, and the increase of local representation from (4) to (5), it can be viewed as a "trend".

the nineteenth century. A careful analysis of the motives and actions of the local successful (and one unsuccessful) candidates during the period might reveal the beginnings of popular political awakening in Placentia.

Table 3:48 examines the district of Burin. A look at the cells in the table suggests that there is little difference between the residency patterns of winners and losers in Burin during the period. The hypothesis, "that there was no significant difference in the residency patterns of winners and losers" was tested and it was found that the hypothesis should be retained.<sup>116</sup> Of the five unsuccessful local candidates during the period, all were local Burin general merchant fish dealers,<sup>117</sup> a group who in earlier times might have had little difficulty in getting themselves elected. But, by 1900, the electorate in the district had committed themselves to Robert Bond, who promised, among other things, to take a special interest in the Grand Banks question and the Island's right of sovereignty over those Banks. Burin seemed firmly behind Bond, returning his two supporters, Henry Gear and

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<sup>116</sup> $\chi^2$  - 0.014, or no statistical significance at all.

<sup>117</sup>They were George A. Buffet (Grand Bank); John E. Lake (Fortune); W.B. Payn (Burin); Thomas LeFeuvre (Burin); and George A. Bartlett (Burin).

TABLE 3:48

## RESIDENCY PATTERNS OF ALL BURIN CANDIDATES DURING THE PERIOD 1885-1914

	<u>Winners</u>	<u>Losers</u>
1 St. John's	(3)	(5)
2 St. John's, Foreign Background	(1)	(2)
3 St. John's, Outport Background	(1)	(2)
4 St. John's, B.N.A. Background	(1)	(0)
5 Burin	(2)	(5)
6 Burin, with Foreign Background	(1)	(0)
7 Other Outport	(0)	(0)
	<hr/>	<hr/>
	(9)	(14)
M. .	(0)	(1)

	<u>Winners</u>	<u>Losers</u>	<u>Total</u>
St. John's	6	9	15
Not St. John's	3	5	8
	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>
Total	9	14	23

and Edward H. Davey, both residents of St. John's, in five successive elections between 1900 and 1914.<sup>118</sup>

Moving on to Fortune Bay, Table 3:49 looks at the successful and unsuccessful candidate patterns of that district. Again, the same test hypothesis was used; "that there was no significant difference between the residency patterns of winners and losers in the district of Fortune Bay during the period", and the findings indicated that the hypothesis should be retained.<sup>119</sup> A look at the cells shows a markedly similar pattern between winners and losers during the period. Of the two losing local candidates during 1885-1914, both were connected with the fishery; one was L.A. McCuish, a general dealer from Belleoram, Fortune; and the other R.M. Fudge, a local bank fishery captain.

Burgeo and LaPoile patterns of residency are nearly identical for both winners and losers. A visual inspection of the cells reveals little difference between

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<sup>118</sup>Gear, a heating contractor and Methodist; Davey, an Anglican and successful building contractor who had made considerable money after the fire in 1892, were undoubtedly supported by the conservative wing of the Catholic population in Burin - also strong Bond supporters. This helps account for their long tenure of success, an unusually long success story for Burin.

<sup>119</sup> $\chi^2 = 0.433$ . With 1 d.f.,  $\chi^2$  is significant at just under the 50% level.

TABLE 3:49

## RESIDENCY PATTERNS OF ALL FORTUNE BAY CANDIDATES DURING 1885-1914

(Number of Members)

	<u>Winners</u>	<u>Losers</u>
1 St. John's	(4)	(4)
2 St. John's, Foreign Background	(1)	(1)
3 St. John's, Outport Background	(1)	(0)
4 St. John's, B.N.A. Background	(0)	(0)
5 Fortune Bay	(1)	(2)
	—	—
	(7)	(7)
M. .	(0)	(0)

	<u>Winners</u>	<u>Losers</u>	<u>Total</u>
St. John's	6	5	11
Not St. John's	1	2	3
	—	—	—
Total	7	7	14

TABLE 3:50

RESIDENCY PATTERNS FOR ALL BURGEO AND LAPOILE CANDIDATES DURING 1885-1914  
(Number of Members)

		<u>Winners</u>	<u>Losers</u>
1	St. John's	(1)	(1)
2	St. John's, Foreign Background	(1)	(2)
3	St. John's, Outport Background	(1)	(3)
4	St. John's, B.N.A. Background	(2)	(1)
5	Burgeo	(0)	(0)
		<hr/>	<hr/>
		(5)	(7)
	M.D.	(0)	(0)
		<hr/>	<hr/>
		<u>Winners</u>	<u>Losers</u>
		<u>Total</u>	
	St. John's	5	7
	Not St. John's	0	0
		<hr/>	<hr/>
	Total	5	7
			12



winners and losers. Unlike many outport communities in the late nineteenth century, Burgeo did not generate local candidates for the House. The district was not afforded the opportunity, at least, to pivot between local and St. John's based merchants. It did, however, return Robert Moulton after 1904, a former Channel (Burgeo) merchant who had moved to St. John's. Moulton was elected four successive times (as of 1914) and represented the closest expression of local representation. Two St. John's merchants had influential business interests in the area. One was James Baird (MLC) and close friend of the Thorburns and the Grieves. Baird operated through agents at Burnt Island, Fox Roost, and Burgeo. The other was John Steer,<sup>120</sup> a former MHA representing Trinity, whose main political interests were linked with St. John's and the Northern Region.

In looking at the Southern Shore and south coast region as a whole, Table 3:51 presents an aggregate of winners and losers of the region, during the 1885-1914 period, with residency patterns divided into three categories; St. John's, Local, and Outport. The test

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<sup>120</sup>John Steer, MHA, Trinity, 1873; 1784-78. A brother-in-law of Charles Ayre, Steer (like Ayre) had been a strong supporter of F.B.T. Carter at that time.

TABLE 3:51

SOUTHERN SHORE AND SOUTH COAST REGIONAL COMPOSITE  
 OF ALL CANDIDATES DURING 1885-1914  
 (Number of Members)

	Winners	Losers	Total
1 St. John's	30	45	75
2 Local	9	8	17
3 Outport	0	1	1
	—	—	—
Total	39	54	93

hypothesis that, "there was no significant difference between the residency patterns of successful and unsuccessful candidates in the Region during the period, 1885-1914", was tested. The findings indicate that the hypothesis should be retained.<sup>121</sup> Even a visual inspection of the cells suggests the same conclusion. There is little intra-Regional disparity between winners and losers for the time period under consideration. Once more, there was little difference of statistical significance between the residency patterns of successful candidates in the various districts of the Region in the two periods of time that were considered (Tables 3:40 through 3:44). The one exception to otherwise, more or less consistent resident patterns of representation in the Region, was in the district of Placentia and St. Mary's, regarding a difference in residency patterns among winners and losers during the 1885-1914 period (Table 3:47). The table suggests a pattern of successful candidates - nearly 40% of whom were local (5) - with standing considerable pressure and challenge from a number of unsuccessful St. John's challengers (14) during the latter half of the period under study. The imbalance of the proportions between winners and losers was found to be statistically

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<sup>121</sup> $\chi^2 = 1.661$ . With 2 d.f.,  $\chi^2$  is significant only at the 50% level.

significant at the 95% level, and would indicate a closer examination of resident representation for the district. Placentia (as well as Ferryland and Burin), were in relative geographic proximity to St. John's. All three, each in their own way, were tied to the traditional trade, and for the most part, were well integrated into the Island's political system of the nineteenth century. This is less true, however, of Fortune and Burgeo and LaPoile, the two most western, south coast districts. They were geographically isolated, and out of their unique historical background developed patterns of existence which in some ways were very different to the North Coast and Southern Shore. By the early twentieth century, however, with the western terminus of the Newfoundland railway in Burgeo district, the south coast - at least the Port-aux-Basques region - took on new strategic political significance. The problem of establishing a viable working political relationship with a district traditionally neglected is a difficult problem to overcome. In 1900, the railway had swung north - not south - and the whole thrust and focus of Island political attention naturally swung with it. The disparities in amenities and services provided by the government became magnified after that time. A tacit understanding might have developed

between the government and the south coast at the time (1900) in which a mutually agreed 'non-interference pact' prevailed, serving the best short term interests of all concerned. But short term solutions only create long-term problems and in some ways, the south coast paid a heavy long term price for the twentieth century continuance of its nineteenth century independence.

North of Burgeo and LaPoile's Port-aux-Basques and Cape Ray, began a vast stretch of the Island's western coast line, known in the nineteenth century as the western Treaty Shore. It extended along the entire western shore line, up the Northern Peninsula of the Island, down the Peninsula's eastern side including White Bay, and terminated at Cape St. John, the northwestern arm of Notre Dame Bay which was the extreme northwestern tip of the District of Twillingate.

The status of the Treaty Shore remained ambiguous throughout the nineteenth century. Its population began to increase rapidly during the 1870's, however. Tocque estimated its population at that time at about 2300.<sup>122</sup> The residents were, for the most part, descendants of those who had been caught in a historical process which

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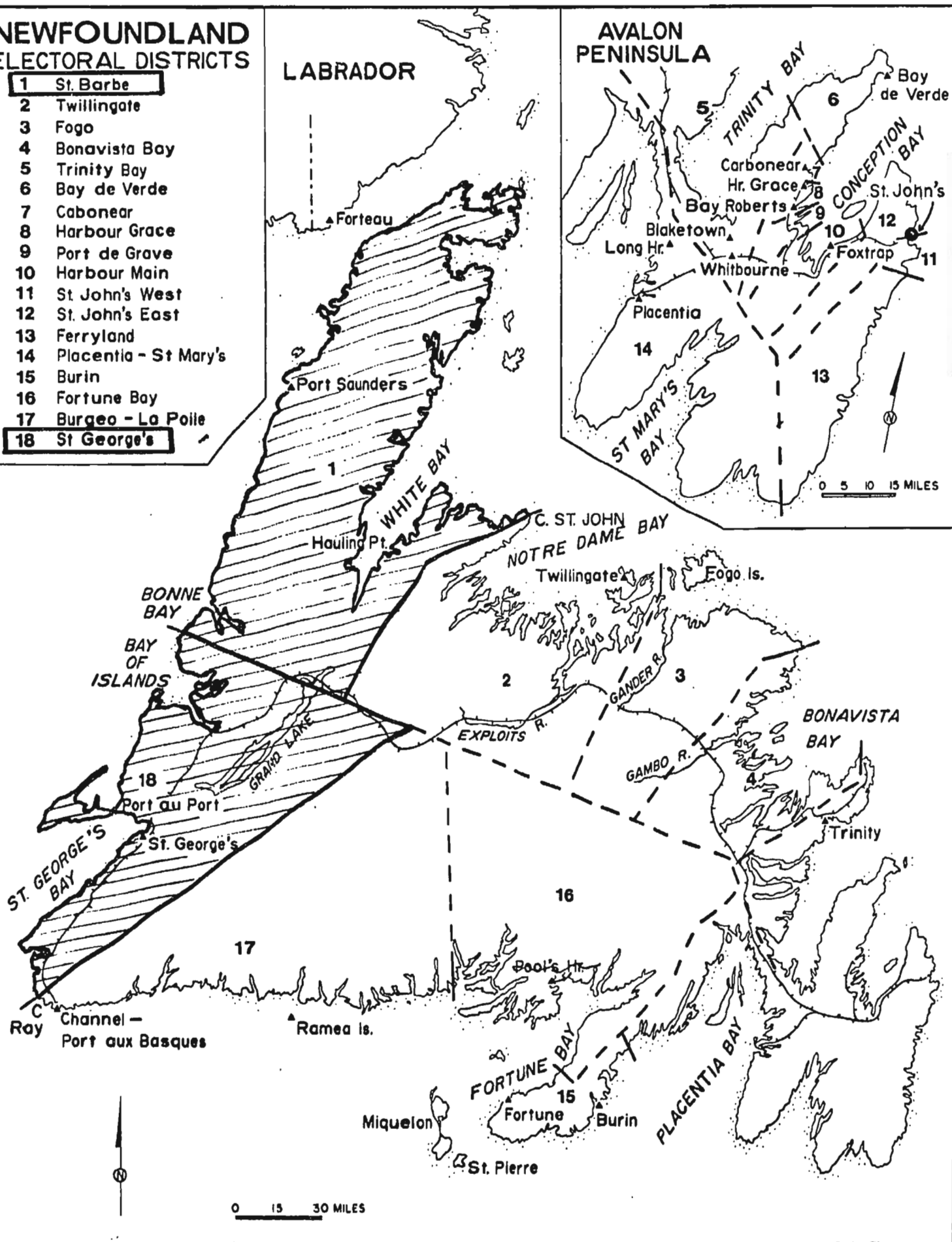
<sup>122</sup>Tocque: Newfoundland, 1877, p. 234.

# NEWFOUNDLAND ELECTORAL DISTRICTS

- 1 St. Barbe
- 2 Twillingate
- 3 Fogo
- 4 Bonavista Bay
- 5 Trinity Bay
- 6 Bay de Verde
- 7 Carbonear
- 8 Harbour Grace
- 9 Port de Grave
- 10 Harbour Main
- 11 St. John's West
- 12 St. John's East
- 13 Ferryland
- 14 Placentia - St. Mary's
- 15 Burin
- 16 Fortune Bay
- 17 Burgeo - La Poile
- 18 St. George's

## LABRADOR

## AVALON PENINSULA



had led to diverse cultural interaction, Jersey men who had moved onto the shore from the south coast, Frenchmen who had dropped off from the migratory French fishing fleet and who had settled permanently. There were Acadians from Prince Edward Island, Quebecers and Anglo-Canadians and scattered bands of Indians. In addition, about mid-century, a group of Scottish Cape Bretoners moved into the Codroy Valley, settled, and began farming. Early attempts by the Newfoundland government to establish control over the area failed, however. As early as 1849, a Stipendiary Magistrate was placed at St. George's Bay, but soon removed.<sup>123</sup> There was little attempt at any consistent policy regarding the inhabitants of the Treaty Shore in mid-nineteenth century shown by members of the House of Assembly in St. John's. It was seen as something of a troublesome burden by some, especially since, in many places, its shore line, tides, and unusual wave conditions did not lend themselves to "the typical Newfoundland inshore fishery".<sup>124</sup>

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<sup>123</sup>Tocque: Newfoundland, 1877, p. 234.

<sup>124</sup>Rev. Michael Brosnan: Pioneer History of the St. George's Diocese, Newfoundland, Mission Press, Toronto, 1948, p. 46. This might account, in part, for St. John's lack of general concern with the south coast (Burgeo) where in sections, the same physical characteristics existed.

Tenuous missionary contact was established with St. George's Bay before mid-nineteenth century when a travelling French Priest from St. Pierre would infrequently stop by St. George's on his way to Prince Edward Island. It was a Gaelic speaking Irish Priest, however, Father Thomas Sears, who arrived in St. George's in 1868 to fill the vacancy created by the death of Rev. Alexis Belanger, formerly of Quebec, that instilled something of a political awakening among his parishoners. While customs duties were collected, Sears complained to Howley that St. George's had no political representation, for what seemed to him obvious, "Imperial reasons".<sup>125</sup> In a heated exchange of letters with W.J.S. Donnelly, then Financial Secretary in the first Whiteway government, Donnelly had written Sears that "money spent on the West Coast was money thrown away", and that alleged abuses committed by the migratory French fishermen against the property of the inhabitants of the coast would have to be borne with passive stoicism.<sup>126</sup> This was in 1880. One year later, the government reversed itself, and in a throne speech read by Chief Justice F.B.T. Carter, the acting governor, the Whiteway government - with the proposed railway

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<sup>125</sup>Broonan: History of St. George's Diocese, p. 64.

<sup>126</sup>Ibid., p. 68.



galvanizing a change in attitude - promised to make legal land grants on the French Shore, and in addition, grant the area political representation in the House.

The Treaty Shore was then divided into two large districts, the southern district, including St. George's Bay (Rev. Sears' district) and the Bay of Islands was named St. George's. It was largely Catholic and included most of the long-established French settlements on the coast. The Northern District, from Bonne Bay north, including the Northern Peninsula and White Bay to the east, was named St. Barbe. Each was to have one member to the House.

Initially, representation for both districts was supplied by the law firm of Boone & Conroy, St. John's, a partnership founded ten years earlier in 1872. John Hoyles Boone,<sup>127</sup> the son of a Notre Dame Bay minister, represented St. Barbe in an uncontested election in 1882, while Michael H. Carty<sup>128</sup> (the twenty-two year old son of the Inspector of the Newfoundland Constabulary), who had

<sup>127</sup>John Hoyles Boone, MHA, St. Barbe, 1882-84. Boone died suddenly at the age of 36, in 1884.

<sup>128</sup>Michael H. Carty, MHA, St. George's, 1882; 1885; 1889-93, all uncontested. Carty also died young, of cancer at the age of 40, in 1900. For a short time he was president of the B.I.S.

been trained by Boone & Conroy<sup>129</sup> and had been admitted to the bar a few months before, assumed duties as MHA for St. George's, again in an uncontested election.

There were no Executive Councillors appointed from either district throughout the 1882-1914 period. Table 3:52 shows the number of times representatives were elected from the two districts during the same period. For St. Barbe, one member was returned four times, William M. Clapp, a St. John's lawyer and member of the People's Party. Two members for St. George's were elected three times each, Carty and Joseph F. Downey, a member of the People's Party and a clerk in the Crown Lands Office, St. John's. St. George's experienced a high rate of turnover after M.H. Carty's defeat in 1893. Four different members served the district during the following eleven years with Downey bringing some semblance of political stability to the district starting in 1908.

Table 3:53 shows residency patterns for the two Treaty Shore districts. St. John's candidates dominated both districts. The only exception for both districts, Albert Bradshaw,<sup>130</sup> a Placentia merchant, a member to the

<sup>129</sup>James G. Conroy, one time MHA from Ferryland, 1874; 1878-80, had been appointed Judge of the Central District Court in 1880.

<sup>130</sup>A. Bradshaw and his brother William, were general dealers in Placentia. While Anglican, the Bradshaw family had married into local Catholic families, most notable for our purposes, William had married the daughter of Clement Benning, former MHA and J.P.

TABLE 3:52

NUMBER OF TIMES ELECTED IN THE TWO TREATY SHORE DISTRICTS  
1882-1914  
(Percent)

<u>No. of times</u>	<u>St. Barbe</u>	<u>St. George's</u>
Once	40.0 (2)	66.7 (4)
Twice	40.0 (2)	- (0)
3 times	- (0)	33.3 (2)
4 times	20.0 (1)	- (0)
	<hr/>	<hr/>
	(5)	(6)

TABLE 3:53

MEMBERSHIP RESIDENCY PATTERNS FOR TWO TREATY SHORE DISTRICTS, 1882-1914  
(Percent)

	<u>St. Barbe</u>	<u>St. George's</u>
1 St. John's	20.0 (1)	66.7 (4)
2 St. John's, Foreign Background	20.0 (1)	16.7 (1)
3 St. John's, Outport Background	40.0 (2)	16.7 (1)
4 Local	- (0)	- (0)
5 Other Outport	20.0 (1)	- (0)
	<hr/>	<hr/>
	(5)	(6)

House from Placentia during 1882-85, chose to leave his home district and run successfully in St. Barbe in 1885.

Table 3:54 looks at the residency patterns of both winners and losers in St. Barbe during the period 1882-1914. Four of the successful candidates as well as the three known unsuccessful were residents of St. John's. The exception was Bradshaw, already mentioned. The St. Barbe district had been uncontested in the 1882 and 1885 elections, and the district's most persistent loser was Henry Y. Mott,<sup>131</sup> a one time St. John's representative factory agent and piano tuner for S. Sichel & Co., Halifax, who, starting in 1900, ran unsuccessfully in four of five elections in the district.

Table 3:55 looks at the winning and losing candidates of St. George's. As mentioned already, M.H. Carty, a St. John's lawyer, served the district from its inception for ten years, winning three uncontested elections during that period. The next fifteen years produced five different members, the fifth being Joseph F. Downey, a Crown Land civil servant clerk who, in 1908, won the first

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<sup>131</sup>Aside from editing the Temperance Journal for some years, Mott was also editor-author of Newfoundland Men, Concord, N.H., 1894, a valuable book of biographic sketches of many St. John's businessmen. Mott did have success as an MHA for Burgeo and LaPoile, however, in 1897.

TABLE 3:54

RESIDENCY PATTERNS OF ALL ST. BARBE CANDIDATES  
FOR THE PERIOD, 1882-1914  
(Number of Members)

		<u>Winners</u>	<u>Losers</u>
1	St. John's	(1)	(0)
2	St. John's, Foreign Background	(1)	(0)
3	St. John's, Outport Background	(2)	(2)
4	St. John's, B.N.A. Background	(0)	(1)
5	St. Barbe	(0)	(0)
6	Other Outport	(1)	(0)
		<hr/>	<hr/>
		(5)	(3)
	M.D.	(0)	(2)

TABLE 3:55

RESIDENCY PATTERNS OF ALL CANDIDATES OF ST. GEORGE'S  
DURING THE PERIOD 1882-1914

	<u>Winners</u>	<u>Losers</u>
1 St. John's	(4)	(2)
2 St. John's, Foreign Background	(1)	(2)
3 St. John's, Outport Background	(1)	(1)
4 St. George's	(0)	(2)
5 Other Outport	(0)	(0)
	<hr/>	<hr/>
	(6)	(7)
M.D.	(0)	(0)

of three elections between 1908 and 1914 as a People's Party candidate and supporter of E.P. Morris. St. George's, then, became, through Downey, the western ally of a new political party, the People's Party, whose main political strength lay on the Avalon Peninsula and Conception Bay.

### Conclusion

Some attempt should now be made to draw together conclusions that arise from the Regional residency patterns of membership presented in this chapter. Regarding the appointments of Executive Councillors representing the five regions, with the exception of the Treaty Shore Districts, no region, by aggregate analysis, enjoyed an unfair advantage in Executive Councillor distribution. While St. John's had less than might be expected (13) during the period, its total number of representatives in any given election (6) was only about two-thirds the number of membership representing the other large regions discussed. Council appointments were often a crucial matter of immediate political expediency in a particular period of time and should be dealt with in that historical context. One should be cautious, therefore, in making any sweeping political generalizations which arise from aggregate Council data. Generally, residence patterns of Council members corresponded roughly to the same residency



patterns stemming from the House of Assembly, the body from which they were generally selected.<sup>132</sup> Councillors often came from either districts which had shown some predictable political stability (exhibited in time), or the other extreme, in which they arose in ad hoc fashion, their appointments the result of immediate strategic consequence. The fact that the Southwest Coast had few Executive Councillors and the Treaty Shore, none in relation to the other districts of the Island, was probably not the result of mere chance. In the last half of the period under study, the railway, and all it implied, was a vital political consideration of the east and northern regions of the Island and it would seem natural that important political considerations be granted; i.e. portfolios, to members of those regions.

In turning to representatives in the House of Assembly, it was seen that candidates of St. John's residency did not have a uniform chance of getting elected in all regions of the Island outside of St. John's. In the north, Fogo and Bonavista broke this pattern. In

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<sup>132</sup>Six members of the Executive Council moved directly from the Legislative Council to the Executive during the period. Two, James M. Kent and Michael P. Gibbs, were on different occasions appointed to the Executive while members of neither of the other houses. There was nothing illegal in this action.

Conception Bay, it was Harbor Grace and Carbonear; the latter, a district in which St. John's resident candidates were excluded altogether. The urban districts of St. John's were, of course, exclusively made up of St. John's residents during the sixty-year period under study. In fact, the town's extreme provincialism of the period impressed the political prerequisite that its candidates be not only residents, but members of long standing in the community with generally acceptable and recognized family connections. In this respect, St. John's was much more provincial than the outports were in this matter. Of the large Regions, only in the Southern Shore and south coast districts did St. John's residents seem to have equal facility in gaining seats.

In addition, residency patterns changed within some Regions with the passage of time. In the Northern Region, Bonavista patterns changed noticeably during the latter period. The same is true of Harbor Grace in the Conception Bay Region, while a composite Regional table (3:9) shows strong statistical indication that St. John's candidates did not have an equal chance of success in that Region. The Conception Bay Regional table (3:23) leaves the same impression. St. John's residency patterns in two periods in time only differ in the fact that there are fewer United Kingdom (Irish) born members in the latter

period than in the first. On the Treaty Shore, during its abbreviated political existence, St. John's residency patterns dominated throughout the period 1882-1914. This might be expected when initially, the districts presented the possibility of special legal problems and might account for the fact, already mentioned, that the better than 1,000 miles of Treaty Shore coastline was initially the political plum of one St. John's law firm.

There was little significant difference between the residency patterns of successful and unsuccessful candidates during the period, 1885-1914. This was the period of greatest political change, the period in which such differences would be expected to take place. This is true of all five Regions generally. In the Southern Shore district of Placentia and St. Mary's, however, there is some suggestion of a significant difference in winning and losing residency patterns (3:47) in that area, a possible explanation of which has already been given.

Generally, then, it can be concluded from data provided in the fifty-four tables relating to residency found in this chapter, that regardless of what political issues were at stake during the eighteen general elections covered in the period under study, these issues did not disrupt - with few exceptions - the established residency and background patterns of representatives during the

period. There are a few districts which indicate otherwise. But on the whole, place of residency of a candidate, while obviously an important variable in analyzing the social composition of politicians of the period, cannot be considered the most important variable in the selection process. Constituencies sought out other qualities (or variables) in the process of candidate selection (the possible exception being St. John's), or at least showed a willingness to waive local residency in favor of other considerations. This conclusion is substantiated, at least in part, by the findings which indicated that there were no significant differences between the residency patterns of winners and losers during the period 1885-1914 in any of the five Regions considered and in none of the individual constituencies of the Island - with the possible exception of Placentia and St. Mary's. One would have to look for another important variable of more local importance than local residency. That variable might well be religion - as understood in its nineteenth century context - and Chapter IV investigates that possibility.

## CHAPTER IV

## RELIGION AND RECRUITMENT INTO NEWFOUNDLAND POLITICS

Immigrants of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries brought from West Country England and the southern coast of Ireland the values, beliefs, customs and habits of the old country which were to serve them, without question, for at least the next eighty or more years. Geographic isolation, the demands of the economy, and a community existence in which most local problems were seen and worked out within a framework of family - small community interaction, helped set the patterns of political life. The family was the key self-disciplining unit of community organization and in some cases, communities were little more than clusters of semi-independent family units. Certain families were able, in time, to impose their family views as those most in accord with a gradually accepted 'community view'. Rev. Edward Wix's travel journal of 1835<sup>1</sup> makes it clear that visiting certain communities meant staying with and being accepted by

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<sup>1</sup>Edward Wix: Six Months of a Newfoundland Missionary's Journal, February to August, 1835, Smith, Edler & Co., London, 1836.

certain families within those communities. It becomes apparent in the impressionistic evidence of the newspapers that community organization rested with inter-family cooperation. Brigus, Conception Bay, for instance, as a community with an identity, depended largely at first on the Robert Brown's, and later, John Leamon, the Bartletts, the Mundens, the Normans to serve as vanguards of its special community character. In nearby Carbonear, it was the Elsons, the Rorkes, the Duffs, the Pennys and the Maddocks. Each community had its hierarchical family orders - whether it be the Powers or the McGraths of Placentia, the Evans or Buffets of Burin, the McCuishes of Fortune Bay - and those families, while they helped shape the character of the communities in which they lived, were in turn, shaped by the character of the community. In this respect the social structure of the outport communities differed little from St. John's.

One of the important forces which made constructive interaction between family and community possible was religion. Rev. Wix found - for some inexplicable reason he had feared the contrary - "the Religious intelligence of the people surprising," and whether from "Jersey, Devon, or Dorset - the descendents do not degenerate."<sup>2</sup> Wix had

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<sup>2</sup>Wix, Missionary's Journal, 1835, p. 191.

evidently, prior to his journey, some apprehensions and fears as to what he might encounter on his travels. While he found some settlements - by his standards - in a sorry state of affairs, he probably quite rightly attributed conditions there to the fact these were isolated 'old settlements', the local inhabitants descendents of cast offs from England's pioneer explorations along the east coast of British North America. On the whole, however, Wix was pleasantly surprised, and viewed his trip fruitful if an exhausting ordeal. In the 'new settlements', those formed in the late eighteenth, early nineteenth centuries, Wix was pleased to find a self-generating religious atmosphere which was pleasantly orthodox to behold and self-sustaining, in spite of the fact that inhabitants of some settlements had not seen the presence of an ordained minister since they had left England, in some cases, nearly fifty years before. If Wix had in some ways underestimated the sustaining power of Christianity at work in an unopposed social environment, it was because he defined Newfoundland by drawing distinctions between the 'old world' and the 'new'. His journal is quite explicit in this respect. Everywhere throughout, it is evident that Wix is an educated man of God travelling in a strange land. He occasionally expresses unexpected delight at observing a quaint local custom which corresponded in some form to a rural English

custom he had once observed. Such local customs, however, should have caused little surprise. Most of the inhabitants in Wix's days were only a generation or two removed from contemporary rural England and Ireland.

Wix had once been a missionary in the Northern District of Bonavista.<sup>3</sup> Anglicanism had made a modest, formal appearance in the Northern Districts early in the nineteenth century. By 1840, Trinity Bay, for example, was serviced by two Anglican clergymen; Reverends Bullock and Hamilton, with the former having the title, "Rural Dean of Missions and Schools".<sup>4</sup> In the Twillingate and Fogo area there were, by 1840, some 4,000 members of the Church of England scattered throughout at least fifteen settlements. The inhabitants of Fogo Island built their own church in 1841 and were successful in obtaining their own resident missionary through the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel.<sup>5</sup> Trinity Bay, by the time of

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<sup>3</sup>In 1830, he was moved to St. John's and served as Archdeacon of Newfoundland until 1839, when the Island's first Bishop, Aubrey Spencer arrived.

<sup>4</sup>Rev. F.M. Buffet, The Story of the Church in Newfoundland, General Board of Religious Education, Toronto, 1939, p. 34.

<sup>5</sup>Ibid., p. 35.



responsible government in 1855, had five resident ministers living within the district. Twelve communities within the area had built Anglican churches of their own, however, which placed the five under arduous travel schedules. In addition the twelve churches were designed to support twenty schools in the district.<sup>6</sup> It was obvious then that a great deal of community interaction between the ministry and local community families was essential to initiate the ambitious programmes of religious participation and educational instruction that took place in or around the time of responsible government. The important social unit of participation was the family. With key local families more than willing to serve as models of formal participation, the less initiated soon followed.

Table 4:1 shows how the Northern Districts were religiously structured at the beginning of responsible government.

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<sup>6</sup>Many of the early schools at the time were 'Sunday Schools'; Bible readings and instruction that could be taught by lay members of the community.

Table 4:1

RELIGIOUS STRUCTURE OF THE NORTHERN DISTRICTS AT THE  
BEGINNING OF RESPONSIBLE GOVERNMENT<sup>1</sup>

	<u>Twillingate &amp; Fogo</u>	<u>Bonavista</u>	<u>Trinity</u>
1. Total No. of Clergy	7	8	5
2. Clergy /10,000 population	7	9	4
3. No. of C.E. Churches	9	11	12
4. No. of R.C. Churches	4	4	3
5. No. of Meth. Churches	4	1	8
6. No. of Other Churches	-	-	-
7. Total No. of Schools	16	19	20
8. Total No. of Communities in each District	72	51	53

<sup>1</sup>This and subsequent Religious structure tables from Census of Newfoundland: 1857.

Twillingate and Fogo and the district of Trinity show an average ratio of one minister for every ten communities. For Bonavista, the ratio was more like one in seven. The figures imply a great deal of arduous travel, and a rural minister's duties were not easy in the mid-nineteenth century. The increase in the number of ministers during the remainder of the period was offset by the growth of the Island population and the increase in demands and services. In addition, the importance and place of education was viewed differently by Church leaders in different periods. Bishop Spencer, for instance, as a matter of expediency, had insisted that certain rural Anglican teachers could perform a modified lay-service in their isolated rural communities, a procedure the Methodists had employed with apparent success in Conception Bay. When Bishop Feild<sup>7</sup> arrived in Newfoundland, he took sharp exception to this practice, insisting that there should be no deviation from the central act of Christian worship as practised by the Anglican church in England.<sup>8</sup> During Feild's thirty-one

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<sup>7</sup>Bishop Edward Feild; born in Worcester in 1801, a graduate of Rugby and Queen's College, Oxford and ordained in 1826. Feild had been a part of the Oxford Movement, and had served as Rector of Gloucester and Bristol before coming to Newfoundland. Like many enlightened clergymen of his time, he was a strong believer in education as a panacea for most of the contemporary social ills of his time. See Buffett, Church in Newfoundland, pp. 37-40.

<sup>8</sup>Buffet: Church in Newfoundland, p. 40.

years in Newfoundland, he was to see the Anglican ministry increase in number from a mere dozen clergymen to fifty.<sup>9</sup>

Table 4:2 deals with denominational patterns in Twillingate (and Fogo) during the period under study. The totals presented are of the three major denominations of political importance and represent total district affiliation rounded to the nearest hundred. The table shows all three denominations firmly established by the beginning of the responsible government period. The most noticeable change in pattern is the rapid rise of Methodism in the district prior to, and after 1884. Despite the fact that Twillingate and Fogo become two separate districts by 1884, the Methodist population doubled in Twillingate during the fifteen year period, 1869-1884. The apparent leveling of Catholic population is somewhat misleading since 1200-1300 become part of the Fogo District. But the Anglican population, still numerically dominant in the early 1870's, was rapidly overshadowed by a growing Methodist population whose ranks were swelled with Anglican converts.<sup>10</sup> As evangelical Methodism waned

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<sup>9</sup>Buffet: Church in Newfoundland, p. 40.

<sup>10</sup>Looking at both Twillingate and Fogo; the figures show an actual decline of Anglicans on Notre Dame. There are 6400 in 1901 as compared to 6800 in 1869. Methodism on the other hand increases nearly six fold during the same period.

Table 4:2

TWILLINGATE DENOMINATIONAL PATTERNS IN FOUR PERIODS OF TIME

		<u>C.E.</u>	<u>R.C.</u>	<u>Methodist</u>
Twillingate & Fogo	1857:	6200 (65%)	1400 (15%)	2000 (21%)
Twillingate & Fogo	1869:	6800 (52%)	2000 (15%)	4200 (32%)
Twillingate	1884:	3800 (27%)	1900 (14%)	8200 (59%)
Twillingate	1901:	3600 (21%)	1900 (11%)	11700 (68%)

in the district at the turn of the century, the Salvation Army movement took hold. Twillingate had some 2000 Salvationists by 1901, the largest district contingent on the Island at the time, and in 1913, Twillingate returned William B. Jennings, the only Salvation Army member to sit in the House of Assembly during the 1855-1914 period.<sup>11</sup>

In Twillingate, twenty members sat for a total of forty-nine seats during the sixty year period under study. Table 4:3 shows the known denominational affiliations by percentage of individual members as well as by percentage of total denominational seats. One-half of the membership for Twillingate over the period were Methodists (50.9%). The nine Methodist members sat for a total of twenty-six seats, or 60.1% of the district's total seats. This increase in total seat percentage over total individual Methodist membership percentage, suggests in addition, that the Methodist members tended to retain their seats longer than members from other denominations in the district. In looking at the cells, the absence of Catholic members from Twillingate during the period, 1855-1914, does not imply that the Catholic opinion in the

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<sup>11</sup>Jennings entered the House as a Fishermen's Protective Union member from Notre Dame Bay. Jennings, who had four years of schooling, later became Minister of Public Works in 1919.

Table 4:3

TWILLINGATE DENOMINATIONAL MEMBERSHIP, INDIVIDUAL  
AND TOTAL SEAT, 1855-1914  
(percentages)

	<u>Individual Members</u>		<u>Total District Seats</u>	
Anglican	33.3	( 6)	27.2	(12)
Catholic	-	( 0)	-	( 0)
Methodist	50.9	( 9)	60.1	(26)
Other	16.7	( 3)	13.6	( 6)
		<hr/>		<hr/>
		(18)		(44)
M.D.		( 2)		( 5)

district was necessarily 'unrepresented'.<sup>12</sup> Politics during the nineteenth century - especially with the limited communication facilities of the time - tended to express itself in local and regional terms, and there is no reason to contend that there was a peculiarly Catholic Twillingate view as opposed to the Protestant.

Table 4:4 looks at Fogo, a Notre Dame Bay district, which became a separate one member constituency after 1884. Formerly, Fogo and Twillingate had formed one joint three-member district up to that time. The top section of the table deals with Fogo membership; by individual and by total seat for the period 1884-1914. The lower section of the table shows Fogo's overall denominational patterns for two periods in time, for the purpose of facilitating comparisons between actual denominational representation with denominational patterns for the district.

Representation in the district was divided between Anglican and Methodist members. The district - primarily Anglican in 1884 - underwent something of the Methodist phenomenon experienced by Twillingate. In the aggregate membership section of the table, it is seen that the two Anglican members of the period sat an average of three times in the House while the two Methodist members sat an average of

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<sup>12</sup>Actually, in reviewing the unsuccessful candidates for Twillingate during the period, 1885-1914, it is found that there were no Catholic candidates forthcoming, either locally or from St. John's.



Table 4:4

FOGO MEMBERSHIP BY DENOMINATION, INDIVIDUAL  
AND TOTAL SEAT, 1885-1914

	<u>Members</u>		<u>Total Seats</u>	
Anglican	50.0	(2)	60.0	( 6)
Catholic	-	(0)	-	( 0)
Methodist	50.0	(2)	40.0	( 4)
Other	-	(0)	-	( 0)
		<hr/>		<hr/>
		(4)		(10)
	M.D.	(0)		( 0)
<hr/>				
	<u>Fogo</u>	<u>C.E.</u>	<u>R.C.</u>	<u>Methodist</u>
Year: 1884		2900 (47%)	1300 (21%)	2000 (32%)
1901		2900 (39%)	1200 (16%)	3300 (45%)

only twice. Both Fogo and Twillingate representation corresponds roughly to the general denominational distribution patterns in each of the districts.

Bonavista presents somewhat different patterns. Table 4:5 shows Bonavista denominational representation by individual member and total seat for the 1855-1914 period, as well as denominational distributions at four points of time. Methodist representation was quite active, especially in relation to their total numbers in the district. The table also suggests a high degree of turnover among Methodist representatives - twelve members sitting for a total of eighteen seats - an average of members sitting only 1.5 times during the period. The lone Catholic representative for the period was returned in the Confederation election of 1869. He was William M. Barnes, a St. John's born merchant, and the grandson of Richard Barnes, a Waterford, Ireland immigrant who founded the firm.<sup>13</sup> It was Barnes, along with James L. Noonan and Francis Winton (all of St. John's) who ran as a successful anti-confederation team in 1869.

Table 4:6 shows Trinity denominational representation. Dominant Anglican representation in Trinity

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<sup>13</sup>The firm, J.B. Barnes & Co., was insolvent by the 1870's. W.M. Barnes was henceforth listed in the Business Directories as a St. John's Farmer.

Table 4:5

BONAVISTA MEMBERSHIP BY DENOMINATION, INDIVIDUAL  
AND TOTAL SEAT, 1855-1914

	<u>Membership</u>		<u>Total Seats</u>			
Anglican	39.3	(11)	46.3	(25)		
Catholic	3.6	( 1)	1.9	( 1)		
Methodist	42.9	(12)	33.3	(18)		
Other	14.3	( 4)	18.5	(10)		
		<hr/>		<hr/>		
		(28)		(54)		
	M.D.	( 0)		(0)		
<u>Bonavista</u>	<u>C.E.</u>		<u>Catholic</u>	<u>Methodist</u>		
Year: 1857	5700	(65%)	2000	(23%)	1100	(13%)
1869	7000	(61%)	2400	(21%)	2100	(18%)
1884	8400	(51%)	3000	(18%)	5100	(31%)
1901	9200	(47%)	3200	(16%)	7200	(37%)

Table 4:6

TRINITY MEMBERSHIP BY DENOMINATION, INDIVIDUAL  
AND TOTAL SEAT, 1855-1914

	Membership	Total Seats	
Anglican	53.6 (15)	57.7 (30)	
Catholic	3.1 ( 1)	1.9 ( 1)	
Methodist	37.7 (10)	36.5 (19)	
Other	7.1 ( 2)	3.8 ( 2)	
	<hr/>	<hr/>	
	(28)	(52)	
	M.D. ( 2)	( 2)	
<u>Trinity</u>	<u>C.E.</u>	<u>R.C.</u>	<u>Methodist</u>
Year: 1857	6000 (56)	1300 (12)	3500 (32)
1869	7400 (54)	1400 (10)	5000 (36)
1884	10000 (52)	1800 ( 9)	7300 (38)
1901	10300 (52)	1600 ( 8)	7800 (40)

was supported by a strong Anglican denominational base which maintained itself throughout the period. Again, as with Bonavista, the lone Catholic representative was elected during the confederation election of 1869. He was Robert Alsop, a St. John's fishery supply and sealing merchant who appeared in Bennett's government as Chairman of Board of Works.<sup>14</sup> Methodism, as in the other northern districts, was growing in numbers in Trinity and the census figures indicate that while Anglicans managed to maintain their majority, they failed to double in numbers during the period, while Methodists more than doubled.

Generally, in looking at the North Districts as a whole, it can be seen that aggregate denominational representation tended to correspond with the overall denominational patterns found in the districts. The North was predominately Protestant, more Anglican in character by the mid-nineteenth century, gradually becoming, particularly from the 1870's on, actively Methodist. By 1900, two of the four Northern Districts; Twillingate and Fogo had Methodist majorities and the remaining two have witnessed substantial Methodist growth.

Tables 4:7 through 4:9 examine the Northern District's denominational total seat representation over

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<sup>14</sup>Alsop also served as Colonial Secretary and was later appointed to the Legislative Council. His career was shortened with an untimely death. Newfoundlander, Mar. 28, 1871.

two periods of time; 1855-1884, and 1885-1914. Each period includes nine general elections and any disproportion in district seat totals for the two periods would be the result of some seat redistribution having taken place in a few districts in 1882 and 1885. Table 4:7 deals with Twillingate, and the contingency table (bottom) is included for test purposes. The two significant denominational groups in the district were the Methodists and the Anglicans. The test hypothesis, "that time was not a significant factor in Methodists winning over Anglicans in Twillingate," was tested with the findings suggesting that the hypothesis should be rejected.<sup>15</sup> A visual inspection of the cells shows a rise in Methodist seat representation in the latter period and a corresponding drop in Anglican representation for the same period. The change corresponds roughly with the shifts in denominational patterns for the same period.

Bonavista shows something of the same trend. Table 4:8 breaks Bonavista total seat denominational representation into two periods. The same null hypothesis was used; namely, "that time was not a significant factor in Methodists winning over Anglicans in Bonavista", and

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<sup>15</sup>The Chi-square test was applied to the 2x2 table, resulting in  $X^2=5.884$ . With 1 d.f.,  $X^2$  was found to be significant at the 98% level. The null hypothesis can then, be rejected.

Table 4:7

TWILLINGATE TOTAL SEAT REPRESENTATION FOR TWO PERIODS OF TIME

	<u>1855-1884</u>	<u>1885-1914</u>	
Anglican	40.9 ( 9)	13.6 ( 3)	
Catholic	- ( 0)	- ( 0)	
Methodist	45.5 (10)	72.8 (16)	
Other	13.6 ( 3)	13.6 ( 3)	
	<hr/>	<hr/>	
	(22)	(22)	
M.D.	( 0)	( 5)	
<u>Twillingate</u>	<u>1855-1884</u>	<u>1885-1914</u>	<u>Total</u>
Methodist	10	16	26
Anglican	9	3	12
<hr/> Total	<hr/> 19	<hr/> 19	<hr/> 38

Table 4:8

## BONAVISTA TOTAL SEAT REPRESENTATION FOR TWO PERIODS OF TIME

	<u>1855-1884</u>	<u>1885-1914</u>	
Anglican	70.4 (19)	22.2 ( 6)	
Catholic	3.7 ( 1)	- ( 0)	
Methodist	22.2 ( 6)	44.4 (12)	
Other	3.7 ( 1)	33.3 ( 9)	
	<hr/>	<hr/>	
	(27)	(27)	
M.D.	( 0)	( 0)	
	<hr/>	<hr/>	
	<u>1855-1884</u>	<u>1885-1914</u>	<u>Total</u>
Methodist	6	12	18
Anglican	19	6	25
	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>
Total	25	18	43
	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>



Table 4:9

## TRINITY TOTAL SEAT REPRESENTATION FOR TWO PERIODS IN TIME

	<u>1855-1884</u>	<u>1885-1914</u>
Anglican	57.7 (15)	57.7 (15)
Catholic	3.8 ( 1)	- ( 0)
Methodist	38.5 (10)	34.6 ( 9)
Other	- ( 0)	7.7 ( 2)
	<hr/>	<hr/>
	(26)	(26)
M.D.	( 1)	( 1)

<u>Trinity</u>	<u>1855-1884</u>	<u>1885-1914</u>	<u>Total</u>
Methodist	10	9	19
Anglican	15	15	30
Total	25	24	49

the findings indicate that the hypothesis should be rejected.<sup>16</sup> The cells show much the same shift toward Methodist representation in the latter period as in Twillingate. The overall denominational population trends for Bonavista (Table 4:5) do not show even a Methodist majority in the district, however, as is the obvious case for Twillingate. This difference might be demographic; certain towns, - Greenspond, possible Wesleyville - Methodist in character, became heated centers of political activity. In addition, a possible preference for local representation might have influenced the Methodist trend. Six of the eight Methodist candidates during the latter period were local residents of Bonavista. Since they seemed to have had the initiative in local representation, other groups may have sided with them on what were considered local issues regardless of any denominational preference.<sup>17</sup> In total seat representation; of the twelve Methodist seats held in the latter period, nine (75%) were local residents of the Island's Methodist community.

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<sup>16</sup> $\chi^2 = 7.828$ . With 1 d.f.,  $\chi^2$  was found to be statistically significant at the 99% level.

<sup>17</sup>The concept of denominational preference will be discussed in more detail in the conclusion of this chapter.

Trinity district, on the other hand, showed almost identical balance between the two denominations for both periods. An observation of the cells indicates the balanced denominational representation in the district for both periods. The hypothesis, "that time was not a significant factor in Anglicans winning over Methodists in Trinity" was tested, and the findings, as expected, indicated that the hypothesis should be retained.<sup>18</sup> Seven Anglicans sat for a total of fifteen seats in the first period, eight sat for the same number of seats during the second.

Turning to the relationship of denominational affiliation and the residency patterns of Northern District candidates; tables 4:10 through 4:13 considers the relationship between the variables. Individual membership patterns are broken into two row categories; St. John's, and Not St. John's, which are percentagized by rows. The tables are then divided into two sections; one covering 1855-1884 and the other, 1885-1914. It is possible, with the data arranged in this manner, not only to observe the relationship of residency to denominational distribution, but to assess these relationships as they took place in two contiguous periods of time.

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<sup>18</sup> $\chi^2 = 0.032$ , statistically significant at the 10% level.

Table 4:10 examines Twillingate. A total of eleven members represented Twillingate during the first period (I.), while seven represented the district during the second (II.) Most noticeable is the shift of Anglican St. John's representatives of the earlier period toward those with Methodist affiliation in the second. St. John's successful candidates in the second period conformed more closely to district denominational patterns than in the first period.<sup>19</sup>

Table 4:11 deals with Fogo during the period, 1885-1914. Fogo returned four members who sat for a total of nine seats. All successful candidates in the district were local residents at the time of their election. Fogo local representation conformed with the denominational patterns of the district during the 1885-1914 period.<sup>20</sup> Fogo was a district with strong Anglican orientation. In the nine elections of the period, the two Anglican representatives sat for a total of six of the nine seats. T.C. Duder, one of the two Methodist representatives and a relative and local agent of the politically influential Duder firm of St. John's, sat for the district from 1893 to 1900, at which time he left to

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<sup>19</sup>By 1901; Methodist population of Twillingate had reached 64% (11,700).

<sup>20</sup>By 1901; Anglican population had waned to 39% (2900) in contrast with a rising Methodist population of 45% (3300); with Catholics a politically insignificant third; 16% (1200).

Table 4:10

TWILLINGATE DENOMINATIONAL AND RESIDENCY PATTERNS  
DURING TWO PERIODS IN TIME

I. 1855-1884

	Anglican	Catholic	Methodist	Other	Total
St. John's	55.0 (5)	-	34.0 (3)	11.0 (1)	100.0 (9)
Not St. John's	-	-	50.0 (1)	50.0 (1)	100.0 (2)

II. 1885-1914

St. John's	20.0 (1)	-	60.0 (3)	20.0 (1)	100.0 (5)
Not St. John's	-	-	50.0 (1)	50.0 (1)	100.0 (2)

Table 4:11

FOGO DISTRICT DENOMINATIONAL AND RESIDENCY PATTERNS  
FOR THE PERIOD 1885-1914

	Anglican	Catholic	Methodist	Other	Total
St. John's	-	-	-	-	-
Not St. John's	50.0 (2)	-	50.0 (2)	-	100.0 (4)

accept the position of Stipendiary Magistrate of Bonne Bay (St. Barbe). The remaining Methodist representative was of a different political disposition than Duder. He was William W. Halfyard, a former St. John's school teacher who was also vice president to William Coaker in the F.P.U. He was returned in 1913 when the F.P.U. made its strong showing in the North.

In looking at Bonavista, table 4:12 shows the residency and denominational patterns in that district. As already mentioned, Bonavista's shift toward patterns of local residency during the latter period was shown to be statistically significant.<sup>21</sup> This shift, in turn, reflected a strong local Methodist emphasis 75% (6). It would seem that St. John's representation by the second period, more nearly approximated the general denominational patterns of the district. Local Methodist representation, on the other hand, was disproportionate to these local patterns.<sup>22</sup> One can tentatively conclude that the emphasis toward local representation, took precedence over denominational factors and that this emphasis for local

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<sup>21</sup>Chapter III; table 3:7.

<sup>22</sup>By 1901; Anglicans accounted for 47% (9200) of district population. Methodist representation was 37% (7200). Catholic population stood at 16% (3200).

Table 4:12

BONAVISTA DENOMINATIONAL AND RESIDENCY PATTERNS  
DURING TWO PERIODS IN TIME

I. 1855-1884

	Anglican	Catholic	Methodist	Other	Total
St. John's	58.3 (7)	8.3 (1)	25.0 (3)	8.3 (1)	100.0 (12)
Not St. John's	50.0 (1)	-	50.0 (1)	-	100.0 ( 2)

II. 1885-1914

St. John's	28.6 (2)	-	28.6 (2)	42.8 (3)	100.0 ( 7)
Not St. John's	25.0 (2)	-	75.0 (6)	-	100.0 ( 8)



representation was generated from within the local Methodist community.<sup>23</sup> This pattern, interestingly, was not disrupted when the district moved dramatically into the Fisherman's Protective Union orbit in 1913. The three F.P.U. candidates returned for the district at that time were; Robert G. Winsor, a Wesleyville (Bonavista) Methodist, and John Abbot, a Methodist from the town of Bonavista. A third member, William F. Coaker - an Anglican, and founder of the Union - could lend stature to Winsor and Abbot in particular, and to the Bonavista F.P.U. movement in general, by choosing to run from that district. The relationship was also reciprocal, Coaker was obviously guaranteed strong local support. The F.P.U. in Bonavista then - with its seemingly radical political ideology aside - successfully operated well within the structure of the functioning, local political machinery already established in that district.<sup>24</sup>

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<sup>23</sup>This could serve at least as a working hypothesis for a more detailed investigation of the character of political activity in Bonavista during the 1855-1914 period.

<sup>24</sup>This is an important point relating to Coaker's apparent success as a 'political organizer'. An erroneous impression has been given in Newfoundland historiography - originating with Joseph R. Smallwood and his Coaker of Newfoundland, The Labour Publishing Co., London, 1927 and later perpetuated to some extent in Noel, Politics in Newfoundland - that Coaker somehow brought the concept and mechanics of modern political organization to the North. This is without historic foundation. Smallwood, in addition,

Table 4:13 examines Trinity. St. John's Anglican representation maintained itself in both periods, while a slight decrease took place in St. John's Methodist representation. Patterns of representation in the second period conform roughly to denominational patterns for the district as a whole.<sup>25</sup> In addition, Trinity candidates generally were selected from St. John's during both periods.

In considering the districts of the Northern Region as a whole, the tables suggest that representation tended to follow along the general patterns of denominational representation within the districts. The only noticeable exception to this seemed to be in Bonavista, during the 1885-1914 period. Once more, this was generally true whether representation was selected

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adds "It is unfortunate that he did not have time to organize the southwest" (Burgeo; Fortune), p. 55. More to the point is the fact that there was no comparable political machinery for Coaker to work through in the southwest. Smallwood says "If he stayed out [campaign] until 1919, he could have taken over the whole country", p. 55. This is highly dubious. By contrast, the North, highly politicalized and disillusioned, lent itself to 'Coakerism'. The F.P.U. Manifesto is essentially, the stated right to continue to fish. Underlying the Coaker anti-merchant rhetoric - probably never fully appreciated by the fishermen of the North - was something far more fundamental. The F.P.U. struggle was the old economy versus the new, moved to the labouring class level. The F.P.U. and the People's Party clash was the clash of two competing Labour systems; the former defending the old, the latter championing the new. To say that Coaker could have resolved this and taken over the Island is nonsense.

<sup>25</sup>In 1901; Anglican population stood at 52% (10,300); Methodist, 40% (7800); with Catholic at a mere 8% (1600).

Table 4:13

TRINITY DENOMINATIONAL AND RESIDENCY PATTERNS  
FOR TWO PERIODS IN TIME

I. 1855-1884

	Anglican	Catholic	Methodist	Other	Total
St. John's	50.0 (6)	8.3 (1)	46.7 (5)	-	100.0 (12)
Not St. John's	100.0 (1)	-	-	-	100.0 ( 1)

II. 1885-1914

St. John's	54.5 (6)	-	27.3 (3)	14.3 (2)	100.0 (11)
Not St. John's	33.3 (1)	-	-	66.7 (2)	100.0 ( 3)

from a St. John's source - as was often the case - or locally, as in Fogo and Bonavista during the second period under study. The findings strongly suggest that denominational affiliation took precedence over place of residency. In nineteenth century Newfoundland, denominationalism as a form of social organization and management, was an effective force. It offered any religious group a readily identifiable set of social values and beliefs - which did not necessarily require constant articulation and interpretation - and at the same time provided for an intimate and fraternal intra-group understanding. It was within this main structure that nineteenth century Newfoundland politics functioned. Hence, a twenty-nine year old lawyer like Richard Squires, born in Harbor Grace and schooled in St. John's, could come out on the Trinity election circuit in 1909 and get elected because - political issues aside - he was a Methodist. This should in no way imply there was any singular Methodist or Anglican view in the North or anywhere else on the Island for that matter. Squires's political views, for instance, were as different from Archibald Targett's as Robert Bond's were from those held by John Steer. Yet, all were Trinity Methodists, and each could justify his political beliefs and actions within the moral context of that common denominator -

Methodism. Party affiliation in the nineteenth century was often ephemeral in character and kaleidoscopic in form. Beneath it, however, was a denominational structure that served - except in periods of retrogressive, politically competitive denominational strife - as a stable foundation for Island politics in the nineteenth century.

The Reverend Edward Wix stated in 1835 that, "Conception Bay people differed from Trinity - though separated by a thin arm of land - as if they were inhabitants from another land."<sup>26</sup> As early as 1765, Conception Bay had some 5000 residents according to the estimate made by Rev. Lawrence Coughlan, when he visited there in that year.<sup>27</sup> Coughlan, an Anglican minister who preached an evangelic Methodist doctrine and worked for the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, estimated the local Bay population at the time as something like 80% Dorset background and 20% Irish Catholic. He carried the Gospel from house to house through Carbonear and Harbor Grace as well as in open

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<sup>26</sup>Wix: Journal, 1835, p. 168. Wix constantly alludes to the striking mosaic quality of outport life as he travelled the Island in 1835.

<sup>27</sup>Alexander Sutherland: The Methodist Church and Missions in Canada and Newfoundland. F.C. Stephenson, Methodist Missions, Toronto, 1906, p. 70.

public meetings. The Limerick-born minister who spoke Gaelic as well as English, undoubtedly made a lasting impression on many of the inhabitants of the raw, frontier-like settlements that ringed the bay. Coughlan's message, sympathetically received by those with former West Country and Southern Ireland Protestant ties, took on an empyrean quality in the minds of many. Methodism flourished in parts of Conception Bay long before it was a significant social force in St. John's or the Northern Region.

Intra-Bay connected fishery patterns were in some cases reinforced by the common bond of Methodism. Old Perlican (Bay-de-Verde), for example, experienced a Methodist revival at the beginning of the nineteenth century.<sup>28</sup> Its impact made a lasting impression; Bay-de-Verde returned Methodist candidates throughout the entire period under study.

Table 4:14 shows the religious structuring of the Conception Bay constituencies at the time of the granting of responsible government. The Bay-de-Verde district shows a ratio of one clergyman to seven communities. Carbonear, a geographically small, almost

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<sup>28</sup>In St. John's; an early example of Methodist influence was Stephan March; MHA, Trinity, 1852; 55; Bonavista, 1859; 61-64; and Trinity, 1865. March had been born in Old Perlican, the son of a Torquay, Devon planter and a locally-born mother. March, like most prominent early St. John's Methodists, came from Conception Bay back-grounds. J.J. Rogerson, formerly of Harbor Grace, is another example.

Table 4:14

## RELIGIOUS STRUCTURING OF CONCEPTION BAY CONSTITUENCIES AT THE TIME OF RESPONSIBLE GOVERNMENT

	<u>Bay-de-Verde</u>	<u>Carbonear</u>	<u>Harbor Grace</u>	<u>Port-de-Grave</u>	<u>Harbor Main</u>
1. No. of Clergy	4	4	6	5	2
2. Clergy /10,000 pop.	6	8	6	8	4
3. No. of Anglican Churches	1	1	7	3	1
4. No. of Catholic Churches	4	1	3	2	3
5. No. of Methodist Churches	10	1	2	3	1
6. No. of Other Churches	0	0	1	0	0
7. No. of Schools	18	7	24	17	14
8. No. of Communities in each district	27	5	14	22	28

pocket borough constituency, had the most ministers per number of communities. Harbor Grace, the hub of economic activity on Conception Bay at the time, also had a high ratio of ministers per communities. In Port-de-Grave, there was an average of one minister per four communities, while Harbor Main had the poorest ratio; one minister per fourteen communities as well as the highest ratio population per minister; one per 2,200 of population. There were always more churches than ministers to fill them which made the life of a mid-nineteenth century minister an arduous one. Schools tended to be centrally located in the largest towns of the district; in Carbonear, for example, all of its seven schools were located in the town of Carbonear. Twelve of the twenty-four schools in the Harbor Grace district were located in the Town of Harbor Grace and in Port-de-Grave; six of its seventeen schools were located in the principal town of Brigus.

Table 4:15 examines Bay-de-Verde denominational membership for the period. Sixteen individuals sat for a total of twenty-six seats during the 1855-1914 period. The district demonstrated what can only be called a strong sense of denominational solidarity during that time, especially in view of the fact that the Methodist population reached 72% (7100) in 1901. In addition, Bay-de-Verde was closely linked during the stable years



Table 4:15

BAY DE VERDE DENOMINATIONAL MEMBERSHIP, INDIVIDUAL  
AND TOTAL SEAT, 1855-1914

	<u>Members</u>	<u>Total Seats</u>
Anglican	( 0)	( 0)
Catholic	( 0)	( 0)
Methodist	100.0 (16)	100.0 (26)
Other	( 0)	( 0)
	<hr/>	<hr/>
	(16)	(26)
M.D.	( 1)	( 1)

<u>Bay-de-Verde</u>	<u>Anglican</u>	<u>Catholic</u>	<u>Methodist</u>
Year: 1857	400 (6%)	1600 (26%)	4200 (68%)
1869	500 (7)	1700 (24)	4900 (69)
1884	400 (5)	2000 (24)	6000 (71)
1901	500 (5)	2200 (22)	7100 (72)

of the traditional fishing economy to Carbonear. John Bemister, the subject of a case study in Chapter II, represented the district on five successive occasions, starting with the period of responsible government in 1855. Complementing Bemister's commercial interests in the district were the public spirited activities of his wife, Jane Taylor Bemister, who did active Methodist Sabbath school work teaching fishermen how to read and write.<sup>29</sup>

South of Bay-de-Verde was the district of Carbonear. Five known members sat for a total of fifteen seats during the 60 year period. Table 4:16 shows the denominational breakdown. The Catholic denominational population - once a majority - declined after the early years of responsible government<sup>30</sup> and the district shifted toward Methodist representation. While all denominations show some decline in Carbonear after 1884, the Methodists, nonetheless, managed to maintain a narrow majority, 52% (2500) up to 1901.

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<sup>29</sup>Public Ledger, Aug. 3, 1880.

<sup>30</sup>Carbonear's first MHA was Catholic; Edmund Hanrahan; MHA, 1855; 59; 61-65. Hanrahan, later a J.P. of Carbonear, was appointed Sheriff of the Southern District (stationed in Ferryland) after 1872, Newfoundlander, Oct. 18, 1872.

TABLE 4:16

CARBONEAR DENOMINATIONAL MEMBERSHIP BY INDIVIDUAL AND  
TOTAL SEAT, 1855-1914

	<u>Members</u>	<u>Total Seats</u>
Anglican	- (0)	- (0)
Catholic	20.0 (1)	20.0 (3)
Methodist	60.0 (3)	60.0 (9)
Other	20.0 (1)	20.0 (3)
	<hr/>	<hr/>
	(5)	(15)
	M.D. (1)	(3)

<u>Carbonear</u>	<u>Anglican</u>	<u>Catholic</u>	<u>Methodist</u>
Year: 1857	800 (15%)	2600 (49%)	1900 (36%)
1869	900 (16%)	2400 (42%)	2400 (42%)
1884	1000 (16%)	2300 (37%)	2900 (47%)
1901	900 (19%)	1400 (29%)	2500 (52%)

South of Carbonear was the Harbor Grace district where overall district denominational patterns remained predominately Anglican throughout. Table 4:17 shows its membership breakdown. Despite a drop in population among all denominations after 1884, overall Anglican representation corresponded closely with the Anglican population percentage of 1901; 62% (7500). There was a district preference for Protestant representatives. Only two Catholic representatives were returned for the district<sup>31</sup> - out of a total of twenty - and the two sat for six seats; all in the first half of the period under study. There was no Catholic representation after 1885.

Table 4:18 examines Port-de-Grave, a district south of Harbor Grace. Twelve members sat for eighteen seats during the period. The district showed a slight majority preference for Methodist candidates, despite the fact that the Methodists were never a majority of the population during the period. In addition, Port-de-Grave showed a general decline in all denominational populations after 1884. Unlike Carbonear and Harbor Grace, however, Port-de-Grave was as much dependent on St. John's fishing

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<sup>31</sup>One was James Luke Prendergast, a local commission merchant and the other, Ambrose Shea, the son of a prominent St. John's merchant family and perhaps, the most politically ambitious of the mid-nineteenth century Island politicians. Shea - who sat four times for Harbor Grace - also sat for St. John's West; Burin; Placentia; and St. John's East, during his long career. Shea came very close to being appointed Newfoundland's first 'native' governor.

TABLE 4:17

**HARBOR GRACE DENOMINATIONAL MEMBERSHIP BY INDIVIDUAL AND  
TOTAL SEAT, 1855-1914**

	<u>Membership</u>	<u>Total Seats</u>
Anglican	65.0 (13)	61.5 (24)
Catholic	10.0 (2)	15.4 (6)
Methodist	10.0 (2)	12.8 (5)
Other	15.0 (3)	10.3 (4)
	<hr/>	<hr/>
	(20)	(39)
	M.D. (2)	(6)

<u>Harbor Grace</u>	<u>Anglican</u>	<u>Catholic</u>	<u>Methodist</u>
Year: 1857	5500 (55%)	3400 (34%)	1100 (11%)
1869	6800 (54%)	4200 (33%)	1600 (13%)
1884	8600 (59%)	3900 (27%)	2000 (14%)
1901	7500 (62%)	2800 (23%)	1800 (15%)

TABLE 4:18

PORT-DE-GRAVE DENOMINATIONAL MEMBERSHIP BY INDIVIDUAL  
AND TOTAL SEAT, 1855-1914

	<u>Membership</u>	<u>Total Seat</u>
Anglican	33.3 (4)	33.3 (6)
Catholic	- (0)	- (0)
Methodist	58.3 (7)	55.6 (10)
Other	8.3 (1)	10.3 (2)
	<hr/>	<hr/>
	(12)	(18)
	M.D. (0)	(0)

<u>Port-de-Grave</u>	<u>Anglican</u>	<u>Catholic</u>	<u>Methodist</u>
Year: 1857	2700 (42%)	1600 (25%)	2100 (33%)
1869	3200 (43%)	1900 (25%)	2400 (32%)
1884	3300 (40%)	2200 (27%)	2800 (34%)
1901	2800 (38%)	1800 (25%)	2700 (37%)

interests as it was the local Conception Bay connections. It was retrenchment by St. John's firms - notably Job Bros. - in the 1890's that hurt the district economically and radically changed its character. Its principal town, Brigus, gradually declined after that period.

Table 4:19 looks at the last of the five Conception Bay districts; Harbor Main. The district was contiguous with rural St. John's West. Its early inhabitants were predominantly Dorset-Protestant background, but this changed sharply during the early nineteenth century with the heavy influx of Irish immigration onto the Island and by 1855, nearly 80% of the district's population were Irish Catholics. Its early semi-autonomy as an independent agricultural and fishery district was maintained, at least on the surface, through most of the nineteenth century, though in reality the district became increasingly dependent politically and economically on St. John's. Fourteen members sat for thirty-five seats during the period. By 1901, Catholic denominational representation still stood at a high percentage of 73% (6900). The district showed an exclusive preference for Catholic representatives.<sup>32</sup> Harbor Main can serve as an

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<sup>32</sup>Even among the fourteen losers for the district during the 1885-1914 period, at least eleven - possibly twelve - were unsuccessful Catholic candidates.

TABLE 4:19

HARBOR MAIN DENOMINATIONAL MEMBERSHIP BY INDIVIDUAL  
AND TOTAL SEAT, 1855-1914

	<u>Membership</u>	<u>Total Seat</u>
Anglican	- (0)	- (0)
Catholic	100.0 (14)	100.0 (35)
Methodist	- (0)	- (0)
Other	- (0)	- (0)
	<hr/>	<hr/>
	(14)	(35)
M.D.	(1)	(1)

<u>Harbor Main</u>	<u>Anglican</u>	<u>Catholic</u>	<u>Methodist</u>
Year: 1857	1200 (22%)	4200 (76%)	100 (2%)
1869	1400 (22%)	4800 (76%)	100 (2%)
1884	2000 (22%)	6800 (76%)	100 (1%)
1901	2300 (24%)	6900 (73%)	200 (2%)



example - quite typical in many Protestant and Catholic districts at the time - of the relationship between denominational preference in candidates and the demographic characteristics of the district which combined to make many districts almost impregnable to outside political interference. In Harbor Main there were twenty-eight communities at the time of responsible government. The population was fairly evenly distributed among these communities; only one had close to 900 people, most had no more than 200. Setting the common practice of outside economic pressure leveled against the districts aside - used first by private interests, and later, a tactic used with public effectiveness by the People's Party government - a prospective candidate, no matter how secular his political views might be, would have little choice but to work through the existing denominational preference system. This practice, ideally, would insure the district electorate that the candidate's basic attitudes and views were compatible with the community's and that he was made aware, both in public meetings and in consultations with the local clergy, with regard to the pressing local community problems.<sup>33</sup> Harbor Main, with

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<sup>33</sup>This system, like most systems of local organization, was sound enough, though subject to abuse by individual clergymen or politicians in certain specific instances. To condemn it though, even by implication - as is sometimes done in contemporary Newfoundland historiography -

its unanimous Catholic preference was counterbalanced by Bay-de-Verde with its equally strong preference for Methodist candidates. The two districts are extreme examples of the difficulty presented to Conception Bay in formulating any sort of uniform regional political reaction with regard to the increasing concentration of political and economic power in St. John's. Although it was vital to the Bay's economic interests that it oppose St. John's as a regional bloc, this was impossible, particularly after the sectarian riots in Harbor Grace in the eighties. Whatever the cause of those riots, and whatever the issues that were at stake in Harbor Grace at the time, the political effect on the Bay itself was disastrous. The resulting bitterness drove the districts into divisive denominational camps, making viable regional economic unity impossible, and making each easy prey to

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is ahistorical and self-defeating. To understand nineteenth century Newfoundland politics one has to come to terms with what the system was and how it functioned. In addition, to condemn the practice of denominational interplay in the political system of the time as somehow 'apolitical' and 'outmoded' (particularly when one still sees evidence of it today) will hardly set the tone for a fruitful investigation of nineteenth century politics. A contemporary rejection of an analysis of the past practices of Newfoundland politics in preference of the modern secular variety now practiced, excludes the opportunity for the valid assessment of the latter in relation to the former.

outside political demagoguery.<sup>34</sup>

Tables 4:20 through 4:24 examine Conception Bay denominational representation in two periods of time. The first district is Bay-de-Verde, which represents a uniform Methodist pattern for both periods. The district showed a strong preference for candidates with a Methodist denominational affiliation in both periods in time. The chances of a Methodist candidate winning in either period were equally good, even after Bay-de-Verde had become a two-member constituency (it had been a one-member constituency, 1855-1884) in 1885.

Table 4:21 examines Carbonear representation in two periods of time. The district remained a one-member constituency throughout both periods under study. Methodist representation conforms roughly with local denominational patterns within the district; in 1901, the overall Methodist population stood at 52% (2500). The hypothesis, "time was not an important factor in

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<sup>34</sup>It would probably be too strong to suggest that retrogressive demoninational rigidity was forced on the districts of the Bay during the eighties and nineties to serve the interests of self seeking St. John's politicians. There is no doubt, however, that the disintegration of the Bay played into Whiteway's hands initially, and later served the interests of his opponents. In the unseating trials, for instance, in 1894 - the trials attempted to destroy Whiteway's party by a dubious application of a narrow interpretation of what 'corrupt practices in elections' meant (Whiteway and his party had been somewhat - but legally - generous in their

TABLE 4:20

BAY DE VERDE DENOMINATIONAL TOTAL SEAT REPRESENTATION  
IN TWO PERIODS OF TIME

	<u>1855-1884</u>	<u>1885-1914</u>
Anglican	- (0)	- (0)
Catholic	- (0)	- (0)
Methodist	100.0 (9)	100.0 (17)
Other	- (0)	- (0)
	<hr/>	<hr/>
	(9)	(17)
M.D.	(0)	(1)

TABLE 4:21

CARBONEAR DENOMINATIONAL TOTAL SEAT REPRESENTATION  
IN TWO PERIODS OF TIME

	<u>1855-1884</u>	<u>1885-1914</u>
Anglican	- (0)	- (0)
Catholic	33.3 (3)	- (0)
Methodist	66.7 (6)	50.0 (3)
Other	- (0)	50.0 (3)
	<hr/>	<hr/>
	(9)	(6)
M.D.	(0)	(3)

Methodists winning over other denominations", was tested and the findings indicate that the hypothesis should be retained.<sup>35</sup>

Table 4:22 looks at the district of Harbor Grace. While Catholic representation disappears in the latter period, there is a subsequent rise in Methodist and Other (Presbyterian) representation. Anglican representation corresponds with the percentage of Anglican population in the district during the second period.<sup>36</sup> An hypothesis was advanced to test the significance of the increase of Anglican representation over other denominations in the district; namely, "time was not a significant factor in Anglican representatives winning over others in Harbor Grace in two periods." Findings indicate that the test hypothesis should be retained.<sup>37</sup> The Harbor Grace

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distribution of public works money just prior to the 1893 election) - and the first test case, interestingly, took place in Bay-de-Verde. Bay-de-Verde - Methodist and traditionally committed to the fishery, had voted - with a show of independence - for Whiteway in 1889, and again in 1893. The trial then, not only temporarily derailed Whiteway on Conception Bay, but had, in addition, the punitive effect of bringing Bay-de-Verde back into rigid alignment with the proper St. John's political interests.

<sup>35</sup> $\chi^2 = 0.417$ ; with 1 d.f.,  $\chi^2$  is significant at below the 50% level.

<sup>36</sup>By 1901; the Anglican population stood at 62% (7500).

<sup>37</sup> $\chi^2 = 0.504$ , with 1 d.f.,  $\chi^2$  is significant only at the 50% level.

TABLE:4:22

HARBOR GRACE DENOMINATIONAL TOTAL SEAT REPRESENTATION  
IN TWO PERIODS OF TIME

	<u>1855-1884</u>	<u>1885-1914</u>
Anglican	55.6 (10)	66.7 (14)
Catholic	33.3 (6)	- (0)
Methodist	5.5.(1)	14.3 (3)
	<hr/>	<hr/>
	(18)	(21)
M.D.	(0)	(6)

district showed a slight increased preference for Anglican representatives in the second period and a fixed political stability in the Anglican community overall, while both the Catholic and the Methodist communities exhibited an imbalance over time.

Table 4:23 examines Port-de-Grave for two time periods. No denomination had a clear majority over others in either period of time, although Anglicans had a slight majority over their closest contender, the Methodists, throughout both periods. The decided shift from Methodist representation to Anglican representation would have to be explained by factors other than local distributions of denominational populations. A test hypothesis; "Time was not a significant factor in Methodists winning in Port-de-Grave", was tested and the findings indicate that the hypothesis should be rejected.<sup>38</sup> Reasons for the abrupt change in representative denominational patterns within the district are both economic and political. During the earlier period, Port-de-Grave was an integral part of the autonomous Conception Bay fishery complex. Brigus was the center of this Harbor Grace allied activity. Seven of the eight Methodist seats held in the first period were local merchant and sailing captain members from Brigus. The

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<sup>38</sup> $\chi^2 = 8.100$ . With 1 d.f.,  $\chi^2$  was found to be statistically significant at the 99% level, suggesting that time was an important factor in the changing political character of the district.



TABLE 4:23

PORT-DE-GRAVE DENOMINATIONAL TOTAL SEAT REPRESENTATION  
IN TWO PERIODS OF TIME

	<u>1855-1884</u>	<u>1885-1914</u>
Anglican	11.1 (1)	55.6 (5)
Catholic	- (0)	- (0)
Methodist	88.9 (8)	22.2 (2)
Other	- (0)	22.2 (2)
	<hr/>	<hr/>
	(9)	(9)
M.D.	(0)	(0)

fact that they were Methodist, evidently had little bearing on the political climate of the district. Brigus was particularly hard hit by the collapse of the Harbor Grace-based Labrador fishery, however, at the beginning of the 1885-1914 period. The district was forced, by expediency, into the St. John's economic orbit. Its tardy arrival placed Port-de-Grave in a disadvantageous negotiating position. In addition, a hardening of denominational lines based on conformity with general denominational patterns in the district took place and must have caused much political dislocation in Port-de-Grave in general, and in Brigus in particular. This Methodist denominational machinery lay dormant and in disuse through most of the latter period. It revived itself, however, when in 1913, it successfully backed and supported George Grimes, a Methodist and F.P.U. candidate and local store manager. It was one of the few inroads made by the F.P.U. in Conception Bay.<sup>39</sup>

Table 4:24 looks at Harbor Main, a district with strong Catholic denominational preference in both periods.

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<sup>39</sup>Even John C. Crosbie - an important member of the People's Party - who did yeoman work along with Archibald Piccott in stopping the F.P.U. advance on Conception Bay, was unable to prevent the loss of the district. It was particularly humbling since Crosbie had been born and raised in Brigus. A Methodist, Crosbie ran out of Bay-de-Verde.

TABLE 4:24

HARBOR MAIN DENOMINATIONAL TOTAL SEAT REPRESENTATION  
IN TWO PERIODS OF TIME

	<u>1855-1884</u>	<u>1885-1914</u>
Anglican	- (0)	- (0)
Catholic	100.0 (18)	100.0 (17)
Methodist	- (0)	- (0)
Other	- (0)	- (0)
	<hr/>	<hr/>
	(18)	(17)
M.D.	(0)	(1)

This corresponds with the sizeable Catholic percentage of population in the district throughout both periods; 75% (4200) in 1857, and 73% (6900) by 1901. In addition, Harbor Main's close proximity to St. John's - the relative ease of access, particularly after the railway construction in the early 1880's - brought Harbor Main much more in tune with St. John's Catholic denominational affairs than other communities on the Island. The two-seat constituency often served in later years as the political hinterland of St. John's West, giving the urban district, in effect, five seats rather than its proscribed three. As the interests of urban labour rose at the turn of the century, the Harbor Main rural labour force was in a position to lend St. John's West numerical and fraternal support.

Tables 4:25 through 4:29 show individual denominational membership in relation to residency for two periods in time. The first table deals with Bay-de-Verde. There is a striking increase in St. John's representation in the latter period despite the fact the district maintains its Methodist preference. The residency factor casts a new light on the otherwise uniform denominational pattern. Reasons for this shift have already been suggested in the discussion of the collapse of the Conception Bay fishery and the dependency of several districts - including Bay-de-Verde - on new

TABLE 4:25

BAY-DE-VERDE DENOMINATIONAL AND RESIDENCY PATTERNS  
IN TWO PERIODS OF TIME

## I. 1855-1884

<u>Residency</u>	<u>C.E.</u>	<u>R.C.</u>	<u>Methodist</u>	<u>Other</u>	<u>Total</u>
St. John's	-	-	100.0 (1)	-	100.0 (1)
Not St. John's	-	-	100.0 (3)	-	100.0 (3)

## II. 1885-1914

St. John's	-	-	100.0 (8)	-	100.0 (8)
Not St. John's	-	-	100.0 (4)	-	100.0 (4)

found fishery patronage alliances.

Table 4:26 looks at Carbonear. Three members sat in the early period, two known members sat in the second. All members for the district were local Carbonear residents, including the missing member of the latter period whose denominational affiliation is not known. While the Carbonear political membership was small - which might help account for its unique local character - nonetheless, it was the only district on the Island to maintain local representation through the entire period under study. Its small size, compactness, and relatively sound prosperity - at least through the 1880's - helped sustain it against outside intrusion. Like many small rural districts in England at the time, however, Carbonear found it increasingly difficult to maintain an independent and autonomous political position. In 1909, it finally succumbed to increasing outside pressure. John R. Goodison was elected as the local People's Party candidate in a close election decided by some seventy votes. Goodison, while a member of the traditional Carbonear elite,<sup>40</sup> nonetheless, brought the district into the orbit

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<sup>40</sup> Goodison was the son of a local Methodist minister and the grandson of John Rorke, former MHA and Carbonear merchant. He was the grand nephew of Rev. Phillip Tocque whose history is cited in this study. Goodison became inspector of lighthouses in 1918.

TABLE 4:26

CARBONEAR DENOMINATIONAL AND RESIDENCY PATTERNS  
FOR TWO PERIODS IN TIME

I. 1855-1884

<u>Residency</u>	<u>C.E.</u>	<u>R.C.</u>	<u>Methodist</u>	<u>Other</u>	<u>Total</u>
St. John's	-	-	-	-	- (0)
Not St. John's	-	33.3 (1)	66.7 (2)	-	100.0 (3)

II. 1885-1914

St. John's	-	-	-	-	- (0)
Not St. John's	-	-	50.0 (1)	50.0 (1)	100.0 (2)

of the St. John's-based People's Party.

Table 4:27 looks at Harbor Grace. Local district representation stayed much the same in both periods. It remained predominantly Anglican and stayed in line with overall district denominational figures.<sup>41</sup> St. John's representation - (one in the first period) - increased in the second and tended to stem from the urban Anglican Community. In addition, local representation, as mentioned already, tended to shift from the town of Harbor Grace to Bay Roberts in the second period.

Table 4:28 looks at Port-de-Grave. The district shows a shift toward St. John's members during the second period and a decided move away from the local Methodist representation of the first period. St. John's denominational patterns of membership more closely approximate the percentages of denominational population in the second.<sup>42</sup> The shift in residency patterns in the district was shown to be statistically significant (Table 4:23) and, in addition, the change from local Methodist denominational preference would also be another important variable which would have to be considered in any comparative membership study which contrasted the district

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<sup>41</sup>By 1901, Anglican population was at 61% (7500); Catholic 23% (2800); and Methodist, 14.8% (1800).

<sup>42</sup>By 1901, Anglican population was 38% (2800); Methodist, 37% (2700); and Catholic, 24% (1800).



TABLE 4:27

HARBOR GRACE DENOMINATIONAL AND RESIDENCY PATTERNS  
IN TWO PERIODS OF TIME

I. 1855-1884

<u>Residency</u>	<u>C.E.</u>	<u>R.C.</u>	<u>Methodist</u>	<u>Other</u>	<u>Total</u>
St. John's	-	100.0 (1)	-	-	100.0 (1)
Not St. John's	62.5 (5)	12.5 (1)	12.5 (1)	12.5 (1)	100.0 (8)

II. 1885-1914

St. John's	80.0 (4)	-	-	20.0 (1)	100.0 (5)
Not St. John's	66.7 (4)	-	16.7 (1)	16.7 (1)	100.0 (6)

TABLE 4:28

PORT-DE-GRAVE DENOMINATIONAL AND RESIDENCY PATTERNS  
IN TWO PERIODS OF TIME

## I. 1855-1884

<u>Residency</u>	<u>C.E.</u>	<u>R.C.</u>	<u>Methodist</u>	<u>Other</u>	<u>Total</u>
St. John's	50.0 (1)	-	50.0 (1)	-	100.0 (2)
Not St. John's	-	-	100.0 (4)	-	100.0 (4)

## II. 1885-1914

St. John's	40.0 (2)	-	40.0 (2)	20.0 (1)	100.0 (5)
Not St. John's	100.0 (1)	-	-	-	100.0 (1)

in the two chosen periods of time.

Turning to Harbor Main; Table 4:29 looks at denominational and residency patterns for the district in the two time periods. Harbor Main showed strong Catholic denomination preference in both periods. In addition, denominational residency patterns were uniform for both periods in time. Harbor Main developed close political links with the geographically contiguous St. John's urban community. Patterns developed and were continued in both periods in which the two-member constituency would often return one St. John's resident member - usually of some established stature - and a complementary local resident representative.<sup>43</sup>

In looking at the Conception Bay Region, it can generally be stated - particularly in the 1855-1884 period - that the districts showed firmly established intra-Bay trade relationships that gave Conception Bay an autonomous and unique character with relation to other regions of the Island. All districts, with the possible exception of Bay-de-Verde,<sup>44</sup> blended local denominational preference with

<sup>43</sup>This does not imply that the district - with its strong Catholic preference - represented any uniform overall ideological view of Island politics. Harbor Main shifted from a position of support of the old traditional economy to the new in the second period. The transition was not made without painful local struggle.

<sup>44</sup>Even Bay-de-Verde showed this local resident preference in its early period by its support of representatives who resided in nearby Carbonear.

TABLE 4:29

HARBOR MAIN DENOMINATIONAL AND RESIDENCY PATTERNS  
FOR TWO PERIODS IN TIME

I. 1855-1884

<u>Residency</u>	<u>C.E.</u>	<u>R.C.</u>	<u>Methodist</u>	<u>Other</u>	<u>Total</u>
St. John's	-	100.0 (3)	-	-	100.0 (3)
Not St. John's	-	100.0 (5)	-	-	100.0 (5)

II. 1885-1914

St. John's	-	100.0 (3)	-	-	100.0 (3)
Not St. John's	-	100.0 (4)	-	-	100.0 (4)

trends toward local resident representation. During the first half of the period under study, it was certainly the influential resident Bay merchants - the Munn's, the Riddleys, Harrisons and Rorkes - who had helped shape the autonomous political character of Conception Bay. They carried on a local Bay-based economic tradition that had long been in existence. They were the mid-nineteenth century exponents of patterns of economic activity which earlier had been shaped by such Conception Bay merchants as John Gosse, George and James Kemp, and John Elson. By the 1870's, only John Munn and Rorke were left. Munn - with his massive Labrador fishery operation - died in 1879; Rorke, in the early 1880's. The Munn operation, in its traditional form, collapsed in 1885, and with it, the traditional era of the Conception Bay fishery was over. The social and economic consequences of this collapse were staggering to the Region. The large migratory Labrador labour force turned to the new economy - the railway and its promise of internal development - in desperation. There was little need for political histrionics or ideological sooth-saying. The discussion of the finer nuances of the old economy versus the merits of the new and the possible accommodation of the two was found in the St. John's newspapers. Important as this discussion was, it was directed toward a growing urban middle class who were, in the 1880's, being increasingly

cajoled by the papers into believing that the finality of such decisions ultimately rested with them. While this urban middle class discussed the issue in an atmosphere of detachment, actions were taking their course on Conception Bay. The unemployed migratory labour force moved en masse into the new railway economy camp. They took their stand, not for the reasons discussed in the St. John's newspapers of the time, but for reasons much more direct and concrete. If they wanted to stay in Newfoundland they had little other choice. Once more justification for this course of action found open expression through all denominational channels on Conception Bay.<sup>45</sup>

It has been implied throughout this study that St. John's was a growing seat of economic and political power throughout the latter half of the nineteenth century. This is also true of the organizational and administrative

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<sup>45</sup>It also found its corresponding opposition, which gives an insight into the increased strains being placed on the denominational system of the time. Pressing secular political and economic issues were not yet seen as the clear cut responsibility of the government. In addition, the secular central government had no corresponding politically functional secular apparatus in the local communities - autocratic customs officials were often apolitical in their actions - and all crucial political issues forced - as they always do - local community introspection. The only viable local political institution open to Islanders was their local denominational apparatus. Since the clergy were forced to moderate or direct discussions on these complex issues, it is no wonder there developed an increasing disenchantment with religion in the late nineteenth century. For a layman could still see himself as a pillar of the church and yet be in strong opposition to his clergyman on an issue which was not religious.

sector of the religious community as well. The growth of religious societies - well under way by the mid-century - took on special significance in the latter half of the nineteenth century with the growth of competitive denominationalism. The lay denominational elites of the Island for the most part resided in St. John's and it was only natural that participation in religious and religious-social societies would take on special significance within the urban community. The St. John's elite were essentially a new, rising, nineteenth century elite.<sup>46</sup> Lay religious activity was one way of compensating for any self-consciousness that new money might feel in the presence of old. Charitable donations to various church agencies were universally regarded as proper acts of Christian behavior, and at the same time, a socially acceptable means of exhibiting one's modest inclinations toward conspicuous consumption.

It was not unusual to find urban politicians, sometimes members of prominent urban families, not only active participants in church affairs, but also serving as officers of religious organizations or as members of

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<sup>46</sup>This concept will be discussed more fully in Chapter VI; Kinship and Marriage.

denominational boards. The 1890 Yearly Almanacs<sup>47</sup> reveal three prominent Newfoundland politicians all serving as presidents of the three important local denominational societies. In addition, the independent but often fraternally interlinked societies such as the Benevolent Irish Society had two prominent politicians as president and secretary. The Loyal Orange Association had a politician president and the relative of a future politician as secretary in 1890. Four of the top five officers in the Masonic Lodge were important politicians.

Denominational Island school boards were generally crowded with politicians. The Church of England Board in 1885, for instance, contained eight members; five were active politicians; the remaining three, relatives of politicians. The seven-man Catholic Board in 1880 contained three churchmen and four active St. John's politicians. The Wesleyan Directors in 1885 were made up of seven members; five active politicians and two, relatives of politicians. The Colonial and Continental Church Society Board in 1890 contained five active politicians in a membership of eight. St. Bonaventure's Roman Catholic Academy in the same year had a board

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<sup>47</sup>Subsequent data compiled from Almanacs of stated years.



composed of three priests and three laymen, the latter all active politicians. For the same year, the Methodist Board of Governors contained fifteen active politicians out of twenty lay members. At the same time, the Directors of the Church of England Academy included nine active politicians and two relatives of politicians on a board which included twenty lay members. By 1895, the Church of England College Board showed nine active politicians among its fifteen lay members, while the Methodist Board of Governors had fourteen active politicians<sup>48</sup> among its twenty lay members.

The growth of these societies with their close entwining elite clerical and lay hierarchies made denominational competitiveness a constant possibility. St. John's, since early in the nineteenth century, had served as a sort of central command headquarters for denominational activity. It had been up to each denominational community to service the social as well as spiritual needs of its larger Island community. In this respect, denominations could be viewed as loosely organized social co-operatives

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<sup>48</sup>The term 'active politician' has been used throughout to mean all those who held elective public office, including those currently in office during the years given; those who had held office and had been subsequently defeated but were still candidates, and those who had not yet held office, but were soon to do so.

with the central boards of directors sitting in St. John's. Under such a system, the government had an important but narrowly restricted function at mid-century. As a law and order, public service, and tax collecting agency working within a narrow budget, the government found it practical at the time simply to flow with the existing system. There had been no intention on the part of the founders of responsible government to create any totally independent, complex, and elaborate governing apparatus which would in any way disturb or disrupt the existing denominational social organization of the country. Such a concept was alien to elite political thinking at the time and would remain so until early in the twentieth century.

What made St. John's politically unique was that while it remained the central headquarters for the three most influential social organizations on the Island, two of those organizations, the Anglicans and the Methodists, were, except in rare instances, denied active participation in the urban political process. The reason was, most importantly, demographic; they were largely outnumbered by an urban Irish Catholic population. The urban Protestant elite, meanwhile, were often forced to seek seats in government by running almost exclusively in rural districts. The paradox which arose was that the denominational system of political organization had to be preserved at all costs in order to facilitate Protestant

urban elite access to the chambers of government. In addition, other members of the elite urban Protestant community were forced - or felt motivated - to use covert political pressure and influence on members of the House of Assembly in order to seek their own political advantage or even more, to share in the fruits and economic rewards which naturally accrue to those who have access to the elite circles of government. By the 1870's and 80's, the fruits and rewards were increasing at an alarming rate (government activity was rapidly expanding) and the increasing competitiveness among the elites to share in these rewards quite naturally increased in direct proportion.<sup>49</sup> In addition, the rewards were beginning to filter down into the middle class of the urban society. Government construction contracts, civil service positions, increased legal transactions all stimulated the economy and gave opportunities to an increasing number to accumulate modest wealth in a rapidly changing economic climate which, quite simply, had not existed in the 1850's.

The denominational system of social organization, however, still under-pinned this governmental political

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<sup>49</sup>Noel asserts in his Politics in Newfoundland that businessmen sought public office as an outlet or vocation, since business opportunities did not occupy their full range of talents. I would agree that men do not solely enter politics for monetary gain. The exercising of power produces its own mesmeric gratifications, nonetheless, material acquisition became the increasing popular standard of the nineteenth century.

process. Once more, each denomination was factionally divided,<sup>50</sup> the most obvious division being the question of the new economy versus the old. In such an atmosphere, it was little wonder that strong lasting political party alliances failed to coalesce and withstand time. The politicians were, ironically, as often the victims of this system as they were, occasionally at least, the perpetrators of its rash abuses. St. John's, then, remained the denominational political headquarters for many rural districts throughout the period. Some districts leaned more heavily on the services of these urban politicians than others. In mid-nineteenth century, few questioned the moral integrity and motives of these urban leaders. In a short span of thirty years, however, the political conduct of some would be brought into range of popular criticism. The hardening of denominational lines was, in part, a method of insulation against such criticism, no matter how valid, when that criticism arose from members of a competing

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<sup>50</sup>The St. John's newspapers should be used with extreme caution in this regard. Once competitive denominationalism became the overt political practice in the 1870's and 1880's, newspapers convincingly labeled opponents by what were often intended as 'catch-type' negative phrases. An obvious example, one paper repeatedly refers to Little's 'Catholic Party' in the late seventies. This was not what the Little faction called themselves and the phrase is as misleading today as it was intended to be in the 1870's. There was no monolithic Catholic position then. Little stood for a traditional position that had its Methodist and Anglican adherents.

denominational group. In addition, in times of crises, denominational solidarity could prove itself politically inhibiting, defensive in character, and self-defeating. More importantly, it could throw the whole question of individual moral responsibility into political focus. A politician who abused his trust of office - (today, it is called conflict of interest) - might publicly be criticized by a rival press, but he would neither be chastised by his peers (for such action might have established legal precedents) nor would he necessarily lose face among elements of his own denomination community. For his 'public moral image' was, after all, among other things an individual public projection of the group denominational image. A hardening of denominational lines served as a buttress against occasional political storms. A recalcitrant politician was often vociferously defended by a small vocal minority for many reasons; one of which was ostensibly to preserve the group denominational image. The politician, in turn, was in one way, inhibited and disciplined by group denominational pressure, for he was in a sense, representative of a consensus of interests. But on the other hand, the political system allowed him - particularly, commencing with the kaleidoscopic eighties onwards - increased political license, since he knew that despite what course his political activities took, his final resting point of accountability lay within his own

fraternal denominational community. Once more, with the introduction of the universal male franchise in the 1890's, he was freed from the restrictive scrutiny of a relatively small group of elite peers. His options increased; he could now, depending on the specific circumstances, play both ends of the denominational community against each other. If he had strong popular denominational support, it gave him a strong negotiating advantage when soliciting support from the elite denominational community. If his position was weak in the local community, or if he faced strong political competition from a rival member of another denominational group, he could turn more emphatically to his own denominational elite for collective assistance. The denominational communities, already divided geographically and economically, now found themselves more consciously divided by class lines. It became increasingly apparent in the general political awakening of the eighties that the interests of the urban elite did not always coincide with the rising tide of popular hopes and expectations. The old denominational systems had given a social validity to the traditional fishing economy. By the 1880's, this model, which had provided the social cement that held the old system together, was no longer viewed as socially valid or acceptable by many. The slow process of social erosion working against the old system suddenly burst forth in an escalated form in the 1880's and

90's. The traditional fishery economy and society was disintegrating. The reasons were both internal and external, and while the local political community had more control over the former than the latter, it becomes apparent from the impressionistic evidence in the newspapers of the times that no one really fully understood what was happening. This is probably true of all societies in times of rapid change and social and economic dislocation. The Island politicians of the day were most vitally caught up in this process. Some tended to view their society as unchanging. These men had ridden out political storms before, as had their fathers. The traditional fishery trade - granting its capricious character - always tended to right itself with time. They were, until the twentieth century at least, not only expressing their own inward convictions, but were representing many of the general political sentiments held in the North at the time.

Their opponents at the other end of the political spectrum were neither alien nor sinister as was sometimes implied. They represented the prospects of a new economy, a counter-economy it is true, designed in the image of the existing Canadian C.P.R. model. They spoke a new language which generated new ideas and at the same time, carefully nurtured the hopes and expectations of those, who like the Conception Bay fishermen were disenchanted with the old economy, or those like the St. John's working

class, who had little direct interest in the fishery whatsoever. By erecting a skeletal model of a new, alternative economy, financed by outside interests which gave the popular impression that somehow the model would remain 'pure' and untainted by local vested interests, and then by fleshing out this skeleton with all the apparent needs, hopes, and expectations of the rising middle class and dislocated labour forces of the Island, the new exponents created in effect, what might be called today, a mood of 'counter culture'. But like most counter cultures, it was firmly rooted in the system. The same channels and avenues to power were utilized by the proponents of the new system as had been used by the old. In Newfoundland, the old denominational preference structure was still utilized by the People's Party in 1908 with the same effectiveness as their more traditional political opponents. The only difference was in the rhetoric; the new language of the middle class, which led one important party member; John C. Crosbie, to publicly proclaim with a heightened exuberance, "the will of the people is God."<sup>51</sup> It was the final pronouncement of a conviction, heard many times since in many Western countries in the twentieth century, which had been present, but only

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<sup>51</sup>Noel: Politics in Newfoundland, p. 106.



vaguely implied in the initial heated political encounters of the 1880's. But, to lament the fact that Newfoundland politics rested on a nineteenth century denominational preference structure, as is sometimes done in Newfoundland historiography, and to let it go at that, is to miss the whole vital character of the nineteenth century political system. The important point is that nineteenth century Newfoundland politics was much more than the political interaction of denominational preference groups.

Table 4:30 shows the religious structuring of the two St. John's districts at the time of the granting of responsible government. The socioeconomic disparity between the two urban districts is clear. At this point in time (1857), St. John's West, a predominately working class Irish section, was the recipient of East End patronage. While this patronage, in the form of employment and charity, was not restricted exclusively to the Catholic denominational elite of St. John's East, it nonetheless, provided a substantial share of it through the auspices of the Benevolent Irish Society. Formed in 1806 by a small select group of Irish nationalists - Protestant and Catholic alike - who represented membership from the merchant and military communities of St. John's, the organization, with the subsequent deterioration of Anglo-Irish relationships abroad, became increasingly recognized as an Irish Catholic institution. Some of its

TABLE 4:30

RELIGIOUS STRUCTURING OF ST. JOHN'S AT THE TIME OF THE  
GRANTING OF RESPONSIBLE GOVERNMENT

	<u>St. John's East</u>	<u>St. John's West</u>
No. of Clergy	13	1
Clergy/10,000 pop.	8	0.7
No. of Anglican Churches	6	2
No. of Catholic Churches	7	2
No. of Methodist Churches	3	0
Other Churches	3	0
No. of Schools	45	25

early members had been active in the importation of Irish south coast labour for the fish trade.<sup>52</sup> The B.I.S. represents just one of the denominational philanthropic organizations already mentioned. Its particular importance rests, however, in the fact that it became the main community service organization for nearly sixty percent of the urban population. Its organizational structure, aside from a patron (usually a bishop)<sup>53</sup> and vice patron (usually an important Catholic member of the business community and, later, professionals), consisted of five officers and a select membership of less than one hundred. Despite its somewhat restricted membership, however, the organization periodically staged pageants and parades, much to the delight of the community, and at such times, the general feeling of goodwill and brotherhood swept the Irish community. In addition, in 1831, the organization

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<sup>52</sup>Principals were: Henry Shea (father of Ambrose); Patrick Morris; and particularly the Kents, John and Robert. With the exception of Henry Shea, all were early St. John's politicians.

<sup>53</sup>This does not mean that bishops enthusiastically supported the B.I.S. Bishop Flemming had been quite active as a patron. Bishop Mullock, on the other hand, took a much more passive position in viewing the group. See: Benevolent Irish Society of Newfoundland, 1806-1906, Guy & Co., Cork, Ireland, 1906, p. 152.

staged its first annual Charity Ball - a fund raising event - that soon became an annual civil event, enjoyed by the Catholic and Protestant elite, alike.<sup>54</sup> During the second half of the nineteenth century, with the growing complexity and multiplicity of urban Catholic organizations, the B.I.S. became something of a co-ordinating force. Many independent Catholic charitable and social organizations were consolidated under the auspices and influence of the Benevolent Irish Society.<sup>55</sup> But the Society, for all its increasing power, remained foremost a local urban organization. Unlike the Masonic Order on the Island, it established no successful branches.<sup>56</sup> It did, however, exert a strong political control over the two urban districts. It was only toward the end of the century that the same internal strains and pressures that beset all denominational communities on the Island found expression in the political manoeuvring within the B.I.S. community. In 1908, for instance, in one of the most

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<sup>54</sup>B.I.S., 1806-1906, p. 78.

<sup>55</sup>Ibid., p. 154. These included the Mechanics Society, the Phoenix and Cathedral Volunteer Fire Companies, the Total Abstinence Society, the Juvenile Benefit Societies, the Star of the Sea, and the St. Joseph Catholic Institute.

<sup>56</sup>Early in the nineteenth century, the B.I.S. had established a branch in Harbor Grace. The Harbor Grace organization lasted only a few years, however.

important St. John's elections of the period, James M. Kent, St. John's East, a member of the established Catholic elite, supported Premier Robert Bond and stood as a spokesman for the traditional B.I.S. position, while in St. John's West, Edward P. Morris, some fifteen years Kent's senior and also a member of the B.I.S., challenged Bond for the Premiership. Morris, a cautious but long time proponent of the new economic model had, with his urban followers, long since 'politicalized' St. John's West. Bond had counted on not only Kent, but his St. John's East running mates, George Shea and John Dwyer,<sup>57</sup> to offset Morris' popularity in the St. John's West community. The election was, in many ways, the current test of the political strength and solidarity of the traditional, nineteenth century urban Catholic institutions,<sup>58</sup> Kent's victory in the East End and Morris'

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<sup>57</sup>George Shea was a grandson of a B.I.S. founder. John Dwyer was an important and contemporary figure in the B.I.S., as was Kent.

<sup>58</sup>In order to understand the strong popular appeal of the B.I.S. and its implicit ideological character, one would have to analyze St. John's urban history in more detail. It was much more than simply a Catholic organization; it was strongly nationalistic in character. The B.I.S. had played an important part in the responsible government movement - though it tended to exaggerate its contribution somewhat - and the organization also played its role in the Anti-confederation drive in 1869. In fact, it synthesized the two issues into one concept; Newfoundland Independence. This feeling of Independence was never fully articulated outside the Irish community,

win in the West, graphically illustrate the divisions in the Catholic urban community at the time.

Table 4:31 examines St. John's East denominational membership. Nineteen members sat for a total of fifty-four seats during the period. Overall Catholic preference was strong (84%), with Anglicans, the next largest denominational group accounting for 16% of individual membership figures. The Table shows a modest drop in Catholic population figures during the 1857-1869 period, followed by a sizeable decline after 1884. The Catholic population, 11,900 in 1857, was actually less than that amount forty-four years later in 1901. The other two major denominations, while small numerically, show gradual

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but it was deeply felt within that community and it was locally contrasted with the deteriorating state of affairs in Anglo-Irish relations abroad. Morris was a product of this ideology as Kent - though their social backgrounds might have contrasted. Morris' stress of 'a secular synthesis' in politics, part of the People's Party ideology, threatened many an urban Catholic community (as it did other denominations elsewhere). But to many urban Catholics it posed a particular threat. Morris - one of them - with his new model of secular economic Nationalism, by implication, threatened to transcend the traditional urban St. John's Irish view of Nationalism - a view with justification, that had been nurtured and cherished in an urban Catholic atmosphere. This clash was viewed in St. John's as ideological - it cut across existing class and generational lines - and to some, Morris' position was viewed as areligious and subversive. To some extent it was, but the new model proposed by Morris lent itself to the new language and terminology of the times; the terminology of idealized materialism. It did not need to resolve the real dichotomies which existed between the old and the new, it merely had to transcend the old by popular acclamation. Materialism - an ideal like art - has to be viewed to be appreciated. Pulp mills and mines became the new art form of the new order.

TABLE 4:31

ST. JOHN'S EAST DENOMINATIONAL MEMBERSHIP,  
INDIVIDUAL AND TOTAL SEAT, 1855-1914

	<u>Membership</u>	<u>Total Seat</u>
Anglican	15.8 (3)	20.4 (11)
Catholic	84.2 (16)	79.6 (43)
Methodist	- (0)	- (0)
Other	- (0)	- (0)
	<hr/>	<hr/>
	(19)	(54)
M.D.	(0)	(0)

<u>St. John's East</u>	<u>Anglican</u>	<u>Catholic</u>	<u>Methodist</u>
Year: 1857	3500 (21%)	11,900 (71%)	1300 (8%)
1869	3700 (22%)	11,200 (68%)	1600 (10%)
1884	5100 (24%)	13,500 (64%)	2500 (12%)
1901	5500 (27%)	11,500 (57%)	3300 (16%)

but consistent increases throughout the period. Part of this increase in Protestant urban population figures is accountable to outport mobility. St. John's, the urban economic and political power centre, had strong attraction for the mobility-conscious members of the Island's society. The Catholic community, however, was able to maintain its political dominance - even though its percentage of district population had dropped to 57% by 1901 - partly through its strongly united sense of community identity which was buttressed and supported by a multiplicity of urban community service organizations. The Protestant communities, while comparably well organized, were small numerically, and were forced, for the most part, to seek political unions with outport Protestant districts.

Table 4:32 shows St. John's West denominational patterns. Twenty members sat for a total of fifty-four seats during the period. Again, the table suggests even more substantial fluctuations within the Catholic community than were found in St. John's East. Catholic denominational preference is, on the whole, maintained, however. The sizeable increases in Methodist and Anglican population after the 1869 period could probably be explained in part by a drifting into the community of an outport labour surplus. In addition, the Methodist community - though firmly established on Conception Bay - had a particularly hard time establishing itself in St. John's during the



TABLE 4:32

**ST. JOHN'S WEST DENOMINATIONAL MEMBERSHIP  
INDIVIDUAL AND TOTAL SEAT, 1855-1914**

	<u>Membership</u>	<u>Total Seats</u>
Anglican		
Anglican	17.4 (4)	18.5 (10)
Catholic	78.3 (18)	79.6 (43)
Methodist	- (0)	- (0)
Other	4.3 (1)	1.9 (1)
	<hr/>	<hr/>
	(23)	(54)
M.D.	(0)	(0)

<u>St. John's West</u>	<u>C.E.</u>	<u>R.C.</u>	<u>Methodist</u>
Year: 1857	2200 (17%)	10,000 (78%)	600 (5%)
1869	2100 (18%)	8,800 (77%)	500 (4%)
1884	5100 (24%)	13,500 (64%)	2500 (12%)
1901	4000 (23%)	10,100 (58%)	3400 (19%)

first half of the century. Fires, depressions, and smallpox all but destroyed Methodist efforts to erect a simple meeting house on Gower Street, the later site of their stone church.<sup>59</sup> With stability, came affluence, however, and the Methodist community grew in size and influence. They became particularly active, politically, by the 1870's. In addition, they did charity work in the working class sections, drawing as a result, a modest number of converts. James J. Rogerson, for one, an early St. John's Methodist with a Conception Bay background, established schools for the poor in the West end, during the depression in the 1860's,<sup>60</sup> corresponding roughly to the 'ragged schools' established in England at the same time. On the whole, Catholic preference was maintained, however, and the West End Catholic population accounted for some 57% of the district's total population at the beginning of the twentieth century.

Table 4:33 shows total St. John's East membership in two periods of time. The table suggests a hardening of denominational lines during the second period, 1885-1914. Nine non-Catholics held seats in the district in the first

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<sup>59</sup>For a summary account of early Methodist problems of urban organization, see: David G. Pitt, Windows of Agates, Gower Street United Church, St. John's, 1966, pp. 47-64.

<sup>60</sup>Devine, St. John's, p. 63.

TABLE 4:33

ST. JOHN'S EAST TOTAL SEAT DENOMINATIONAL MEMBERSHIP  
IN TWO PERIODS OF TIME

	<u>1855-1884</u>	<u>1885-1914</u>	<u>Total</u>
Catholics	18	25	43
Others	9	2	11
	—	—	—
Total	27	27	54

period, while there were only two non-Catholic held seats in the second. The test hypothesis, "time was not a factor in Catholics winning in St. John's East during the two periods", was used and the findings suggested that the null hypothesis be rejected.<sup>61</sup> One non-Catholic member held both seats. He was James P. Fox, born in St. John's, the merchant son of an Irish-born Protestant merchant who dealt in Bank Fishery supplies and bought cod and oil. Fox's mother was Bridget Power, a member of a respected St. John's Catholic family.<sup>62</sup> Fox then, fitted well in the popular Irish nationalist concept - he was the first member of House to be elected under the universal male franchise act (1890) - and at the same time, he was accepted within East End Irish elite circles.<sup>63</sup> St. John's East representation during the latter period showed a solid Irish unanimity, with all seats being held by either members of the Irish Catholic elite, or by members whose interests were in accord with theirs.

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<sup>61</sup> $\chi^2 = 5.59$ . With 1 d.f.;  $\chi^2$  was found to be significant at the 98% level. The null hypothesis, therefore, was rejected.

<sup>62</sup>Times, Oct. 27, 1847.

<sup>63</sup>Fox was a neighbor of the Shea's on King's Bridge Road, St. John's.

Table 4:34 examines St. John's West. The same denomination regidity prevailed in St. John's West during the latter period. The cells suggest, however, a slight shift out of the heavy pattern of Catholic denominational preference of the earlier period. The hypothesis, "Time was not a factor in Catholics winning in either period in St. John's West", was tested and the findings indicate that it should be retained.<sup>64</sup> Three non-Catholics sat for a total of seven seats in St. John's West during the 1885-1914 period. One was John Anderson, a Scottish born dry goods merchant who had come to St. John's in 1875, at the age of twenty. He was the son-in-law of James Murray - a former M.H.A. - and was also a close friend of the Thorburns. He was a Tasker Lodge Mason, and a member of the St. Andrews Society. He had served four years as a St. John's City Councillor, 1900-1904, and in 1904, he ran and won in St. John's West as a Bond Party supporter. Bond moved him into the Legislative Council in 1905. Anderson, then, spent only one session in the House. Another non-Catholic was James C. Tessier, half-brother to Peter and Lewis Tessier, long time West End merchants who had for years been seasonal employers of West End Labour. Tessier was a Congregationalist - his first wife

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<sup>64</sup> $\chi^2$  - 1.027. With 1 d.f.,  $\chi^2$  is significant only below the 70% level; not statistically significant.

TABLE 4:34

ST. JOHN'S WEST TOTAL DENOMINATIONAL MEMBERSHIP  
IN TWO PERIODS OF TIME

	<u>1855-1884</u>	<u>1885-1914</u>	<u>Total</u>
Catholics	23	20	43
Others	4	7	11
	—	—	—
Total	27	27	54

had a Catholic background - and he not only was a business partner of Robert Thorburn, but the two were distantly related. He was elected in 1893 in opposition to Whiteway (and Morris), and again in 1897 as a J.S. Winter supporter. While it would have been nearly impossible to defeat Morris so long as the three member constituency arrangement remained in vogue, nonetheless, it was James C. Tessier who gave him his closest competition in the 1890's. In 1893, Tessier ran a strong second to Morris, finishing only 135 votes behind him in a constituency with over 4,000 voters. Again, in 1897, Tessier finished second, 132 votes behind Morris. The close splits show the divided electoral sentiment of the time. The final non-Catholic member was John R. Bennett, an Anglican, and co-partner of the Riverhead Brewery. Bennett sat four consecutive times during the period under study, commencing with 1904. He had been born in St. John's, the son of a Dorset-born merchant, and a relative of the late C.F. Bennett, former Premier of Newfoundland. Bennett was a strong supporter of Morris and the People's Party. He took a firm stand on the side of urban Labour - particularly with the growing temperance threat - and he tended to agree with the Irish Labour view that the temperance movement was aimed specifically at them. Bennett's position crossed class lines and therefore made him something of a popular folk hero in the West End. He also

provided yeoman service to Morris - standing as his ally in the West End - and giving graphic proof to the Island that the new People's Party headquarters district had transcended the denominational tradition.<sup>65</sup>

In turning to the Southern Shore and South Coast Districts, Table 4:35 shows the religious structuring of the five districts at the granting of responsible government. Ferryland and Placentia and St. Mary's were predominantly Catholic areas at mid-century. The table suggests that there had been an effort by the three denominations to missionize Burin prior to the 1857 period, but the two south coast districts of Fortune and Burgeo, while Anglican, were in obvious need of a more vigorous mission policy. Both had small populations at the time - (Fortune, 3400; Burgeo, 3600) - and in addition, the populations of each were scattered among some fifty to sixty separate small communities making circuit missionary work extremely arduous. Reverend Edward Wix, Arch-deacon at St. John's at the time, had made a very strenuous

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<sup>65</sup>All parties had, particularly since the 1870's, cautiously exhibited denominational balance. The People's Party, despite its rhetorical appeal to transcend 'sectarian politics', nonetheless, was no exception. Its eighteen members in 1908 were: 6 Anglicans, 7 Catholics, and 5 Methodists. But Bennett, more importantly, helped Morris to overcome the negative image held by some that he had long been an 'Irish Ward Politician'. Bennett, it was implied, had been invited into West End headquarters and he had more than willingly complied, giving validity to the notion that the People's Party had set the style which



TABLE 3:35

RELIGIOUS STRUCTURING OF THE SOUTHERN SHORE AND SOUTH COAST DISTRICTS  
AT THE TIME OF RESPONSIBLE GOVERNMENT

	<u>Ferryland</u>	<u>Placentia &amp; St. Mary's</u>	<u>Burin</u>	<u>Fortune Bay</u>	<u>Burgeo &amp; LaPoile</u>
No. of Clergy	4	6	7	3	2
Clergy/10,000 pop.	8	7	13	8	6
No. of C.E. Churches	3	5	3	3	4
No. of R.C. Churches	8	15	5	-	-
No. of Methodist Churches	-	1	3	-	1
No. of Other Churches	-	-	-	-	-
No. of Schools	23	25	12	10	5
No. of communities in each district	17	91	24	66	57

trip through the region as early as 1835, baptizing and 'churching' as he went. When at Harbor Breton, he had held services in the sail loft at Newman's. The local agent there had been most solicitous in rounding-up as many men for service as possible, and in addition, had seen that all the Newman house flags were flown in full for the occasion.<sup>66</sup> As Wix travelled the southwest coast he found that the many small settlements varied sharply as to his standards of social refinement. He attributed this to settlement patterns: the more recently settled in his view, were more likely to show evidence of social refinement than those composed of descendants of settlers from some past, forgotten century. But in most of the settlements he was disturbed to find (in the refined and the unrefined alike) "in almost any house along the coast ... evidence of [an] illicit trade" conducted with the French.<sup>67</sup> While he found the citizenry would sit and listen with quiet reserve, he could not dissuade them of

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transcended the denominational dilemma. Once more, in the Colonial Office view, Morris loomed as a first rate political orchestrator on the level of Laurier.

<sup>66</sup>Wix: Journal, 1835, pp. 77-78.

<sup>67</sup>Ibid., p. 156.

the broader and more serious implications of their actions; namely, that "all dealing with the French was an injury to colonial revenue."<sup>68</sup> The missionizing of the South Coast was to be a long and arduous process during the nineteenth century.<sup>69</sup> By 1840, however, Reverend William Marshall was stationed at Hermitage (Fortune) where he started a school. Some Methodist missionary activity out of Conception Bay was also present in the area. When the Anglicans, in 1856, "built a handsome brick church" at Hermitage, the Conception Bay missionaries moved on to Burgeo and opened a school there.<sup>70</sup>

Table 4:36 examines the first of five Southern Shore and South Coast districts; Ferryland. The District

<sup>68</sup>Wix: Journal, 1835, p. 157.

<sup>69</sup>Wix was, in effect, on a fact finding tour of the South Coast, under instructions from the Bishop of Nova Scotia. His journal is a confirmation of the fact that, indeed, missionaries were needed in Newfoundland. The Society for the Propagation of the Gospel had been under political attack in the House of Commons on the issue that they spent too much effort in the colonies and not enough time in 'savage lands'. The danger of 'illicit trade' was, of course, something that every member of Commons could understand and emphasized the need for missionaries in Newfoundland. Wix' criticisms should be reviewed in this light and should be carefully weighed in this respect - just as all Colonial Office reports are suspect and should be weighed in the same light. Wix: Journal, 1835, pp. 207-209.

<sup>70</sup>Rev..Charles Lench: An Account of the Rise and Progress of Methodism on the Grand Bank and Fortune Circuits, 1816-1916, Barnes & Co., St. John's, 1916, p. 15.

TABLE 4:36

FERRYLAND INDIVIDUAL AND TOTAL SEAT REPRESENTATION  
BY DENOMINATION, 1855-1914

	<u>Membership</u>	<u>Total Seats</u>
Anglican	15.4 (2)	5.6 (2)
Catholic	76.9 (10)	77.8 (28)
Methodist	- (0)	- (0)
Other	7.7 (1)	16.7 (6)
	<hr/>	<hr/>
	(13)	(36)
M.D.	(0)	(0)

<u>Ferryland</u>	<u>C.E.</u>	<u>R.C.</u>	<u>Methodist</u>
Year: 1857	100 (2%)	5100 (98%)	0
1869	200 (3%)	5800 (97%)	0
1884	200 (3%)	6300 (97%)	0
1901	100 (2%)	5500 (98%)	0

had been an early Anglican settlement, but the impact of early nineteenth century Irish Catholic immigration substantially changed the district's long standing denominational character. The Catholic population, while it had decreased after 1884, nonetheless, stood at 98% (5500) as late as 1901. But Catholic denominational preference was not unanimous. Two Anglican members for the district each sat once, while Catholic members (10) had longer tenures, sitting an average of 2.8 times each. The non-Catholic representative with the unusually long tenure (six times elected) was Thomas Glen, a Scottish-born Congregationalist, who first settled in Bay Bulls (Ferryland) in the late 1820's as a commission merchant. He moved to St. John's in the 1830's, after the death of his wife, and later became one of the principal members in the responsible government movement. He worked hard, in conjunction with Premier Phillip F. Little, to make responsible government a reality on the Island, serving in three Executive Councils as Receiver General (Minister of Finance). He had long held the position of Auditor General for the Island, which was a civil service post, when he died in 1887 at the age of ninety-one. Glen's integrity had gained the respect of all the denominational groups on the Island.

Table 4:37 looks at the District of Placentia and St. Mary's. Thirty-one known members sat for a total of

TABLE 4:37

PLACENTIA AND ST. MARY'S DENOMINATIONAL REPRESENTATION  
BY MEMBERSHIP AND TOTAL SEAT, 1855-1914

	Membership	Total Seat
Anglican	9.7 (3)	9.4 (5)
Catholic	90.3 (28)	90.6 (48)
Methodist	- (0)	- (0)
Other	- (0)	- (0)
	<hr/>	<hr/>
	(31)	(53)
	M.D. (1)	(1)

<u>Placentia &amp; St. Mary's</u>	<u>Anglican</u>	<u>Catholic</u>	<u>Methodist</u>
Year: 1857	1000 (12%)	7200 (86%)	200 (2%)
1869	1200 (14%)	7400 (84%)	200 (2%)
1884	1500 (13%)	9900 (84%)	400 (3%)
1901	1900 (13%)	12,200 (81%)	900 (6%)

fifty-three seats. The district shows strong Catholic denominational preference during the period, following the general denominational population patterns as the Catholic district population stood at 81% (12,200) by 1901. In addition, this population shows a relatively substantial increase after 1884, a situation not common to many of the other districts studied thus far. The District, breaking denominational precedent, elected three Anglican representatives during the period. Two were elected in the confederation election of 1869; Charles Fox Bennett, a Dorset-born merchant who represented a large group of West Country England, and South Irish Coast-born merchants who had strong sentiments with regard to the issue of confederation;<sup>71</sup> and Robert J. Parsons, Jr., a young lawyer in the Bennett camp whose father, an M.H.A., was also editor of The Patriot newspaper in St. John's - an early vociferous advocate of responsible government and of late, strongly anti-confederate. The third was Albert Bradshaw,<sup>72</sup> a local Placentia merchant in the firm of

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<sup>71</sup>There is strong impressionistic evidence that denominational preference - certainly among the Anglo-Irish community - mattered little in the confederation election. It would be interesting to study the Methodist elite community as to their attitudes toward confederation in 1869, however.

<sup>72</sup>Albert Bradshaw, M.H.A., Placentia, 1882; M.H.A. St. Barbe, 1885-89.

W. & A. Bradshaw. While Anglican, Bradshaw's brother-partner, William, had married Margaret Monahan Benning,<sup>73</sup> a Catholic and eldest daughter of Clement Benning, Justice of the Peace in Placentia and himself, a former M.H.A.

Table 4:38 shows the denominational patterns for Burin. Seventeen known members sat for a total of thirty-four seats during the period. The district shows interesting denominational divisions during the period. Methodist and Anglican membership generally dominated representation throughout the period, even though the Catholic population consistently outnumbered the Anglican in the two-member constituency. This would suggest that in Burin at least, there was little Anglican-Methodist tension of the character found in St. John's during the eighties. This might have been the result, locally - and this is only an hypothesis - by the politically motivated stressing the 'law and order' factor, one method of transcending sticky social dichotomies, and unifying similar ethno-nationalistic factions into a united front, in a cause that even the opposition could not justly fault.<sup>74</sup>

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<sup>73</sup>Newfoundlander, No. 17, 1862.

<sup>74</sup>There seems to be some element of this throughout Burin politics during the period, at least up to 1900. The district would be well worth a special political case study.



TABLE 4:38

BURIN DENOMINATIONAL REPRESENTATION BY MEMBERSHIP  
AND TOTAL SEAT, 1855-1914

	<u>Membership</u>	<u>Total Seat</u>
Anglican	41.7 (7)	50.0 (17)
Catholic	17.6 (3)	8.8 (3)
Methodist	35.3 (6)	35.3 (12)
Other	5.9 (1)	5.9 (2)
	<hr/>	<hr/>
	(17)	(34)
	M.D. (2)	(2)

<u>Burin</u>	<u>Anglican</u>	<u>Catholic</u>	<u>Methodist</u>
Year: 1857	1400 (25%)	2400 (43%)	1800 (32%)
1869	1400 (21%)	2500 (38%)	2800 (42%)
1884	1800 (21%)	2700 (32%)	4000 (47%)
1901	1900 (19%)	3400 (35%)	4500 (46%)

No Catholic members represented Burin after 1865.

West of Burin, is the District of Fortune. Table 4:39 examines the District's denominational membership. Fortune district, exclusively Protestant preference, nonetheless, showed a relatively large turnover of membership. Eleven known candidates sat for sixteen seats during the sixty year period, for an overall average of only one and a half terms per representative. The table suggests that despite a large Anglican population (73% in 1901), other factors took precedence over denominational preference. The district selected a total of 36% Methodist and Presbyterian representation even though by 1901 there were virtually no Presbyterians in the district and the Methodists represented only 2.5% of the population. One factor influencing this, was probably the presence of Newman's in the district. Newman agents were sure to have had some influence on the election process.<sup>75</sup>

Table 4:40 looks at Burgeo and LaPoile. The district shows strong Anglican preference which corresponds generally with the percentage of the Anglican population in the area (79% by 1901). The district's two non-Anglican representatives, both Presbyterians, served consecutively

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<sup>75</sup>Newman's had large premises at Harbor Breton. In addition, in the 1880's and 90's, there was George Power, agent at Fox Cove; and Walter Rive, agent at Gaultois, both in the Fortune district.

TABLE 4:39

FORTUNE BAY DENOMINATIONAL REPRESENTATION  
BY MEMBERSHIP AND TOTAL SEAT, 1855-1914

	<u>Membership</u>	<u>Total Seat</u>
Anglican	63.6 (7)	68.8 (11)
Catholic	- (0)	- (0)
Methodist	18.2 (2)	12.5 (2)
Other	18.2 (2)	18.7 (3)
	<hr/>	<hr/>
	(11)	(16)
M.D.	(1)	(1)

<u>Fortune</u>	<u>Anglican</u>	<u>Catholic</u>	<u>Methodist</u>
Year: 1857	2800 (82%)	600 (18%)	0
1869	3900 (75%)	1300 (25%)	0
1884	5200 (76%)	1600 (24%)	0
1901	5900 (73%)	2000 (25%)	200 (2%)

TABLE 4:40

**BURGEO AND LAPOILE DENOMINATIONAL REPRESENTATION**  
**BY MEMBERSHIP AND TOTAL SEAT, 1855-1914**

	<u>Membership</u>	<u>Total Seats</u>	
Anglican	77.8 (7)	72.2 (13)	
Catholic	- (0)	- (0)	
Methodist	- (0)	- (0)	
Other	22.2 (2)	27.8 (5)	
	<hr/>	<hr/>	
	(9)	(18)	
	M.D. (0)	(0)	
<u>Burgoe and LaPoile</u>	<u>C.E.</u>	<u>R.C.</u>	<u>Methodist</u>
Year: 1857	3200 (89%)	100 (3%)	300 (8%)
1869	4100 (82%)	100 (2%)	800 (16%)
1884	5100 (77%)	200 (3%)	1300 (20%)
1901	5500 (78%)	200 (3%)	1300 (19%)

through the years 1878 to 1893. Both were St. John's residents; one, a former Nova Scotian; the other, a Scottish-born general dealer. Like the Fortune District, there was virtually no local Presbyterian population, although the district did have an influential St. John's fishery supplier who was Presbyterian. He was James Baird, a Scottish-born St. John's dry goods merchant who at the age of forty-four, suddenly branched into an extensive fishery supply business in 1872,<sup>76</sup> only six short years before the district's first Presbyterian representative appeared. Baird, while he never ran for public office, was nonetheless a close friend of the Thorburns, and had an active interest in politics as well as St. Andrew Society activities. He was appointed to the Legislative Council during the J.S. Winter Government in 1898.

Tables 4:41 through 4:45 examine the same denominational patterns of the five Southern Shore and South Coast Districts at two periods in time. Table 4:41 shows Ferryland total seat representation, and it strongly suggests that there was a decided hardening along denominational lines after 1885. The null hypothesis,

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<sup>76</sup>Baird had supply premises at Burgeo. In addition, he had James Arnold, agent, at Burnt Island; and Joseph Willis at Fox roost; all in the district of Burgeo. Baird was the district's largest dealer during the 1880-1900 period.

**TABLE 4:41**  
**FERRYLAND TOTAL SEAT REPRESENTATION BY DENOMINATION**  
**FOR TWO TIME PERIODS**

	<u>1855-1884</u>	<u>1885-1914</u>
Anglican	11.1 (2)	- (0)
Catholic	55.6 (10)	100.0 (18)
Methodist	- (0)	- (0)
Other	33.3 (6)	- (0)
	<hr/>	<hr/>
	(18)	(18)
	M.D. (0)	(0)

	<u>1855-1884</u>	<u>1885-1914</u>	<u>Total</u>
Catholics	10	18	28
Others	8	0	8
	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>
Total	18	18	36

"that time was not a significant factor in Catholics winning over Protestants in Ferryland during the two periods," was used and the findings suggest that the hypothesis should be rejected.<sup>77</sup> Ferryland denominational-political patterns are in many respects, similar to those of Harbor Main during the 1885-1914. Just as William Woodford played an important local part in Harbor Main politics, so did Michael P. Cashin in Ferryland. Starting in 1893, Cashin was returned for the district seven times by 1914. He was independent of the old St. John's Catholic elite, had political connections in the Protestant community,<sup>78</sup> and was at this time, on the surface at least, politically independent of Morris.<sup>79</sup> Cashin's persistent success in Ferryland put considerable strain on the old St. John's Catholic elite. They had constantly to run quality candidates in Ferryland in an effort to block Cashin from

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<sup>77</sup> $\chi^2$  - 10.292. With 1 d.f.,  $\chi^2$  was found to be significant at the 99% level, and nearly significant at the 99.999% level. The null hypothesis was therefore rejected.

<sup>78</sup>For one, he received his commercial training in the firm of Michael Thorburn, brother of the 1885-89 premier.

<sup>79</sup>It should be remembered, however, that both he and Morris had gone to St. Bonaventure, though seven years apart. In addition, Cashin later became a member of the West End Club, a social and causal political club with many St. Bonaventure alumni as members. Morris was an early president.

taking over the two-member district. Woodford presented them with the same problem in Harbor Main. They were gradually being outflanked on two sides, and yet they could not be sure at the time whether there was any connexion between the two movements. In addition, there were local Ferryland candidates running during the period,<sup>80</sup> and it did not enhance the old elite's image to have to move in from St. John's and brush them aside in an effort to maintain their footing with Cashin in the two member district. Politics reached a peak intensity in Ferryland during the period and much of it was intra-denominationally generated. The important point here is that a hardening of denominational lines within a district does not necessarily indicate a defensive political unification against rival denominations.

Table 4:42 looks at Placentia and St. Mary's. Again, the table shows the same hardening of denominational lines - though not for the same reasons<sup>81</sup> - as in Ferryland. The null hypothesis, that "there was no significant difference in Catholic representation in two

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<sup>80</sup>Michael Condon, for one, ran six times unsuccessfully during the period. He was the son-in-law of former M.H.A. Michael Kearney. In addition, J. Winsor, Frederick Williams and Michael Hartery also ran and lost during the 1885-1914 period.

<sup>81</sup>Placentia - rural and isolated - was subjected to confederation rumors during the late eighties and nineties. Richard T. McGrath, for example, ran on an anti-confederate ticket when the subject was not even an open St. John's issue.



TABLE 4:42

PLACENTIA AND ST. MARY'S REPRESENTATION BY DENOMINATION  
FOR TWO PERIODS IN TIME

	<u>1855-1884</u>	<u>1885-1914</u>
Anglican	18.5 (5)	- (0)
Catholic	81.5 (22)	100.0 (26)
Methodist	- (0)	- (0)
Other	- (0)	- (0)
	<hr/>	<hr/>
	(27)	(26)
	M.D. (0)	(1)

<u>Placentia and St. Mary's</u>	<u>1855-1884</u>	<u>1885-1914</u>	<u>Total</u>
Catholic	22	26	48
Others	5	0	5 =
	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>
Total	27	26	53

periods of time" was tested and the findings again suggest that the hypothesis be rejected.<sup>82</sup> In order to understand Newfoundland politics of the period it is necessary to remember (the parochialism of the St. John's newspapers aside) that the Island was very much a part of the colonial system. All members of all denominations could readily and comfortably live with this fact and each denomination tended to view its relationship with the mother country through its own historical and contemporary denominational image. Denominationalism was an important factor in colonial identity, and the Newfoundland Irish Catholic community was no exception. From 1855 to 1885, they had been able comfortably to tie together their Irishness, their Catholicity, their allegiance to the Queen, with a growing respect for at least certain political personalities at work in the House of Commons. One of these personalities was Gladstone. A constant advocate of Irish Home Rule, Gladstone provided the rhetoric that, ironically, kept the Newfoundland Irish community comfortably and securely within the colonial system. Their strong sense of colonial identity rested on an eventuality rather than a reality. With the defeat of the Home Rule Bill in the House of Commons in 1885, the Newfoundland Irish

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<sup>82</sup> $\chi^2$  - 5.334. With 1 d.f.,  $\chi^2$  is significant at just under the 98% level. The null hypothesis was therefore rejected.

community undoubtedly underwent a serious colonial identity crisis; and what is often overlooked, this crisis placed a severe strain on the Catholic clergy of the Island, particularly those with close and immediate roots in Ireland. The reality had suddenly outdistanced the eventuality and the clergy were left in the somewhat nightmarish position of either trying to come up with a new model of colonial identity - impossible under the circumstances - or trying to ride grimly along with the old. These events undoubtedly had their impact on all predominately Catholic communities everywhere on the Island; Placentia and St. Mary's (and Ferryland) included.

In addition, colonial politics often had its surrealist side in the nineteenth century. There were always those who strove to recreate, on the colonial stage, the real or imagined political dramas of the mother country. One example was Alexander J.W. McNeily, born in Armagh, Ireland. A Protestant, McNeily had attended Queen's University, Belfast, and later studied law with Sir Hugh Hoyles in St. John's. He sat in the House three times during the 1870's,<sup>83</sup> and in 1878, he married into an elite St. John's Methodist family.<sup>84</sup> Defeated in

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<sup>83</sup>M.H.A., Bonavista, 1873; 1874; M.H.A., Twillingate, 1878-82. And finally, M.H.A. Bay-de-Verde, 1885.

<sup>84</sup>Newfoundlander, June 25, 1878. McNeily married Jessie E.S. Rogerson, daughter of J.J. Rogerson.

Twillingate in 1882, McNeily became a strong supporter of Robert Thorburn and actually became the leader of the radical wing of that group. Whatever the sectarian character of the election of 1885, McNeily had played an important part in articulating a position that temporarily disturbed the existing denominational balances in Newfoundland. The defeat of the Home Rule Bill undoubtedly affected the Newfoundland political climate at the time. While political, the issue found its expression through denominational channels in Newfoundland as well as the United Kingdom at the time. Locally, whatever had been McNeily's intentions or how firmly fixed were his personal convictions, the fact remained that he dropped out of active politics after 1889 and spent the next nineteen years in private practice and as a member of many local civil and church sponsored organizations. He became a strong advocate of the Prohibition cause near the turn of the century, speaking of himself as an example of a man who overcame the problem of drink. A one time speaker of the House, McNeily tried a political come back in 1908. After his wife had died in 1907, in the following year, at the age of sixty-three, he ran as a candidate in Burgeo and again in 1909 - being defeated both times - on a platform that was as much Prohibitionist in character as it was pro-Bond and anti-Morris. McNeily, a one time militant Protestant Empire Loyalist, now late in life,

could see alcoholism - not Catholicism - as the major political concern of the day. He, like many social-political reformers of his time attempted to resolve the tensions between subject and object. The anti-alcohol position, in his mind at least, was a successful synthesis of this problem. He had, however, merely found new expression for long held, deep seated passions which he clothed in the new language of secular reform politics. He probably felt he had genuinely transcended the one-time dark, self-defeating prejudices that had crippled his early political career. His victory was illusory, however. For if one considers, in the Newfoundland context, the geographic, class, cultural and social implications of such a stand, much of his new found objectivity dissolves. He had in fact, travelled very little distance from his 1885 position. He did not live long enough to see the triumph of war-time Prohibition, for he died in 1911. But the Prohibition cause, of which McNeily had been a vital part, had been essentially rural Methodist in thrust - though alcohol warriors are to be found in every denomination - and its belated triumph, in part, was born out of wartime accommodation, a peace offering of the People's Party coalition government. For McNeily, it was no small victory, even if that victory had come after death.

Table 4:43 looks at Burin. Anglican representation gave way somewhat to Methodist representation in the later period. There had been a sharp increase in Methodist population in Burin after 1885. Methodist representation in the second period corresponds with population figures in the district at the time; 46% for Methodists by 1901. There was no Catholic representation during the 1885-1914 period despite the fact that the Catholic population continued to increase during the period and reached 35% by 1901. Unusual is the high percentage of Anglican representation in relation to its local population. By 1901, Anglican population stood at only 19% in the district. The findings suggest, as mentioned earlier, that locally at least, there seems to have been very little Anglican-Methodist tension in the district during the later period. The null hypothesis, that "Anglicans had an equal opportunity in winning in Burin in two periods of time", was used and the findings suggest that the null hypothesis be retained.<sup>85</sup> Anglicans did in fact have equal chance of success in both periods, despite a substantial Catholic population and a rapidly growing Methodist population in the district at the time.

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<sup>85</sup> $\chi^2 = 0.472$ . With 1 d.f.,  $\chi^2$  is significant at only the 50% level.

TABLE 4:43

BURIN DENOMINATIONAL REPRESENTATION BY TOTAL SEAT  
FOR TWO PERIODS IN TIME

	<u>1855-1884</u>	<u>1885-1914</u>
Anglican	55.6 (10)	43.7 (7)
Catholic	16.7 (3)	- (0)
Methodist	27.7 (5)	43.7 (7)
Other	- (0)	12.5 (2)
	<hr/>	<hr/>
	(18)	(16)
M.D.	(0)	(2)

	<u>1855-1884</u>	<u>1885-1914</u>	<u>Total</u>
Anglicans	10	7	17
Others	8	9	17
	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>
	18	16	34

Table 4:44 studies Fortune Bay District. Fortune, unlike Burin, maintained a sizeable Anglican population throughout the period; 73% as late as 1901. The only other sizeable denominational group in the district was Catholic; 25% by 1901, while Methodist population was merely 2.5% at the same period. In addition, there was hardly any change in denominational representation in the two periods. Anglicans obviously had, as a visual inspection of the table suggests, an equal chance of being elected in both periods.<sup>86</sup> Political representation was not restricted to denominational preference patterns in the Protestant communities. In addition, the Catholic population in the district apparently voted along non-denominational lines.

Table 4:45 examines Burgeo and LaPoile. Denominational preference patterns are consistent in both periods in time. Anglican representative patterns correspond roughly with district population patterns; 78% by 1901, with combined Catholic and Methodist population at only 22% at the same period. Factors other than denominationalism account for the presence of Presbyterian candidates in the district; two in the early period, three in the latter. One possibility, economic factors, has

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<sup>86</sup> $\chi^2 = 0.290$ . With 1 d.f.,  $\chi^2$  is significant at the 30% level. The null hypothesis was tested, however, and retained.



**TABLE 4:44**

**FORTUNE BAY DENOMINATIONAL REPRESENTATION BY TOTAL SEAT  
FOR TWO PERIODS IN TIME**

	<u>1855-1884</u>	<u>1885-1914</u>	
Anglican	62.5 (5)	75.0 (6)	
Catholic	- (0)	- (0)	
Methodist	12.5 (1)	12.5 (1)	
Other	25.0 (2)	12.5 (1)	
	—	—	
	(8)	(8)	
M.D.	(1)	(1)	
	<u>1855-1884</u>	<u>1885-1914</u>	<u>Total</u>
Anglican	5	6	11
Others	3	2	5
	—	—	—
Total	8	8	16

TABLE 4:45

BURGEON AND LAPOILE DENOMINATIONAL REPRESENTATION  
BY TOTAL SEAT IN TWO PERIODS OF TIME

	<u>1855-1884</u>	<u>1885-1914</u>
Anglican	77.8 (7)	66.7 (6)
Catholic	- (0)	- (0)
Methodist	- (0)	- (0)
Other	22.2 (2)	33.3 (3)
	<hr/>	<hr/>
	(9)	(9)
M.D.	(0)	(0)

	<u>1855-1884</u>	<u>1885-1914</u>	<u>Total</u>
Anglicans	7	6	13
Others	2	3	5
	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>
	9	9	18

been discussed already.

Tables 4:46 through 4:50 show both denominational and residency patterns for the five Southern Shore and South Coast Districts in two periods of time. Denominational patterns not only harden in Ferryland during the second period, but representation centres around a smaller group of individuals (eight in the first period; five in the latter). This hardening has little noticeable effect on residency patterns, however. Six St. John's members represented Ferryland in the first period (two non-Catholic), and four, all Catholic, represent the district during the second.

Table 4:47 shows Placentia and St. Mary's patterns. Placentia, like Ferryland, a predominately Catholic district shows a hardening of denominational lines during the 1885-1914 period. In addition, as with Ferryland, this denominational solidification had little effect on residency patterns. Nine St. John's residents represented Ferryland in the early period (two non-Catholic), and eight St. John's Catholic residents represented the district in the latter period. Catholic non-St. John's representation remains about the same for both periods.

Table 4:48 shows Burin denominational and residency representation patterns for two periods in time. The district shifts away from Catholic representation in the second period in time to all Protestant denominational

TABLE 4:46

FERRYLAND INDIVIDUAL DENOMINATIONAL AND RESIDENCY MEMBERSHIP PATTERNS  
IN TWO PERIODS OF TIME

I. 1855-1884

<u>Residency</u>	<u>Anglican</u>	<u>Catholic</u>	<u>Methodist</u>	<u>Other</u>	<u>Total</u>
St. John's	16.7 (1)	66.7 (4)	-	16.7 (1)	100.0 (6)
Not St. John's	50.0 (1)	50.0 (1)	-	-	100.0 (2)

II. 1885-1914

St. John's	-	100.0 (4)	-	-	100.0 (4)
Not St. John's	-	100.0 (1)	-	-	100.0 (1)

TABLE 4:47

PLACENTIA AND ST. MARY'S INDIVIDUAL DENOMINATIONAL AND RESIDENCY  
MEMBERSHIP PATTERNS IN TWO PERIODS OF TIME

I. 1855-1884

<u>Residency</u>	<u>Anglican</u>	<u>Catholic</u>	<u>Methodist</u>	<u>Other</u>	<u>Total</u>
St. John's	22.2 (2)	77.8 (17)	-	-	100.0 (9)
Not St. John's	14.3 (1)	85.7 (6)	-	-	100.0 (7)

II. 1885-1914

St. John's	-	100.0 (8)	-	-	100.0 (8)
Not St. John's	-	100.0 (5)	-	-	100.0 (5)

TABLE 4:48

BURIN INDIVIDUAL DENOMINATIONAL AND RESIDENCY PATTERNS  
IN TWO PERIODS IN TIME

I. 1855-1884

<u>Residency</u>	<u>Anglican</u>	<u>Catholic</u>	<u>Methodist</u>	<u>Other</u>	<u>Total</u>
St. John's	37.5 (3)	25.0 (2)	37.5 (3)	-	100.0 (8)
Not St. John's	50.0 (1)	50.0 (1)	-	-	100.0 (2)

II. 1885-1914

St. John's	50.0 (3)	-	33.3 (2)	16.7 (1)	100.0 (6)
Not St. John's	-	-	100.0 (1)	-	100.0 (1)

preference. That representation stays balanced between Anglican and Methodist members, despite the fact that the Methodist population (46% in 1901) substantially outnumbered the Anglican (19%) at the same point in time. In addition, the Catholic population (34% in 1901), consistently outnumbered the Anglican through both periods. It would imply the possibility of Anglican-Methodist collusion, probably St. John's centred - the place of origin of the majority of the district's candidates - and centred around issues which took precedence over denominational differences. It has been suggested earlier that the issue of Law and Order often separated Burin from her neighbors. One would have to look beneath the law and order issue - certainly a social binding force - for other possible motives which overrode local denominational differences.

Table 4:49 examines Fortune, a predominately Anglican District. The table suggests that denominational patterns for the District not only remained much the same for both periods, but that residency patterns remained the same also. All successful candidates for both periods were St. John's residents. Methodist and Presbyterian populations in the district, while numerically insignificant, nonetheless, produced candidates in both periods. This would suggest, locally, a willingness to overlook denominational preference in favor of other

TABLE 4:49

FORTUNE BAY INDIVIDUAL DENOMINATIONAL AND RESIDENCY PATTERNS  
IN TWO PERIODS OF TIME

I. 1855-1884

<u>Residency</u>	<u>Anglican</u>	<u>Catholic</u>	<u>Methodist</u>	<u>Other</u>	<u>Total</u>
St. John's	60.0 (3)	-	20.0 (1)	20.0 (1)	100.0 (5)
Not St. John's	-	-	-	-	- (0)

II. 1885-1914

St. John's	66.7 (4)	-	16.7 (1)	16.7 (1)	100.0 (6)
Not St. John's	-	-	-	-	- (0)



issues. Fortune, as already mentioned, had strong traditional Newman Co. trade patterns. It would not be unusual to find the company - rather than the local constituents - the strongest political lobbying force in the district.

Table 4:50 looks at the District of Burgeo and LaPoile. The same uniform patterns of denomination and residency found in Fortune are present in Burgeo. A largely Anglican populated district, Burgeo shows an Anglican preference in representation which corresponds to local District population percentages; 78% in 1901. In addition, the table suggests that denominational preference took precedent over place of residency.

Finally, this chapter concludes with a survey of the Western Treaty Shore. The treaty shore, while its status remained ambiguous throughout the nineteenth century, nonetheless, was granted political representation in the House in 1882. By tacit agreement, the southern section of the coast, containing many French speaking settlements and already missionized, would, initially at least, be offered Catholic denominational candidates. The Northwest Coast, including the Northern Peninsula and White Bay, would in turn be considered a Protestant District, showing as late as 1882, the tacit political consideration given the question of denominational preference. In addition, both districts were initially

TABLE 4:50

BURGEO AND LAPOILE INDIVIDUAL DENOMINATIONAL AND RESIDENCY PATTERNS  
IN TWO PERIODS OF TIME

## I. 1855-1884

<u>Residency</u>	<u>Anglican</u>	<u>Catholic</u>	<u>Methodist</u>	<u>Other</u>	<u>Total</u>
St. John's	80.0 (4)	-	-	20.0 (1)	100.0 (5)
Not St. John's	-	-	-	-	- (0)

## II. 1885-1914

St. John's	75.0 (3)	-	-	25.0 (1)	100.0 (4)
Not St. John's	-	-	-	-	- (0)

represented by lawyers - a situation which did not last - probably, in consideration of possible legal problems might arise in the newly constituted districts. Both lawyers ran unopposed in 1882, again probably by some tacit political agreement in St. John's, and both, as already mentioned, came from the same St. John's law firm. The southern Treaty Shore District was called St. George's, the northern; St. Barbe.

Table 4:51 shows the denominational representative patterns for the northern district of St. Barbe during the 1882-1914 period. No Districts on the Island grew faster in percentage increase of population during the 1882-1914 period than the two Treaty Shore districts. By 1901, St. Barbe showed a predominately Anglican population of some 46%, as compared with a Catholic population of 26% and a Methodist population of 28%. Denominational preference remained Protestant throughout the period, conforming with District population; 73% Protestant by 1901. The District made considerable headway in the area of social services after its inception as a political district. Neglected through most of the nineteenth century, the entire French Shore had only two Catholic and one Anglican church and no schools at the time of the granting of responsible government. By 1891, there were eight clergymen in St. Barbe, seventeen teachers and two doctors. In addition, by this time, there were eleven resident government civil

TABLE 8:51

**ST. BARBE DENOMINATIONAL REPRESENTATION BY MEMBERSHIP  
AND TOTAL SEAT, 1882-1914**

<b>A</b>	<u><b>Membership</b></u>	<u><b>Total Seat</b></u>
Anglican	75.0 (3)	66.7 (4)
Catholic	- (0)	- (0)
Methodist	25.0 (1)	33.3 (2)
Other	- (0)	- (0)
	<hr/>	<hr/>
	(4)	(6)
	M.D. (1)*	(4)

<u><b>St. Barbe</b></u>	<u><b>Anglican</b></u>	<u><b>Catholic</b></u>	<u><b>Methodist</b></u>
Year: 1884	2900 (45%)	1900 (29%)	1700 (26%)
1891	3300 (49%)	1800 (27%)	1600 (24%)
1901	3700 (46%)	2100 (26%)	2200 (28%)

\* The unknown member, William M. Clapp, a St. John's lawyer and eventual People's Party member, sat four consecutive times for the district, commencing in 1904. While a Protestant, it is not known whether Clapp was Anglican or Methodist.

servants.

Table 4:52 studies St. George's. The district shows a strong Catholic denominational preference during the period. This was undoubtedly reinforced by the presence of a large French and Acadian population in the District. Father Sears, the first resident Irish-born missionary in the district, had remarked on his arrival at St. George's Bay in the late 1860's, how pleasantly surprised he was to find, "how the French had adhered to their faith with little assistance ... [with] the Acadians particularly strong in faith."<sup>87</sup> The district did produce one Anglican member, however. He was William J. Keating, a merchant and Notary Public from nearby Burgeo - the closest St. George's came to local representation during the period - who sat briefly in the House in 1893.<sup>88</sup>

Table 4:53 shows St. George's denominational and residency membership patterns for the 1882-1914 period. The table, for the most part, shows firm patterns of denominational preference. In addition, those preference patterns seem to flow from St. John's. With the exception

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<sup>87</sup>Brosnan: History of the St. George Diocese, pp. 37 and 41.

<sup>88</sup>William J. Keating, M.H.A., St. George's; 1893. Keating resigned during the politically motivated unseating trials of 1894 (already mentioned). He was replaced by M.H. Carty - already a former three time member from St. George's whom Keating had defeated.

TABLE 4:52

ST. GEORGE'S DENOMINATIONAL REPRESENTATION BY MEMBERSHIP  
AND TOTAL SEAT, 1882-1914

	<u>Membership</u>	<u>Total Seat</u>
Anglican	16.7 (1)	10.0 (1)
Catholic	83.3 (5)	90.0 (9)
Methodist	- (0)	- (0)
Other	- (0)	- (0)
	<hr/>	<hr/>
	(6)	(10)
	M.D. (0)	(0)

<u>St. George's</u>	<u>C.E.</u>	<u>R.C.</u>	<u>Methodist</u>
Year: 1884	200 (3%)	6300 (97%)	0
1891	2300 (35%)	4000 (61%)	200 (4%)
1901	2900 (32%)	5600 (62%)	500 (6%)

TABLE 4:53

ST. GEORGE'S DENOMINATIONAL AND RESIDENCY PATTERNS  
DURING 1882-1914

<u>Residency</u>	<u>Anglican</u>	<u>Catholic</u>	<u>Methodist</u>	<u>Other</u>	<u>Total</u>
St. John's	-	100.0 (5)	-	-	100.0 (5)
Not St. John's	100.0 (1)	-	-	-	100.0 (1)

of Keating's brief appearance - which also broke with existing residency patterns - all representatives were Catholic and came from St. John's. Michael H. Carty's<sup>89</sup> political hold on the district was broken with his untimely death by cancer in 1900, and St. George representation became more intra-denominationally flexible after that period.

Table 4:54 looks at St. Barbe denominational and residency patterns during the 1882-1914 period. The District shows strong Protestant preference. In addition, membership came, for the most part, from St. John's residents; the exception being Albert Bradshaw, a Placentia merchant and representative from that predominately Catholic district, who in 1885, chose not to run for re-election in Placentia, instead running successfully in St. Barbe.

Generally, remoteness (from St. John's) and neglect removed the south coast district of Burgeo, as well as the Treaty Shore, from the mainstream of the traditional fishery activities that occupied the interests of the Southern Shore, Conception Bay, and Northern Districts through most of the nineteenth century, and had negative

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<sup>89</sup>M.H. Carty was the district's first member and three time uncontested representative. Aside from Keating, Carty was defeated by Michael P. Gibbs, another St. John's lawyer, in 1897.



TABLE 4:54

ST. BARBE DENOMINATIONAL AND RESIDENCY PATTERNS  
DURING 1882-1914

<u>Residency</u>	<u>Anglican</u>	<u>Catholic</u>	<u>Methodist</u>	<u>Other</u>	<u>Total</u>
St. John's	66.7 (2)	-	33.3 (1)	-	100.0 (3)
Not St. John's	100.0 (1)	-	-	-	100.0 (1)

consequences on a healthy political development of those areas during the late nineteenth century. The districts exhibited a rather perfunctory adherence to denominational preference patterns, while other evidence suggests that these patterns were not so much self-imposed, as with the other regions of the Island, but to a large degree, dictated by preference arrangements originating in St. John's. In addition, a variable not to be overlooked is time. The Treaty Shore in particular, entering as it did a fully established political process late in the century, undoubtedly made effective local political integration into the Island system a difficult process. Also, the existence of French speaking settlements with mixed, French, Jersey, and Acadian populations did not help the area's integration into Island politics. Always a concern to the St. John's based government during the nineteenth century, these peoples were viewed more as a target group than an integral part of the total population of the Island. They stood, in the eyes of the contemporary politicians as a frustrating historical reality of the perplexing Treaty Shore problem of the nineteenth century creating an emotional political climate that did not lend itself to political accommodation and compassionate consideration.

### Conclusion

Some generalizations can be made regarding denominational representation in Newfoundland for the period 1855-1914.

Most obviously, denominational representation was a characteristic of Newfoundland politics. All districts of the Island exhibit this characteristic. In the North for example, changes in denominational representation reflect denominational population shifts in the Region. Twillingate and Bonavista are examples of these shifts; both shifting toward a Methodist preference in representation as the Methodist population in the districts grew. Nonetheless, some districts show shifts in denominational representation without much change in denominational population.

Denominational divisions were not simply Protestant/Catholic, but Anglican/Catholic/Dissenter (chiefly Methodist). The importance of feeling of social security through denominational identification in nineteenth century Newfoundland society cannot be overstressed. It was religious identification that provided the social cement for the nineteenth century colonial identity. In integrating such concepts as self, family, and community with the broader and more distant concepts of loyalty and affection for the institutions of the mother

country, it is no wonder that there gradually evolved in Newfoundland during the second half of the nineteenth century three rather distinct and sometimes defensively held concepts of colonial social identity. Each group had tended to turn within itself in a process of re-evaluation and a re-synthesis of its position in relation to the challenges presented by responsible government. A man's position within a religious community took on even more significance than before. It is in this light, that a man's religion became a more important variable in his chances of election than whether he was a resident or had local origins.

The tables suggest that denominational patterns tend to harden after 1885. In the Northern Region there is a shift to a kind of Methodist populism, born in part, out of a flurry of conversion activity in the 1870's and 80's. On Conception Bay, Harbor Grace shifts away from Catholic representation and Port-de-Grave shifts from Methodist toward Anglican, despite local denominational patterns remaining somewhat the same. The Catholic Districts of St. John's East, Ferryland, and Placentia and St. Mary's show definite signs of hardening along denominational lines after 1885. Interestingly, St. John's West does not show this same trend, suggesting that the predominately Catholic district was willing to reach

outside its own denominational community late in the century in an effort to find its own political autonomy. St. John's West, under the political patronage of St. John's East through most of the 1855-1890 period, not only effects its own political independence from St. John's East by the turn of the century, but eventually becomes the headquarters district for the People's Party movement in the first decade of the new century. On the south coast, Burin shifts to total Protestant representation during the 1885-1914 period, despite a substantial Catholic population within the district.

In the North, shifts in denominational representation, on the whole, did not disrupt residency representation patterns. The exception in the North was Bonavista, where a shift toward Methodist representation was accompanied by a corresponding shift toward local representation. On Conception Bay, there is a considerable shift toward St. John's residency representation after 1885. Bay-de-Verde, while remaining staunchly Methodist, shifts from Conception Bay representation to St. John's. Both Harbor Grace and Port-de-Grave show similar shifts toward St. John's based representation.

Denominational representation does not necessarily mean that political policy making was denominationally grounded. In fact, there are some instances to suggest

that the contrary was true. Bonavista shows local representation - Methodist dominated - in the 1885-1914 period which is out of proportion with Methodist population within the district. Harbor Grace shows a shift toward Anglican representation disproportionate to total Anglican population in the district. Port-de-Grave moves from Methodist representation in the first half of the period under study to Anglican representation with no appreciable change in local denominational population figures. St. John's East moves toward near all Catholic representation during the 1885-1914 period, even though that Catholic population is less than sixty percent in the district by 1901. Burin shows all Protestant representation during the latter period, disproportionate to local population figures. And on the south coast; Fortune and Burgeo and LaPoile both show non-Anglican Protestant representation, again disproportionate to local population percentages.

Finally, implicit throughout the chapter is the argument that beneath the shifts toward a hardening of denominational lines there was, in reality, no monolithic denominational position on any issue. The three denominational groups each presented a spectrum of viewpoints on political issues, in much the same way that the three major parties in Canada, today, present spectrums of interest. The same was true in the nineteenth century.

Denominational identity in politics became merely a point of orientation. As the political issues grew increasingly more complex and demanding toward the end of the nineteenth century, so did the number of viewpoints compounded within the different denominations. An element of rhetorical bravado ran through nineteenth century politics in just as much as it does today. The nineteenth century partisan newspaper claims of monolithic denominational solidarity on election issues should not discourage a researcher from looking further into the matter. Such claims dissolve into thin air with even a cursory inspection.

## CHAPTER V

THE IMPORTANCE OF OCCUPATION AND CLASS FOR  
RECRUITMENT INTO NEWFOUNDLAND POLITICS

At the beginning of the period under study, there seems to have been something of a consensus view of Newfoundland society. By the end of the period, however, there were at least three distinct and conflicting views, and each of these groups sought its own political expression. Nothing points out more clearly that the Island underwent rapid social and economic change during the period, and each group perceived contemporary problems in relation to Newfoundland's past and its projection of the future.

In looking at these viewpoints as social models, the first deals with the old fishery. The old model, unchallenged at mid-century and still serving the interests of nearly half the Island's population by 1900, had its strength in rural communities of the Island. It was a well integrated, closed system with established economic and religious connexions which provided the source of its self-sustaining-energy. The system provided the basis for a strong sense of social identity, being itself, an integral part of the colonial social identity system discussed in the previous chapter. Ideally, the merchant belonged to the same denominational group as the fishermen labour



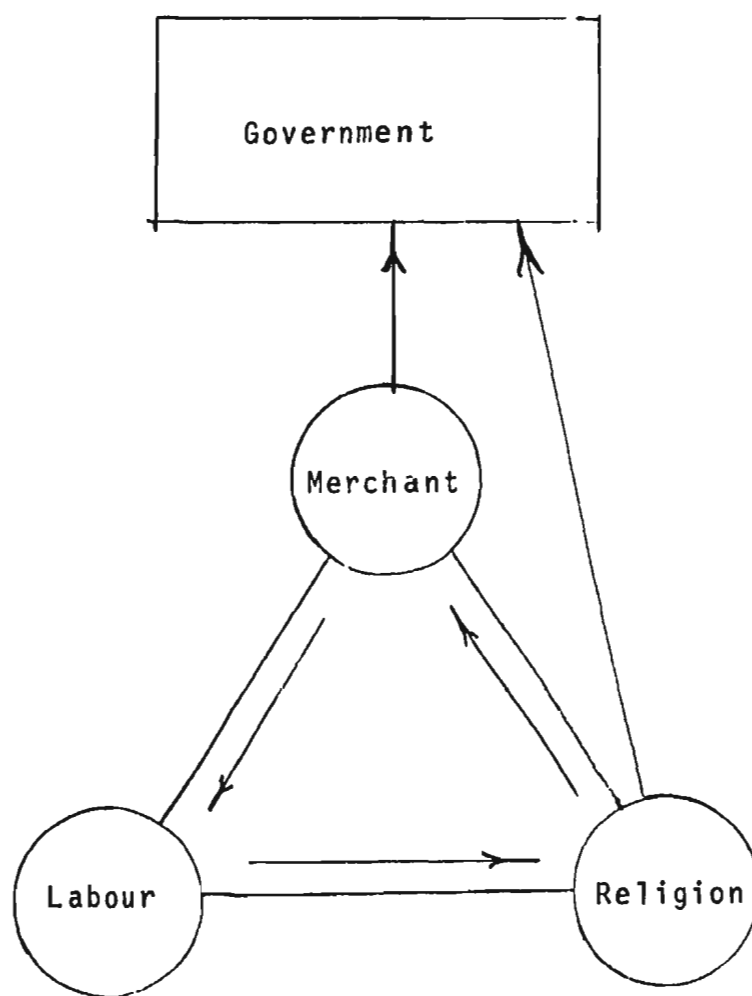


Figure I. Old Fishing Economy,  
1855-1914

force, giving him the position of lay-spiritual and economic patron of the community. The merchant acted as power lobbyist for what could be called his extended 'economic family'. The religious community, while part of the economic family at the local level, had its own power system and direct communications with government, and could serve as humane watch dog over the system as a whole. A strong emphasis on a Christian interpretation of social values and human behavior patterns, reinforced at the local level through education, had a self-regulatory effect on communities as a whole and even limited somewhat the types of problems which might arise within those communities. Class differences within the system (and extending outside the community) were viewed within a social framework befitting the times. They were not minimized, but were on occasions, even elaborately formalized. Special deference was always shown visiting merchants and other Island dignitaries. Unabashed formal displays of community deference always made it clear to the visiting privileged where their civic and economic responsibilities lay within the system.

A second model of the old economy was introduced into the political arena in the 1880's. It was highly political in intent, and it served the immediate interests of the spokesmen for the new economy - a railway based economy - from which would, hopefully, accrue large profits

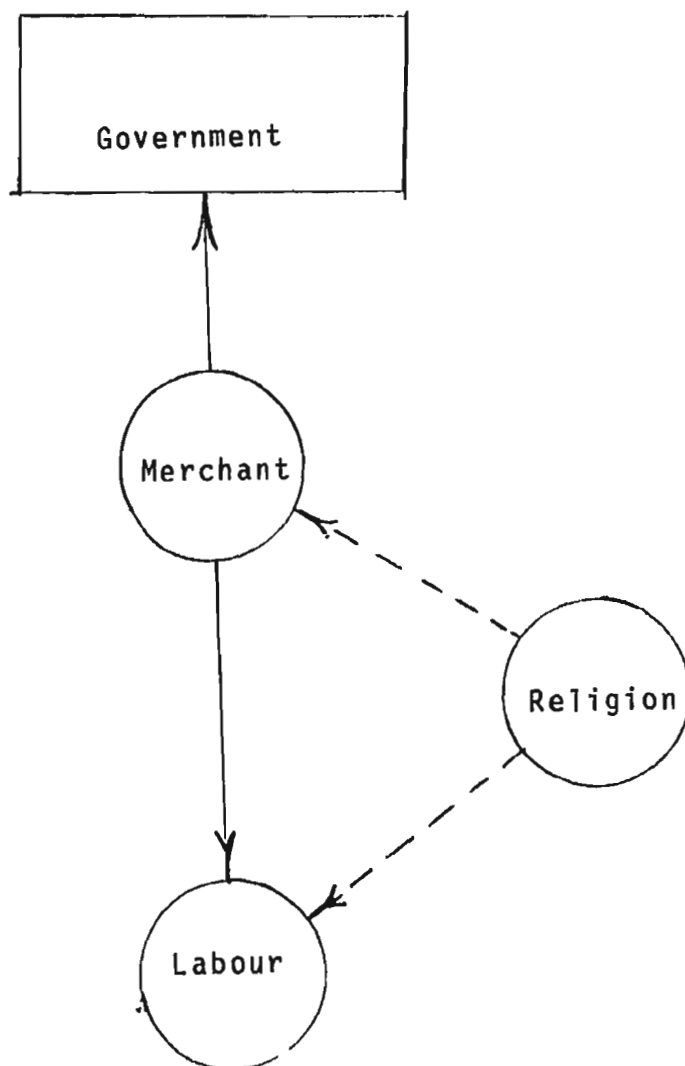


Figure II. New Critical Model of  
old Economy, 1880-1914

from the sale of internal natural resources. It found most of its support from the urban and heavily populated areas of the Avalon Peninsula. But aside from its geographic bias, it appealed directly to those who looked for broader economic opportunities than the narrowly centered and increasingly more competitive fishing economy. This new rising middle class, not tied to the fishery by family tradition, and representing a view which among other things, expressed a great deal of faith in a strong assertive government policy which encouraged economic diversification, stood to be the leaders of the new society. They drew popular political support from the displaced labouring classes of St. John's and Conception Bay.

The new critical model of the old economy was succinct and secular, but it left a great deal of room for emotional elaboration. Standing between a beneficent government and the people - in which each had a natural affinity for the other - were the merchant class. Not only did they control the fishery (the past), but they were popularly depicted as presenting a formidable stumbling block to a promising future. By deleting the humanizing element of religion from their critical model, any analysis of fisherman-merchant relations expressed in the secular context of class exploitation, appeared grim and even intolerable. The new system placed its faith in the future, not the past, and by formulating an exploitative

interpretation of that past, it facilitated the process of a popular rejection of that past. The new model gave vent to public indignation and a demand for reform as the Island moved toward universal male suffrage in the early 1890's.

Late in the period under study came a third model; this one springing from within the heart of the old traditional fishing region of the North. It was the Fisherman's Protective Union model, an assessment in secular terms of how Northern fishermen felt as they viewed the new pre-World War I world. While there were many fishermen in the North who still clung to the traditional economy model, the character of that economy had altered dramatically after the bank crisis of the mid-nineties. The old St. John's firms had retrenched and the mid-nineteenth century patronage character had all but vanished, as the old firms defaulted on their political and economic patronage of the north. The F.P.U. movement, in part, called them to task for this, and attempted to revitalize the old economy. Seeking a new public identity, the F.P.U. fishermen viewed themselves as the most important of the agents of production and demanded a substantial say in how the fishery enterprise was run. The movement put them in an unprecedented position with relation to traditional Northern political patterns. They accepted the critical doctrine the new model imposed from without and set out to rectify the exploitive aspects

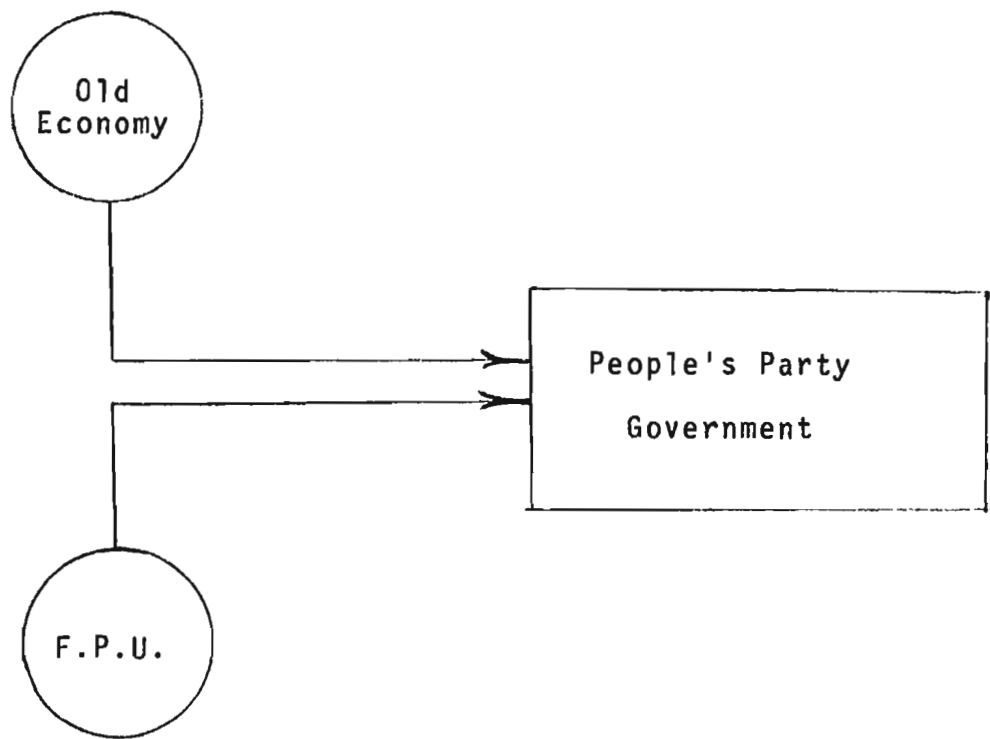


Figure III. F.P.U. Attempt to reshape  
Old Economy, 1910 -

it envisaged. Through exemplary self-discipline and perseverance they intended to bend the old economy to fit their collective image. They were out to save the long standing political integrity of the North and represented, on the eve of World War I, a formidable collective adversary to the People's Party government in St. John's. The long standing political struggle between the old economy and the new reached new proportions. The outcome of the struggle now rested in the hands of the two major opposing labour forces of the Island.

Three distinct views, then, shaped public political opinion during the period. The first; the old economy model was more a way of life than a political movement. At most, a network of loosely knit semi-independent economic modules, it found great difficulty in politically articulating a position of general credibility under incessant pressure. The old system, despite its general public acceptance at mid-century, was by the 1890's in need of internal reforms, although it still kept a strong following of faithful adherents throughout the period.

The spokesmen of the new critical model polarized the electorate into political action. They presented not only an alternative view of what society might be in direct appeal to an urban population with growing expectations - but in addition, fortified this position with a somewhat cynical and distorted picture of what that old rural society

had been like. The fact that little more than half the Island publicly validated this position in the election of 1909 - and principally they were voters of St. John's and the Avalon Peninsula - suggests that possibly the doctrine of the new economy could stand a more thorough historical examination. Certainly, its critical assessment of Newfoundland's past is highly suspect.

Compounding the problems inherent in trying to unravel historical fact from fiction is the actions of the third group, the F.P.U. On the surface, the F.P.U.'s willingness to publicly validate certain tenets found in the new critical model would suggest, by implication, the historical validity of that model. The fishermen as a class were, however, no longer viewed as the chosen labour force of the Island. Instead, they had become a competing pressure group who supported the old economy position. It was as much out of necessity as conviction that the F.P.U. was organized in the manner it was. It managed to shift the control of the traditional political power base of the old economy from St. John's to the North. It was only then that it could hope to apply effective political pressure on the old political forces of St. John's, many of whom were now hopelessly co-mingled with new economy (People's Party) spokesmen. Whatever class interpretation one might wish to apply to this long social struggle which started in earnest in the 1880's and



was not yet effectively resolved as late as 1914, one should not overlook the intra-class aspects of that struggle. For what started out as a battle of opposing elites, ended in a victory of one section of the labouring class over another. But the victory of the People's Party was less a victory over merchants, as tradition has it, and more a victory over people. It was the fishermen, not the merchants, who lost out.

In examining occupation in relation to political participation, the first question which arises is just how many adult males would have been eligible for House membership in any given district as defined by the occupation variable alone? Tables 5:1 through 5:5 show the percentages of adult males in the five Regions who would have qualified. With the exception of the Treaty Shore, these percentages are given for three periods in time.

Table 5:1 deals with the Northern Region. As the table shows, the Northern Districts had few residents during the period whose occupations were congruent with those of members of the House. The Districts were primarily fishing districts and the censuses indicate that up through 1884 at least, the overwhelming majority of males (and women and children) were engaged in the catching and curing of fish. Local merchants and traders as well as mechanics were the two occupational categories corresponding with those of House membership, although mechanics made few appearances

TABLE 5:1

NORTHERN REGIONAL MALE POPULATION FITTING OCCUPATIONAL CATEGORIES  
FOUND IN HOUSE, 1855-1914\*  
(Percent)

	<u>1857</u>	<u>1884</u>	<u>1911</u>
Twillingate	2.0 (61)	11.0 (374)	22.4 (1373)
Fogo	-	6.5 (104)	10.1 (242)
Bonavista	5.4 (114)	8.4 (335)	12.2 (795)
Trinity	3.8 (92)	10.3 (447)	15.0 (869)

\* Adult male population figures were compiled from Census modal age categories. Bracketed numbers, i.e. (61) for Twillingate, give the total number of adult males in each district who were eligible for House membership by reason of occupation. For 1857, therefore, 2% of the adult male population were eligible for house membership. This increases to 22.4% by 1911.

in the House prior to 1890. The relative gains shown by 1911 came primarily from the increase in the number of mechanics in each district after 1884. In addition, the numbers of teachers, civil servants, and office workers markedly increased during that same period. But as late as 1911 only Twillingate shows better than 20% of its male population engaged in occupations corresponding to occupational categories found among House members.

Table 5:2 examines Conception Bay. Occupational categories, as in the north, are built almost totally around a fishing economy until 1884. There are noticeable shifts in occupational categories after that time. The unusually high number of Harbor Main farmers, the most heavily cultivated district on the Island, accounts for the District's high percentage figures during the period. Again, it is merchants and traders and mechanics who dominate the percentages in the first two periods with sizeable increases in the number of mechanics by the 1911 period. Most of the male labour force was engaged in catching and curing through the 1884 period. By 1911, however, better than 1200 Conception Bay residents had switched away from the fishery and were actively engaged in mining. Carbonear and Harbor Grace underwent population declines during the same 1884-1911 period which probably inflated their 1911 percentage totals somewhat. Carbonear representation remained local throughout the period, and it came almost exclusively from a small

**TABLE 5:2**

**CONCEPTION BAY REGIONAL MALE POPULATION FITTING OCCUPATIONAL CATEGORIES  
FOUND IN THE HOUSE, 1855-1914  
(Percent)**

	<u>1857</u>	<u>1884</u>	<u>1911</u>
Bay-de-Verde	0.8 (13)	6.1 (130)	11.8 (335)
Carbenear	8.3 (107)	13.2 (206)	28.9 (421)
Harbor Grace	9.2 (234)	17.3 (632)	31.2 (1013)
Port-de-Grave	10.7 (169)	9.1 (198)	19.4 (394)
Harbor Main	39.3 (510)	30.8 (664)	45.1 (1234)

resident merchant class. In 1857, for instance, this group represented 1.4% of the total adult male population and by 1884, merchants represented 2.0% of the adult male population. The relatively large 1911 percentage of the potentially eligible male population (28.9%) loses its significance somewhat when it is realized that actual House membership came exclusively from the merchant class category, or a group representing at that time 3.0% of the total adult male population.

Table 5:3 looks at the urban Region of St. John's. Most noticeable, of course, is the urban character of St. John's itself. Not only are the percentages of the occupationally eligible higher than in the rural districts, they are also present in large numbers. Urban mechanics, for instance, account for better than half of the percentages shown for 1857 and 1884, and nearly half for 1911. Since St. John's was the seat of government, this in turn would tend to work in favor of the large occupational pressure groups within St. John's itself. The presence of a well organized Mechanics Society in St. John's, for instance, did eventually insure some mechanic representation in the House of Assembly. Representation tended to stem from within their own organization, giving them a decided political advantage over rural mechanics scattered throughout the Island. The provincial character of St. John's society extended into the working class sections and it is

TABLE 5:3

ST. JOHN'S MALE POPULATION FITTING OCCUPATIONAL CATEGORIES  
FOUND IN THE HOUSE, 1855-1914  
(Percent)

	<u>1857</u>	<u>1884</u>	<u>1911</u>
St. John's East	36.9 (1569)	48.7 (2705)	61.2 (3990)
St. John's West	32.5 (1073)	47.5 (1810)	63.8 (3501)

not surprising to find urban mechanics expressing little sense of occupational identity with rural mechanics outside their area. St. John's was where everything happened, and on this point the merchant elite and the urban working class were in full agreement. But the large numbers of mechanics and labourers in St. John's did have an ultimate effect in directing the Island's course toward new economic goals.<sup>1</sup> These groups were much more likely to see validity in the critical model of the old economy as sponsored by the spokesmen of the new. The eventual partial victory of the new economy over the old is a graphic demonstration of the weight of numbers in modern parliamentary politics. The presence of a large urban labour force, for the most part, non-union (hence, unmanageable in the sense of today) caused real concern among politicians in the late nineteenth century. It is difficult today to appreciate fully the fears that gripped some of the traditional politicians in the 1890's.<sup>2</sup> This male labour force had

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<sup>1</sup>This does mean that 'Labour' - as it is called today - was unanimously behind economic change. Probably the highly skilled artisan class; the coopers, blacksmiths, sail makers - those who made their living from providing services to the old fishery economy were as adamantly against the new changes as were some merchants and most of the rural population.

<sup>2</sup>A contemporary analogy might be, say, a sudden influx of a sizeable vocal minority of Cree Indians into the Canadian House of Commons who could not be counted on to abide by the old House rules and who suddenly might view all of the little nuances of gesture and reaction that make

been granted universal suffrage in 1890, and it arrived on the political scene with no identification with the past. The only thing predictable about this group was its unanimous expectancy of a bright future. The future, not the past, became the main thrust of Newfoundland politics after 1890.

Another urban occupational group which had a great deal of influence in shaping the political direction of the Island was the St. John's lawyers. Small in number, the group came into political significance during the last third of the nineteenth century. St. John's maintained a virtual legal monopoly<sup>3</sup> on the entire Island. Through the system of articling, the Law Society could administer effective quality and quantity control over all potential members of the profession, and in addition, the practice gave the legal profession a powerful weapon of patronage not extended to members of other professions. A lawyer-politician was able to curry direct favor from an

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Canadian politics reassuringly predictable as triviality and window dressing. Such was the potential problem that faced the politicians of the 1890's. Their fears were largely unwarranted, however. For the People's Party government - whatever it lacked in merit - should be credited with taming the people.

<sup>3</sup>In 1911, there were no lawyers residing outside St. John's. There had been several in Harbor Grace and one in Placentia earlier in the nineteenth century, however.



influential family accepting into his office a son as a clerk-trainee. Cross denominational legal instruction also enhanced a political career. An Anglican lawyer who took in a young Catholic law clerk into his office was bound to win public approval for his actions.<sup>4</sup> This strategy also gave law firms a certain flexibility in elections in which there were issues with sectarian overtones. In general then, with the relatively large mass of working class centered in St. John's and with the monopolistic control of all Island legal activities also centered in that city, St. John's had decided and unique political advantages not enjoyed by other towns on the Island. Responses to economic and social problems were probably viewed in the House in an urban context first. This was the immediate and most sensitive political area. Their possible impact on rural districts was secondary and of less general concern. As government grew rapidly after the 1890's, St. John's merely compounded its political advantage over the rest of the Island.

Table 5:4 studies the Southern Shore and South Coast Region. The 1911 percentages are the lowest of all

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<sup>4</sup>James S. Winter, an Anglican, trained Edward P. Morris, a Catholic. Whatever his plans for Morris, the gesture did not hurt Winter in his native District of Burin (from which he usually ran) with its sizeable Catholic population. There are numerous examples of cross denomination deference in law firms.

TABLE 5:4

SOUTHERN SHORE AND SOUTH COAST REGIONAL MALE POPULATION FITTING  
 OCCUPATIONAL CATEGORIES FOUND IN THE HOUSE, 1855-1914  
 (Percent)

	<u>1857</u>	<u>1884</u>	<u>1911</u>
Ferryland	2.1 (29)	6.7 (121)	13.1 (222)
Placentia and St. Mary's	7.5 (157)	9.0 (266)	11.8 (508)
Burin	3.3 (77)	7.6 (159)	19.1 (563)
Fortune Bay	3.3 (32)	9.7 (170)	13.3 (352)
Burgeo and LaPoile	5.0 (40)	12.7 (194)	14.8 (316)

Regions on the Island. There was little thrust toward economic change on the south coast, hence little change in the traditional occupational structure. Most noticeable is the lack of growth in the number of mechanics as compared with other Regions of the Island. Burin's particular advantage over other surrounding districts is in the area of mechanics, office and shop workers. Teachers and resident civil servants increase in all areas. Placentia and St. Mary's show the largest increase in civil servants (86 local civil servants by 1911) and Ferryland the smallest number (47). With most of the new attempts at economic expansion following the Northerly arc of the railway, it is not surprising that the Southern Shore and South Coast districts lagged behind during the 1884-1911 period. One of the campaign pledges of the People's Party promised to rectify that situation.

Table 5:5 examines the Treaty Shore Districts. The two districts were first represented in the House in 1882. The major difference in percentages stems from the number of farmers found in the Codroy Valley (St. George's). Nearly half of the St. George's percentage of 1911 represents the farmer occupational class. In addition, mechanics, office and shop workers increase more rapidly in the more heavily populated district of St. George's. The largest single occupational group of the politically eligible

TABLE 5:5

TREATY SHORE REGIONAL MALE POPULATION FITTING OCCUPATIONAL CATEGORIES  
IN THE HOUSE, 1882-1914  
(Percent)

	<u>1891</u>	<u>1911</u>
St. George's	16.6 (259)	29.1 (847)
St. Barbe	3.4 (52)	10.2 (277)

class of St. Barbe is civil servants; eighty-two by 1911. Civil servants (80) rank fourth among the eligible categories in St. George's.

The tables suggest that if occupation alone were considered as the chief concern in candidate selection, then St. John's would still have had some geographic advantage over the rest of the Island during the 1855-1914 period. It was, first of all, the seat of government and the economic denominational and educational headquarters of the Island. As the largest urban center, the city consistently produced a far larger percentage of potential occupationally eligible candidates than the rural communities. With the possible exception of several Conception Bay districts, this seemed to be generally recognized by the Island as a whole. Rural districts seemed willing to sacrifice local residential preference in candidates, for those with St. John's residency. A St. John's candidate had the additional advantage of selling himself to an outport constituency as a full-time urban lobbyist - another advantage over, say, an outport merchant who spent only several months a year in St. John's. In addition, the outports experienced a drain of talent. There was a great deal of horizontal - as well as vertical - mobility in nineteenth century Newfoundland society. Over one-third of the members of the House of Assembly had been born in outport communities.<sup>5</sup> Young men

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<sup>5</sup>See Chapter II, Table 2:5.

came from outport communities for schooling or to the commercial firms of St. John's for training and employment. Some, politically motivated, went on as St. John's residents to represent the districts in which they had been born and raised.

The two most politically influential occupational groups on the Island were the commercial class and the professionals. They were certainly the most numerously active of all occupational groups of the period. The aggregate table in Chapter 2, (Table 2:12), places commercial participation in the House at 41.7% of total representation. The professionals, a group dominated by the legal profession, represented something less than one-third (29.2%) of total House membership for the period. The two groups together contributed 71.1% of total House membership for the 1855-1914 period.

Tables 5:6 through 5:10 look at the five Regions of the Island with special attention paid to two important occupational groups, Merchants and Lawyers, some of whom left lasting imprints on contemporary Island political thinking. The tables represent evidence of a pattern of direct impact that these two important occupational groups had on Newfoundland Regional Districts. The samples are totals of the individual members who appeared for each district during the period and do not account for the number of times an individual member was returned.

Table 5:6 looks at the Northern Region. The merchant class category includes both general and commission merchants with the former - the generally recognised most prestigious group - accounting for 75% of total merchant representation. The Lawyer group accounts for 80% of total professional representation and 20.3% (48) of total House membership. Only Trinity, Bonavista (and Fogo), therefore, approach merchant representation nearly comparable to the aggregate percentage (41.9%) found in the House of Assembly. Twillingate reflects a higher percentage of Lawyers than is found in the aggregate House total (20.3%). A visual inspection of the tables suggests, however, that the Northern Regional Districts show a consistent pattern of occupational representation. Merchants dominate as a single occupational group with lawyers second.<sup>6</sup> For the most part, the Northern Districts follow the total House percentages.

Table 5:7 looks at the Conception Bay Region. Bay-de-Verde, Carbonear, and Harbor Grace merchant percentages are higher than those found in the total House membership. Most are local Bay merchants during the first half of the period under study, with some districts gradually shifting to St. John's resident merchant representation after that

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<sup>6</sup> Even in Bonavista, with its large 'other' category (15), Lawyers are second to merchants. Closest to Lawyers are: Captains (3); Store Managers (3) and Journalists (2); Civil Servants (2); and five other occupational categories with one each.

TABLE 5:6

NORTHERN REGIONAL INDIVIDUAL MEMBERSHIP BY OCCUPATION  
 DURING THE PERIOD, 1855-1914  
 (Percent)

	<u>Twillingate</u>	<u>Fogo</u>	<u>Bonavista</u>	<u>Trinity</u>
Merchants	26.3 (5)	50.0 (2)	32.1 (9)	39.3 (11)
Lawyers	31.6 (6)	- (0)	14.3 (4)	21.4 (6)
Other	42.1 (8)	50.0 (2)	53.6 (15)	39.3 (11)
	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>
	(19)	(4)	(28)	(28)
M.D.	(1)	(0)	(0)	(2)



TABLE 5:7

CONCEPTION BAY REGION INDIVIDUAL MEMBERSHIP BY OCCUPATION  
 DURING THE PERIOD, 1855-1914  
 (Percent)

Occupation	<u>Bay-de-Verde</u>	<u>Carbonear</u>	<u>Harbor Grace</u>	<u>Port-de-Grave</u>	<u>Harbor Main</u>
Merchant	70.6 (12)	83.3 (5)	52.4 (11)	33.3 (4)	20.0 (3)
Lawyer	11.7 (2)	- (0)	19.0 (4)	16.7 (2)	20.0 (3)
Other	17.6 (3)	16.7 (1)	28.6 (6)	50.0 (6)	60.0 (9)
	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>
	(17)	(6)	(21)	(12)	(15)
M.D.	(0)	(0)	(1)	(0)	(0)

time. Carbonear, however, with the highest merchant total, continued with local resident merchants throughout the entire period. Lawyer representation was near, if somewhat lower than, the legal profession percentages found in the House. Only Port-de-Grave and Harbor Main 'Other' categories approach majority proportions; 50% for the former, and 60% for the latter.<sup>7</sup> Merchant representation patterns were not consistent throughout the Bay during the period. The table strongly suggests that political needs and representation varied considerably on Conception Bay. A more satisfying explanation could only be found in a closer examination of the old Bay fishery itself, its eventual collapse, and how the various districts of the Bay adjusted to that change. Probably in no other Region of the Island did certain districts feel the immediate positive and negative impacts of the introduction of the railway as did

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<sup>7</sup>In Port-de-Grave, in addition to the merchant and lawyer categories, there were: Captains (3), and Store Managers (3). In Harbor Main there were: Planter-fisherman (4) - the largest single category for the district, with all appearing before 1889 - and five other categories with one each represented; including one teacher and one civil servant. Harbor Main fell under the political tutelage of St. John's West during the latter period. It is one of the ironies of politics that as St. John's West struggled for political self-autonomy, it was at the expense of other districts.

those along Conception Bay. The variations in inter-district representation on the Bay suggest varied responses to this impact.

Table 5:8 looks at the two urban districts of St. John's. The urban occupational representation patterns are not unlike the outport patterns already studied. The fact that St. John's politics took on a special intensity and character is due more to its proximity to government and the city's support of an emotionally competitive press. The high percentage of merchants returned for St. John's West is partly due to economic considerations. They were, for the most part, large employers of West End Labour, and denominational preference was often waived as a consideration in returning these merchants. St. John's East lawyer representation, on the other hand, tended (with one exception) to be Catholic. It was maintained at a higher percentage level in the district than was found in the total House lawyer percentages.<sup>8</sup> In St. John's East, six members

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<sup>8</sup>Nearly all lawyers for the Island resided in St. John's East. In 1884, there were 32 lawyers residing there; only 5 in St. John's West. By 1911, there were 39 lawyers living in St. John's East, only 7 in St. John's West. St. John's West tended to get a lot of political mileage out of their lawyers, however. Edward P. Morris - admittedly an exception - was returned nine consecutive times for the St. John's West district during the period under study.

TABLE 5:8

ST. JOHN'S INDIVIDUAL MEMBERSHIP BY OCCUPATION  
DURING THE PERIOD, 1855-1914  
(Percent)

	<u>St. John's East</u>	<u>St. John's West</u>
Merchant	36.8 (7)	50.0 (11)
Lawyers	31.6 (6)	18.2 (4)
Other	31.6 (6)	31.8 (7)
	—	—
	(19)	(22)
M.D.	(0)	(1)

represented occupational categories other than merchant and lawyer; with no more than one member per category.<sup>9</sup> In St. John's West, the seven 'Other' members included two teachers and five representatives of five different occupational categories.<sup>10</sup>

Table 5:9 examines the Southern Shore and South Coast districts. Only in Burin is direct merchant representation found at a higher percentage (57.9%) than the aggregate House representation (41.9%). In three of the remaining four districts it is slightly below that average. Lawyer representation is maintained at roughly the aggregate House percentage of legal representation (20.3%), and only in Fortune and Burgeo and LaPoile - small isolated south coast districts - does legal representation exceed the aggregate House of Assembly percentage. In Placentia and St. Mary's 'Other' occupational representation reached the highest percentage (41.4%) in the Region. These included three fishermen-planters (all appearing in the House before 1890), two civil servants, two teachers, two store managers, and three others.<sup>11</sup> In Ferryland

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<sup>9</sup>St. John's East 'Other' representation: Journalist (1); Captain (1); Druggist (1); Office Manager (1); tradesman (1); and Farmer (1).

<sup>10</sup>St. John's West 'Other' representation; Teachers (2); Industrialist (1); Captain (1); Civil Servant (1); tradesman (1); and Farmer (1).

<sup>11</sup>The others; tradesman (Printer) (1); Captain (1); Surveyor(1).

District, 'other' occupational representation included three tradesmen and members from two additional occupational categories.<sup>12</sup> Regional occupational representation patterns were fairly consistent throughout the different Districts for the period under study, despite markedly different denominational patterns throughout the region. Once more, the regional occupational patterns of the South vary little from the Northern Regional patterns already presented (Table 5:6). The North and South, with their unique ideological, distinct denominational preferences, their economic and environmental differences, nonetheless, seemed to select representatives with more or less the same occupational qualifications.

Table 5:10 looks at the Treaty Shore. Lawyer representation was substantially higher on the Treaty Shore than the aggregate House percentage during the period. The districts were a late nineteenth century legal creation - a product of the efforts of the first Whiteway government - and it would be quite reasonable to assume that there were many long range legal concerns with regard to their creation. The Treaty Shore issue was still an unresolved concern at the turn of the century and the districts, particularly St. George's with its large French speaking population,

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<sup>12</sup>In Ferryland these were: a Journalist (1); and a store manager (1).

TABLE 5:10  
TREATY SHORE REGIONAL INDIVIDUAL MEMBERSHIP BY OCCUPATION  
DURING THE PERIOD, 1882-1914  
(Percent)

	<u>St. Barbe</u>	<u>St. George's</u>
Merchant	40.0 (2)	16.7 (1)
Lawyer	40.0 (2)	66.7 (4)
Other	20.0 (1)	16.7 (1)
	—	—
	(5)	(6)
M.D.	(0)	(0)

probably became patterned to legal representation.

Tables 5:6 through 5:10 raise several important points. It is understandable that merchants and lawyers played an important and influential part in Newfoundland politics during the 1855-1914 period. Fourteen of the fifteen Island premiers of the period came from these two important occupational categories.<sup>13</sup> But in looking at the Island as a whole, there is little evidence that the majority of the districts were particularly over-burdened with direct merchant representation during the period. In only six districts (33.3%) did merchant representation reach fifty percent or more of district membership. Three of those districts with highest merchant representation were on Conception Bay (5:7) and for the most part, were free of St. John's domination for half the period under study. Carbonear, the highest merchant-represented district on the Island (83.3%), retained local resident representation throughout the entire period. Basing an hypothesis on evidence presented thus far, one can suggest that, contrary to popular myth, the nineteenth century Newfoundland political system was not hopelessly infested with direct fish merchant domination. The myth more than likely arose out of late nineteenth century political thinking as

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<sup>13</sup>The exception was Robert Bond, rentier and gentleman farmer. But even Bond was not ignorant of the law; he had been a law student.



suggested earlier in this chapter. The same seems to be true of lawyers, the other most important occupational group on the Island. In only six districts (33.3%) are lawyer representatives found in excess of aggregate House percentages. There is Twillingate in the North (31.6%), St. John's East (31.6%), and the four districts of the South Coast and Treaty Shore.<sup>14</sup> The two major occupational categories are distributed more or less evenly across the Island. The urban districts of St. John's show the same general patterns of the rural districts during the period. Lawyer representation seems highest (by percentage) in the 'underdeveloped' districts of the South Coast and Treaty Shore. Regardless of the unique and special problems individual Regions had within the political process, each seemed, as suggested by the tables, to have selected candidates in the same proportion from more or less the same occupational backgrounds to attempt to solve these problems.

Table 5:11 looks at total House occupational representation in two periods of time. Its purpose is to see whether any noticeable changes occur in membership occupations as the Island shifts from the fishery economy of the earlier period toward new economic emphasis in the second. The table indicates some decline in merchant

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<sup>14</sup>Percentage of Lawyers: Fortune Bay, 33.3%; Burgeo and LaPoile, 33.3%; St. Barbe, 40.0%; St. George's, 66.7%.

TABLE 5:11

OCCUPATIONS OF MEMBERS OF THE HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY  
IN TWO PERIODS OF TIME  
(Percent)

	<u>1855-1884</u>	<u>1885-1914</u>
Merchants	47.2 (58)	35.6 (42)
Professionals	32.5 (40)	34.6 (41)
Non-manual	8.2 (10)	17.7 (21)
Manual	12.3 (15)	11.8 (14)
	<hr/>	<hr/>
	(123)	(118)

representation during the 1885-1914 period with a corresponding rise in non-manual(managerial and clerical) representation. Professional representation stays the same in both periods, as does representation in the manual labouring class. The majority in the latter were self-employed, though a few manual wage labourers were to be found in the House. There were also some shifts in merchant representation during the two periods. Of the fifty-eight merchants in the first period, twenty were outport merchants while thirty-eight were St. John's residents. During the second period, outport merchant representation holds at seventeen, while St. John's merchant representation decreases to twenty-five, 66% of the 1855-1884 St. John's total. In addition, many new fish merchants appear in the House after the start of the twentieth century. The newly successful had been in a position to take advantage of the vacuum created by old merchant retrenchment in the nineties. They tended to side with the people against the old merchants and generally stood in favor of the new economy, with some eventually finding important positions in the People's Party organization.

The most noticeable change in occupational class categories, however, was in the non-manual managerial class. While their numbers were still small, their percentage of representation nonetheless doubled during the

1885-1914 period. But over all, even with changes in the merchant community representation and a rise among non-manual workers, the general occupational class breakdowns remain essentially the same for both periods.

Table 5:12 tests this hypothesis in time. It looks at changes in Lawyer-Merchant class representation in the House in two time periods. Merchant representation, fifty-eight in the earlier period, declines somewhat to a total of forty-two in the latter. Lawyer representation, twenty-three in the first period, increases in number during the second, showing a total of twenty-eight. The hypothesis, that "there was no significant change in merchant-lawyer relationships in the House in two periods of time" was tested and the findings indicate that the hypothesis should be retained.<sup>15</sup> The visual changes in merchant-lawyer representation in the House, while noticeable, were, nonetheless, statistically insignificant.

In looking at the House as a whole, Table 5:13 shows relationships among merchants, professionals and others, again, during two periods in time. During the 1885-1914 period, the 'other' category (non-merchant, non-professional membership) shows a slight rise in total representation,

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<sup>15</sup> $\chi^2 = 2.294$ . With 1 d.f.,  $\chi^2$  is only statistically significant at the 80% level, suggesting the hypothesis be retained.

TABLE 5:12

MERCHANT - LAWYER REPRESENTATION IN HOUSE  
IN TWO PERIODS OF TIME

	<u>1885-1884</u>	<u>1885-1914</u>	<u>Total</u>
Merchants	58	42	100
Lawyers	23	28	51
	—	—	—
Total	81	70	151

TABLE 5:13

THREE-GROUP TOTAL REPRESENTATION IN HOUSE  
IN TWO PERIODS OF TIME

	<u>1855-1884</u>	<u>1885-1914</u>	<u>Total</u>
Merchants	58	42	100
Professions	35	34	69
Other	30	42	72
	—	—	—
Total	123	120	243

moving from third place in the earlier period into a tie with merchants as one of the two most numerous categories. Professionals, second in number in the first period, move to third in the latter period. The hypothesis, that "there was no significant change in merchant, professional, and 'Other' representation in the House in two periods of time", was tested, and the findings indicate the hypothesis should be retained.<sup>16</sup> Generally then, despite the dynamic social and economic change<sup>17</sup> taking place on the Island during the 1885-1914 period, the test hypotheses suggest that the occupational and class structure of the House of Assembly, the elective body, remained, for the most part, the same for both periods. The movement from a traditional economy toward a more modern structure did not seriously disrupt traditional occupational representation patterns in the House. The political victory of the new economy over the

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<sup>16</sup> $\chi^2 = 4.488$ . With 2 d.f.,  $\chi^2$  is significant at the 80% level and almost at the 90% level.

<sup>17</sup>Again, it can not be overstressed the dynamic impact the introduction of the railway economy had on nineteenth century Newfoundland society. It is difficult today, even to begin to appreciate that fact. An analogy could be made - a hypothetical one - which might help to understand the fundamental significance of the railway impact. Supposing today at Come By Chance, instead of an oil refinery, there was a missile launching center. Collected around that center were a group of Island technocrats, bureaucrats, governmental officials and a small group of suspicious looking 'foreigners' who proposed to conduct certain space experiments in semi-secrecy which the rest of

old - the mythical victory of the people over the merchant class - appears to be more the simple transfer of power from one group to another, with both groups having more or less comparable occupational status.<sup>18</sup>

In turning to the Executive Council, it can in general be said that its membership was made up of five to ten members drawn almost exclusively from elected House membership after each general election.<sup>19</sup> The Executive Council was the government, corresponding to the Cabinet today. It included the premier and the important government portfolios of the day.

Table 5:14 looks at the occupational structure of this body in two periods in time, in an effort to see any occupational changes that might have occurred within that chamber, and also to compare the Executive Council occupational structure with that of the House of Assembly.

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the Island were supposed to pay for, and yet had only vaguely rumored notions as to the project's ultimate aims. To many people, the whole affair would seem quite ominous. This is similar in some ways to the traumatic social impact of the railway in the nineteenth century.

<sup>18</sup>Even in the F.P.U. movement, with its class struggle overtones, there was as much an anti-urban movement as there was anything else. But even here, many of the F.P.U. members entered the House of Assembly in 1913 - despite their backgrounds - as 'store managers' for the F.P.U., a time honoured occupational House membership category that dates back to the first responsible government House in 1855.

<sup>19</sup>Actually, there were six (of seventy members) who were appointed to the Executive Council from the Legislative Council and who never held elected office during the period.



TABLE 5:14

OCCUPATIONS OF MEMBERS OF THE EXECUTIVE COUNCIL  
IN TWO PERIODS OF TIME

(Percent)

	<u>1855-1884</u>	<u>1885-1914</u>
Merchants	47.1 (25)	36.3 (24)
Professionals	35.9 (19)	38.4 (26)
Non-manual	17.0 (9)	22.8 (15)
Manual	- (0)	1.5 (1)
	<hr/>	<hr/>
	(53)	(66)

The table suggests that merchant representation stayed at approximately the same number in both periods (though the percentage declines) and that professional and non-manual worker representation increased. The important occupational categories of Merchants and Professionals dominated Executive Council representation in both periods. Their percentages, in addition, corresponded roughly with the percentages of the same categories found in the House of Assembly (Table 5:11 in the two periods. The only noticeable differences in House and Executive occupational representation is, of course, the absence of manual labour representation in the Executive, which was about 12% of House representation for the corresponding time periods. The tables suggest that while manual labour occupations found their way into the elected House of Assembly, they were barred from holding portfolios. Non-manual occupational representation, on the other hand, would seem to be slightly over-represented on the Executive in relation to House membership, though admittedly, the percentage differences are small. It is obvious, however, that non-manual workers had an advantage in obtaining Executive portfolios over their fellow workers in the manual class.

The two chambers, however, showed markedly similar overall occupational patterns. Table 5:15 tests this hypothesis. The hypothesis, that "there was no significant

TABLE 5:15

OCCUPATIONAL STRUCTURE OF EXECUTIVE COUNCIL  
AND THE HOUSE, 1855-1914

	<u>Merchants</u>	<u>Professionals</u>	<u>Other</u>	<u>Total</u>
Executive	29	25	15	69
House	100	69	72	241
	—	—	—	—
Total	129	94	87	310

difference in the general occupational structure of the Executive Council and the House of Assembly", was tested and the findings suggest that the hypothesis be retained.<sup>20</sup> A composite of fifteen governments over sixty years time produced occupational patterns that corresponded with House representation for the same period.

In looking at the Executive Council itself, it is seen that there is a certain intra-council equilibrium between Merchant-Lawyer representation in two periods of time. Table 5:16 shows this relationship. There is only a slight shift which produces a lawyer majority representation during the second period. The hypothesis, that "there was no significant change between Merchant and Lawyer representation in two periods in time", was tested and the findings suggest that the hypothesis be retained.<sup>21</sup> Lawyers in government were as much a part of the old fishing economy governments as in the new economy governments later in the century. Impressionistic evidence suggests that Lawyers were able to play a much more flexible and influential role during the second period, however.

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<sup>20</sup> $\chi^2 = 2.289$ . With a 2 d.f.,  $\chi^2$  is significant only at the 50% level.

<sup>21</sup> $\chi^2 = 1.012$ . With 1 d.f.,  $\chi^2$  is significant only at the 50% level and nearly significant at the 70% level.

TABLE 5:16

MERCHANT - LAWYER REPRESENTATION IN THE EXECUTIVE COUNCIL  
IN TWO PERIODS OF TIME

	<u>1855-1884</u>	<u>1885-1914</u>	<u>Total</u>
Merchants	25	24	49
Lawyers	17	25	42
	—	—	—
Total	42	49	91

Unlike a successful merchant, a lawyer's position in nineteenth century Newfoundland society was somewhat ambiguous. Some were even viewed by society with open suspicion. Tocque suggests that the attainment of a bar certificate did not necessarily ensure one's acceptance into the elite community.<sup>22</sup> In addition, a careful analysis of membership in the Law Society of Newfoundland<sup>23</sup> with emphasis on comparing those who were readily accepted by that society as against those who had passed the bar but were either black-balled or were accepted years after bar acceptance, would make an interesting study in political and professional intrigue and nineteenth century social snobbery.

Lawyers, however, were not so readily found in the Legislative Council, an appointive body, quite similar in many respects to the present day Canadian Senate. In the nineteenth century, the Legislative Council suffered from what, in political circles today, would be described as 'poor press coverage'. They had been the main target group

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<sup>22</sup>Tocque: Newfoundland, 1877, p. 86.

<sup>23</sup>Lists of Members and dates of entry since 1834 are in Rules for Law Society of Newfoundland, Robinson & Co., St. John's, 1918. Bar acceptances are in The Royal Gazette.

in the thrust for responsible government and - despite the fact that the old civil servants had been retired and the new Council members had been appointed from an approved list prepared by the responsible government party - the old image continued to haunt some popular minds. Certain journalists in town, particularly Robert J. Parsons, Sr.,<sup>24</sup> proprietor of The Patriot, carried the old pre-1855 responsible government battle well into the second half of the nineteenth century. Council members did have, however, certain tactical devices which, when they were not in agreement with a governmental party, they were not in the least inhibited in wielding into action. Appeals to the governor, amendments, revisions, independent studies, alternative legislation initiated in Council (or non-supply issues), were all labyrinthine manoeuvres open to Council. While most of its actions can be easily justified, it was not in any sense a neutral political body. Position in Council carried high honourific status. Members sat, technically, 'at the convenience of the Queen', but in reality, they were there because of patronage appointment. Often, they had been granted the position by the incumbent premier (with the governor's approval) for either past services

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<sup>24</sup>Parsons, an avid pro-responsible government Journalist, was a two-time member of the old House of Assembly and a seven-time member in the post-1855 period; from St. John's East.

rendered, or anticipatory support. Over 50% of Council members had experience in government outside of Council.

Table 5:17 shows Legislative Council members' political experience. Forty-eight percent of Legislative Council members were appointed directly from the business community and had no active experience in the other two chambers of government. Twenty-one percent of the members had also sat in the House of Assembly. An additional twenty-one percent had appeared in both the House and the Executive, while eight percent had appeared in the Executive in addition to the Legislative Council. The body was not without considerable political experience. Forty-two percent had, at one time or another, sat in the House of Assembly. Thirty percent had held portfolios in the Executive. This would suggest that it was not quite the insular, uninitiated political body that is often implied.

Table 5:18 looks at Legislative Council membership by occupation in two periods of time. The purpose, as with the other chambers, is to see if any significant changes in occupational structure took place within the Legislative during the period. In addition, comparisons can be made with the occupational structure of the Executive Council, the Chamber of government that most frequently interacted with the Legislative. As with the other chambers, Merchants dominated with professionals following behind.



TABLE 5:17

LEGISLATIVE COUNCIL MEMBERSHIP EXPERIENCE  
IN THE THREE CHAMBERS OF GOVERNMENT  
(Percent)

<u>Membership</u>	<u>(100% = 70)</u>
I. Legislative Career only	48.6% (34)
II. Legislative Career and Membership in House	21.4% (15)
III. Legislative Career and Executive Membership	8.6% (6)
IV. Membership in all three Chambers of Government	21.4% (15)

**TABLE 5:18**

<b>LEGISLATIVE COUNCIL OCCUPATIONAL MEMBERSHIP</b>		
<b>IN TWO PERIODS OF TIME</b>		
	<b>(Percent)</b>	
	<u><b>1855-1884</b></u>	<u><b>1885-1914</b></u>
<b>Merchants</b>	<b>70.0 (28)</b>	<b>58.6 (17)</b>
<b>Professionals</b>	<b>20.0 (8)</b>	<b>21.0 (7)</b>
<b>Non-manual</b>	<b>7.5 (3)</b>	<b>13.7 (4)</b>
<b>Manual</b>	<b>2.5 (1)</b>	<b>3.4 (1)</b>
	<hr/>	<hr/>
	<b>(40)</b>	<b>(29)</b>

Merchant and Professional representation accounted for 90% of representation in the first period, and 79.6% in the second. Merchant appointment declines somewhat in the latter period, but due to the character of the chamber (with members appointed for life) one cannot assume that actual merchant representation declined over time. The heavy presence of merchants in the chamber suggests several insights into the nineteenth century political system. It is important to remember that the merchants were appointed by the governor, but at the suggestion of the premier and his government party. It was important to the premiers to seek out influential patrons in the St. John's community - regardless of what party the premiers represented - and the most influential were often merchants. Merchants were more than willing to accept the honour, for with the appointment went the title 'honourable' for life, and the system operated in a direct, formal, and rather open fashion. Ideally, everyone knew who was the special patron of whom. When an influential merchant accepted an appointment from a premier, the action was immediately made public, and the merchant, by implication, put his credentials on the line; it was understood that he was willing to shoulder at least some of the responsibility for the premier's future actions. It was a patronage system that was overt and direct. It was the old system, built around the old traditional economy (1855-1880), and to understand nineteenth century

Newfoundland politics, it is essential to view that system in its proper perspective.

Table 5:19 examines the relationship of merchants and lawyers in two periods of time. The hypothesis, that "merchant and lawyer relationships were unchanging in the two periods of time" was tested and the findings suggest that the hypothesis be retained.<sup>25</sup> A visual inspection of the cells would also suggest that there was little change in representation in the two periods of time. The Lawyers - few in number - played a special function in the Legislative. They served as government legal counsel to that body. This precedent was established as early as 1855, when Premier Little moved George H. Emerson, Solicitor General, into the Legislative Council from the House, to act as liaison for that body in easing the Island along the path to responsible government.<sup>26</sup> While the lawyer usually sat indefinitely in Council, as with other Legislative members, his position often took on special political significance. As a council member who was both legal adviser to the Legislative, and at the same time, personal

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<sup>25</sup> $\chi^2 = 0.926$ . With 1 d.f.,  $\chi^2$  is significant only at the 50% level. The hypothesis was therefore retained.

<sup>26</sup>In some ways it was a remnant holdover from the representative government period (1832-1855) when the entire Executive Council - then Crown civil servants - sat in the Legislative Council.

TABLE 5:19

MERCHANT - LAWYER REPRESENTATION IN THE LEGISLATIVE COUNCIL  
IN TWO PERIODS OF TIME

	<u>1855-1884</u>	<u>1885-1914</u>	<u>Total</u>
Merchants	28	17	45
Lawyers	2	3	5
	—	—	—
Total	300	20	50

friend (or foe) of the incumbent premier, he was in a unique position of power in Newfoundland politics.

Table 5:20 looks at the occupational structure of the three chambers of government. Its purpose is to find if any significant occupational differences exist between the three chambers. It has already been shown (Table 5:15) that there was little significant occupation difference between two of the chambers, the Executive and the House of Assembly. The hypothesis, that "there was little significant difference in occupational representation between each of the three chambers" was used, and findings suggest that the null hypothesis be rejected.<sup>27</sup> A visual inspection of the cells suggests that the most easily discernible variations in occupational representation appear between the Executive and the Legislative Councils. In all three categories - merchant, professional, and other - these two Chambers show disproportionate distributions.

Table 5:21 looks at occupational differences in these two Chambers. The hypothesis was again used, that "there was little difference between the occupational representation of the Legislative and the Executive

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<sup>27</sup> $\chi^2 = 15.810$ . With 4 d.f.,  $\chi^2$  is significant at better than the 99% level. The findings indicate the hypothesis be rejected.

**TABLE 5:20**  
**OCCUPATIONAL REPRESENTATION IN THE THREE**  
**CHAMBERS OF GOVERNMENT, 1855-1914**

	<u>Merchant</u>	<u>Professional</u>	<u>Other</u>	<u>Total</u>
<b>Legislative</b>	45	15	9	69
<b>Executive</b>	29	25	15	69
<b>House</b>	100	69	72	241
	—	—	—	—
<b>Total</b>	174	109	96	379

TABLE 5:21

LEGISLATIVE AND EXECUTIVE COUNCIL OCCUPATIONAL REPRESENTATION,  
1855 - 1914

	<u>Merchant</u>	<u>Professional</u>	<u>Other</u>	<u>Total</u>
Legislative	45	15	9	69
Executive	29	25	15	69
	—	—	—	—
Total	74	40	24	138



Councils", and the findings suggest the null hypothesis be rejected.<sup>28</sup> Differences in the professional representation are even more striking than the table suggests. In the Legislative Council, ten (66.7%) of the professional members were outside the legal profession.<sup>29</sup> In the Executive, on the other hand, twenty (80%) of the professionals are members of this elite and insular legal community. If there was any significant occupational (class) conflict that occurred in Newfoundland politics in the nineteenth century, the tables suggest that it might have occurred between these two occupational groups; Lawyers and Merchants. This does not mean that lawyers were on one political side, merchants on another. It does mean, however, that the legal profession, with the advent of the new economy and its implied emphasis on beneficent governmental growth, had more to gain, immediately at least, by actively participating in the process of public validation of this new system. In Law, there are as many self-satisfying rewards to be gained from opposing something as there are in advocating it. It made little difference on which side the lawyers stood; any

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<sup>28</sup> $\chi^2 = 7.960$ . With 2 d.f.,  $\chi^2$  was found to be statistically significant at the 98% level. The hypothesis, therefore, was rejected.

<sup>29</sup>The ten were: Doctors (5); Teachers (2); Journalists (3).

position put them immediately at the centre of political action. Whatever broader class conflict implications might have arisen from this confrontation, the immediate struggle was one between two urban elites and it focused on the competitive interaction between the two elite chambers of government, the Executive and the Legislative Councils, each a special sort of appointive chamber. It was the battle of the old and new economies conducted at the most politically sophisticated level. The Lawyers were an important element in shaping the concepts of the two rival economic ideologies and giving them a broader social validity. Through ideological polarization, each side was able to see its own position more clearly. Out of this polarization process came a great feeling of group solidarity, but at the same time very little effective interacting dialogue. Both polarized ideological positions were, each in their own way, convenient and fanciful flights from the political realities that faced Newfoundland society at the end of the nineteenth century.

Tables 5:22 through 5:24 look at the concepts of religion and class and how these concepts might be reflected in the occupational representation of the three major denominational groups in the three chambers of government. The three major denominational groups produced their own independent elite structures with elite headquarters in St. John's. Not many years after the

confederation election of 1869, the urban denominational lay-elite fell into somewhat open political competition with each other. The election of 1874 served notice to the Island that the Methodist urban elite of St. John's was a viable political entity to be reckoned with in its own right in the future. The Bennett government - essentially a harmonious coalition of Irish and Devon-born fish merchants who had successfully fought the confederation issue - was brought down to defeat through the realignment of a few members of the elite Methodist community with Frederick B.T. Carter, an Anglican.<sup>30</sup> Newfoundland had to face the added burden of a tripartite denominational political system after that time. The tables, then, look at the occupational membership structure of these three important denominations.

Table 5:22 examines the Legislative Council. Any difference in totals which arises (e.g.: 14 professionals instead of 15 as shown in Table 5:21) is due to the fact that 'other' denominations have been eliminated from the table. The hypothesis, that "occupations were evenly distributed among the three major denominations in the Legislative Council", was tested and the findings indicate

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<sup>30</sup>The principals involved were: Charles Duder, Charles Ayre and his brother-in-law, John Steer. Both Ayre and Steer entered the House in support of Carter at that time.

TABLE 5:22

OCCUPATIONAL REPRESENTATION BY DENOMINATION IN THE LEGISLATURE

<u>Legislative</u>	<u>Merchants</u>	<u>Professionals</u>	<u>Other</u>	<u>Total</u>
Anglican	19	7	2	28
Catholic	11	6	5	22
Methodist	7	1	2	10
	—	—	—	—
Total	37	14	9	60

the hypothesis should be retained.<sup>31</sup> In the elite Legislative chamber, disparities of occupation among the three denominations are shown to be statistically insignificant.

Table 5:23 examines the Executive Council. The Methodists - the smallest of the major denominational groups in the Executive (17) - show the largest number of merchants (10). As in the Legislative Council table, Methodist professional representation is limited in relation to the other two denominations. Anglican membership seems the most balanced in occupational distribution. Professional representation is highest among Catholic membership followed by its merchants. Both Catholic and Anglican membership lean toward professional emphasis in the Executive. Methodism, on the other hand, stresses merchant representation. The hypothesis, that "occupations were evenly distributed among the three major denominations in the Executive Council", was tested, and the findings suggest that the hypothesis be retained.<sup>32</sup>

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<sup>31</sup> $\chi^2 = 3.845$ . With 4 d.f.,  $\chi^2$  is significant at only the 50% level. The findings suggest the hypothesis be retained.

<sup>32</sup> $\chi^2 = 6.978$ . With 4 d.f.,  $\chi^2$  is significant at the 80% level. The hypothesis was therefore retained.

TABLE 5:23

OCCUPATIONAL REPRESENTATION BY DENOMINATION IN THE EXECUTIVE

<u>Executive</u>	<u>Merchants</u>	<u>Professionals</u>	<u>Other</u>	<u>Total</u>
Anglican	6	8	6	20
Catholic	9	13	3	25
Methodist	10	3	4	17
	—	—	—	—
Total	25	24	13	62

In the selective Executive Chamber, occupational disparities among the three major competing denominational groups would seem to be statistically insignificant.

Table 5:24 examines the House of Assembly. Anglican and Catholic occupational representation closely approximate each other in the House during the period. The test hypothesis, that "there was occupational balance among the three major denominational groups in the House of Assembly", was used and the findings indicate the hypothesis should be rejected.<sup>33</sup> Methodist representation in both the merchant and 'Other' categories are almost identical with Anglican and Catholic totals in those same categories. A noticeable disparity is evident in the professional category, however. An Anglican breakdown of its professional category is as follows: Lawyers (20); Journalists (3); Teachers (1); and Doctors (2). The Catholic distribution is quite similar: Lawyers (21); Journalists (1); Teachers (4); and Druggists (1). The Methodists, on the other hand, show only four Lawyers and four Journalists. Since the House of Assembly served as a processing center for the selection of members to serve in important Executive posts in government, the

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<sup>33</sup> $\chi^2 = 16.769$ . With 4 d.f.,  $\chi^2$  is significant at the 99% level. A visual inspection of the cells shows an obvious deficiency in Methodist professional representation.

TABLE 5:24

OCCUPATIONAL REPRESENTATION BY DENOMINATION IN THE HOUSE

<u>House of Assembly</u>	<u>Merchant</u>	<u>Professional</u>	<u>Other</u>	<u>Total</u>
Anglican	30	26	22	78
Catholic	31	27	28	86
Methodist	28	8	20	56
	—	—	—	—
Total	89	61	70	220



Methodists were in obvious difficulty in competing for portfolios which called for legal or possibly professional backgrounds. It is also interesting to note that Methodist representation on the Legislative Council was quite limited with regard to Anglican-Catholic representation. The access of Catholic merchant representation on that elite body had been one of the issues of the responsible government reform struggle,<sup>34</sup> at least as far as the Catholic elite community was concerned, and the Methodist elite, as a whole, did not start consciously trying to enter that Chamber until a later date. In the Executive Council, Methodist representation was somewhat below Anglican and Catholic membership (5:23), though much closer to approximate tri-denominational balance and again, only deficient in the professional category. In the House of Assembly, however (a Chamber less subject to manipulative adjustment), Methodist overall representation stood at 23.6% for the 1855-1914 period, somewhat below the hypothetical one-third balance allotted to denominations. In addition, Methodist representation was equal to Anglican-Catholic representation in two occupational categories; Merchant and 'Other'. Its deficiency in the Professional category was not compensated

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<sup>34</sup>In 1854, there was only Lawrence O'Brien, a Catholic merchant on the Legislative. In the first responsible government Legislative Council, there were suddenly five Catholics out of eleven members.

for in a larger showing in either the Merchant or 'Other' categories. This might suggest - and it is only an hypothesis - that there might have been both a form of inter and intra-denominational occupational competition in Newfoundland politics in the nineteenth century. Groups vied intra-denominationally for political recognition; i.e., merchants versus professionals versus others, while at the same time, the same three categories were strategically shuffled to produce inter-denominational victories. If a denomination showed a deficiency in any of the three occupational categories, i.e., the Methodists and the professionals, this remained a political deficiency and could not readily be compensated for by substituting candidates with other occupational qualifications.

More importantly, this professional deficiency within the Methodist denomination might not only have impaired their political prospective in a time of great change and crisis, but in addition, once the disaffection took place between the urban Methodist elite - predominately merchant - and the rural Methodist communities, the rural communities had literally, to turn within themselves. They had no appreciable socially flexible professional elite as did the Anglicans and the Catholics - who could offer viable leadership through political transition and adjustment. There was probably no other group of the Island as large in

number who were hit as hard by the impact of changes in the economy as the Methodists. Compounding all of their other problems was the problem of occupational imbalance within their own political community. It was a problem for which, strategically, they were to pay a heavy political price.

Finally, there is the question of social mobility among the nineteenth century political elite. It has already been suggested that if occupation is as important a social variable as most people claim, then the occupational imbalance between merchant and professional in the Executive and Legislative Councils undoubtedly contributed to much of the political antagonism that existed between those two Chambers. The Legislative Council, until the early twentieth century, generally showed a consensus sympathy for the old economy while the executive, except for short periods of time, was generally in the service of the new. There is a strong inclination in Newfoundland historiography always to equate the members of the Legislative Council with the old Island establishment. Prowse, himself, gave this popularly held myth documentary validity. The 'old establishment' is never defined or analyzed, it is simply implied that a certain group of people or members of certain families (it is never spelled out just who these families were) controlled, in a sinister, monolithic fashion, all facets of the social, economic and political processes of

the Island. Once more, after Prowse's time, the view has become axiomatic in Newfoundland historiography. Every historical researcher since has accepted this view out of unquestioned deference to Prowse.

It is not so much a critical assessment of Prowse which is important here, but rather an assessment of the myth, itself. If the myth is true, that old families dominated the Island throughout the nineteenth century and politics was a struggle between the old political families on the one hand and the people's representatives on the other, this dichotomy should make itself evident in any analysis of the occupational backgrounds of the fathers of Legislative and Executive Council members, since the Councils were the focal point of major political confrontation. It is reasonable to suggest, in keeping with implications of the myth, that Executive Council members would probably show more evidence of social mobility, i.e., higher status occupations than their fathers, than the members of the Legislative Council, who as members of prominent standing in the community, would more than likely tend to be merchant-sons of merchants. Naturally, allowance should be made for some social mobility in this group too, but on the whole, there should be solid evidence of occupational continuity in the Legislative Council.

Table 5:25 looks at the Executive Council. Nearly half of the Executive Council members during the period were sons of merchants (47.9%). While a like number of Executive Councillors continued as merchants themselves (41.2%), there is a markedly sharp increase in the number of sons who turned to the professions. Professional representation on Council is nearly five times as great among the Council member sons (37.7%) as found among their fathers (8.3%). While there is a slight increase in the percentage of those holding managerial occupations on Council, the lesser status occupations of the fathers all show a decline among their sons on Council. Of the two important occupational categories given special attention in this chapter (merchant and professional), 56.2% of the fathers were found in these two categories. Of their Council member sons, however, nearly eighty percent (78.9%) were among these two important categories, showing a newly added emphasis on the professional. Of the twenty-five professionals found on Council during the period, eighty percent (20) were lawyers. It would be wrong to conclude that Executive Council politics was the special preserve of the legal community - since only thirty percent of Councillors over the period were lawyers and in addition, historically, the lawyers had little real political power in the days of the old fishing economy (1855-1880).

TABLE 5:25

OCCUPATIONS OF EXECUTIVE COUNCILLORS AND THEIR FATHERS,  
1855 - 1914  
(Percent)

	<u>Fathers</u>	<u>Executive Councillors (Sons)</u>
Merchants	47.9 (23)	41.2 (28)
Professionals	8.3 (4)	37.7 (25)
Managerial	4.2 (2)	8.8 (6)
Civil Servants and Clerks	10.4 (5)	5.9 (4)
Planters and Captains	20.8 (10)	5.9 (4)
Trades	8.3 (4)	1.5 (1)
	<hr/>	<hr/>
	(48)	(68)
M.D.	(21)*	(1)

\* Of the twenty-one missing, 11 were obscure U.K. backgrounds; 5, B.N.A.; 2, local; and 4, unknown. All data strongly suggest the majority were humble backgrounds, hence would make mobility contrast even more striking.

Nevertheless, there is strong impressionistic evidence that they more than made up for lost time in the latter period. While they could not be expected to resolve the problems that faced the Island with any more skill or adroitness than members of other occupational groups on the Council, they nonetheless, were quite capable on occasions of lending to those problems a new pedantic complexity and confusion.<sup>35</sup> Some of these lawyers became the Island's first modern Technocrats of the new age.

In one short generation, many of the Council members had stepped out of the world their fathers had known into the new professional ranks. In testing for evidence of this mobility, the hypothesis that "members' occupations were more or less similar with those of their fathers", was used and the results suggest that the null hypothesis be rejected.<sup>36</sup> In looking at the cells in Table 5:25, it is even more evident that social mobility marked the careers

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<sup>35</sup>For example, the railway contracts were rewritten something like five times in fifteen years. While there were justifiable reasons for this - most of them highly political - aside from the high costs of hiring attorneys, court costs, consultants, and fees, was the general public atmosphere of distrust that developed.

<sup>36</sup> $\chi^2 = 13.653$ . With 2 d.f.,  $\chi^2$  is significant at the 99% level, and nearly significant at the 99.999%. The hypothesis was, therefore, rejected.

TABLE 5:25 (Continued)

<u>Executive</u>	<u>Merchants</u>	<u>Professionals</u>	<u>Other</u>	<u>Total</u>
Members	28	25	15	68
Members' Fathers	23	4	21	48
	—	—	—	—
	51	29	36	116



of the member sons. There is (in the 'Other' category) a noticeable shift away from the less status-rewarding careers of their fathers. This group - the Executive Councillors - fit comfortably into one-half of the mythological 'People versus the Merchants' theory. The table does suggest that they were highly mobile, and while they showed a slight disinclination to share actively in participating within the ranks of the 'people's occupations', i.e., tradesmen, planters, and clerks, many of them nonetheless, might well have felt they were the true representatives of those people-occupation interests. At this point, the myth looks sound.

Table 5:26 turns to the Legislative Council. To confirm the myth, the Legislative Council should show signs of being devoid of the blessings of professional enlightenment, while at the same time, exhibiting counter signs of solid merchant domination. In addition, there should be a continuity of like occupational status between Council member son and father, the oppressive tendencies of one generation, by implication, being automatically passed on the next.

In comparing occupational membership differences in the two Councils, it has already been suggested (Table 5:21) that viable differences did exist; and chiefly in the area merchant-professional representation. In this respect, the data presented is well in keeping with the implications of

TABLE 5:26

OCCUPATIONS OF LEGISLATIVE COUNCILLORS AND THEIR FATHERS,  
1855 - 1914  
(Percent)

	<u>Fathers</u>	<u>Legislative Councillors (Sons)</u>
Merchants	50.1 (21)	65.1 (45)
Professionals	11.9 (5)	21.6 (15)
Industrialists	- (0)	2.9 (2)
Managerial	- (0)	2.9 (2)
Civil Servants and Clerks	14.3 (6)	- (0)
Planters and Captains	19.1 (8)	4.3 (3)
Trades	4.8 (2)	2.9 (2)
	—	—
	(42)	(69)
M.D.	(27)*	(0)

\* Of the twenty-seven, 19 had non-Island obscure U.K. backgrounds; 3, B.N.A.; 2, local; and 3, unknown. Existing data suggest that the majority were from low-status, not high-status occupations.

TABLE 5:26 (Continued)

<u>Legislative</u>	<u>Merchants</u>	<u>Professionals</u>	<u>Other</u>	<u>Total</u>
Members	45	15	9	69
Fathers of Members	21	5	16	42
	—	—	—	—
Total	66	20	25	111

the myth. There is, however, some movement toward professional representation in the Legislative Council - the shift is toward Doctors and teachers rather than lawyers - and in addition, two industrialists (one, a former tradesman; the other, a former clerk) and two self-employed tradesmen are represented. Sixty-five percent of overall Legislative Council membership were merchants as compared with forty-one percent in the Executive. Of the total number of merchants found in both Chambers (73), 62% of these were found in the Legislative, not necessarily an unusually high percentage. Three out of five merchants in the two Chambers were in the Legislative. Of the two most active occupational categories (merchant and professional), 86.7% of Legislative membership came from that group, in contrast with a near 78.9% in the Executive Council. The percentages are close enough to suggest an elite continuity in both Chambers, with merchant representation being emphasized in the former, and professional (law) representation emphasized in the latter. The myth - while in need of some modifications and revisions - is still more or less structurally sound at this point.

The myth runs into difficulty, however, when one turns to view the occupations of the fathers of members of both Councils. The occupational backgrounds of the fathers of the members of the two Chambers are almost identical.

Forty-eight percent of Executive membership fathers were merchants (23); fifty percent (21) of Legislative fathers were from the same occupational category. Eight percent (4) of Executive fathers were professionals; twelve percent (5) of Legislative fathers were from that group. Clerks and civil servants were comparable - Executive fathers, 5; Legislative, 6 - and the same is true of Captains and Planters - 20.8% (10) in the Executive; 19.1% (8) in the Legislature. There were tradesmen among the fathers of both Council Chambers; four in the Executive and two in the Legislative. There was no obvious class disparity between the fathers of Legislative Councillors (appointed by the Crown, but in reality selected by the politicians in power) and the Executive Council (the elected representatives of the people, but in reality a specially selected elite among a wider political elite). The elected representatives in the Executive and the appointed members of the Legislative Council came from families of similar occupational backgrounds.

In looking at social mobility among members of the Legislative, the hypothesis, that "members of the Legislative Council had similar occupational careers to those of their fathers", was used and the findings indicate

that the null hypothesis be rejected.<sup>37</sup> The findings suggest that social mobility was just as much in evidence as a social characteristic among Legislative Councillors as it was among Executive Councillors. The implications which arise from this are two-fold; first, the elite Legislative Council was not generally made up of an old, long time 'fishocracy', as is implied in the myth, but was made up of men who, whatever their economic and social attainments in nineteenth century Newfoundland society, often arrived at that station in one short generational leap. Nineteenth century Newfoundland was not an 'old society' - Prowse and Pinsent notwithstanding - but a 'new society' in every sense of the term.<sup>38</sup> The clash between the Executive and the Legislative was not altogether a clash between a long established old guard and a new progressively oriented people-conscious elite, but more accurately, a clash between two rival and competing contemporary elites. The former were a group of recently ensconced merchants who happened to be engaged in an 'old trade' (they or their families

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<sup>37</sup> $\chi^2 = 9.813$ . With 2 d.f. (from Table 5:26),  $\chi^2$  is significant at the 99% level. The null hypothesis was therefore rejected.

<sup>38</sup>The implications of Newfoundland as a nineteenth century 'new society' will be dealt with more in Chapter VI, dealing with Kinship and Marriage.

were not necessarily long time participants in that trade) and a latter group, also recent arrivals to elite status who for public and private reasons, were out to destroy the hegemony of that old trade. The battle was a very contemporary one. It all took place between participants linked within one time period. What helps to confuse the issue is that while one group appealed rather ineffectually to tradition for social validation, the other appealed to some sort of romantic, futuristic social redemption for their public validation. The resulting impression from the literature of the times is that these people were somehow from two different centuries, fighting a political battle across vast spaces in time. This simply was not the case. Both groups were well rooted in the nineteenth century. Both were products of fast changing social mobility patterns; the one, out to hold on to what they had recently attained; the other, out to bend the economy of the Island in the direction that suited their interests. The myth - the product of late nineteenth century new economy political propaganda - is on shaky ground when viewed in this light. There are strong indications that it would not stand up on a more thorough and critical assessment. The fact that it persists is, in itself, no attestation to its validity.

### Conclusion

In tying together certain suggestions made in this chapter, it might be well to mention first the three models presented earlier in relation to the myth discussed above. The old economy model sustained itself (outside St. John's and parts of the Avalon Peninsula) through most of the period. The new critical model of the old economy was primarily a conceptual political weapon of the spokesmen for the new economy and should be critically evaluated in that light in any reassessment of the politics of the late nineteenth century. It has formed the basis for a political myth which in some forms still persists today; namely, that in nineteenth century Newfoundland society it was the fishermen (the group spokesmen of the new economy were trying to woo away from the dories, directing them instead into the mines and forests) who were hopelessly entrapped in the clutches of a small group of men who were the descendents of families who in turn had exploited the fishermen for centuries. The Labouring class and middle class of St. John's - those disposed toward the new economy - could see this quite clearly, even if the fishermen did not. The fishermen continued to defend the old economy to the last, and some, through the F.P.U., took matters into their own hands in a unique and radical defense of that old economy. But whoever exploited whom, the political proponents



of the old and new economies were men of much the same stamp and background. They were both factions of a rising nineteenth century middle class elite in the process of rapid ascent (5:25, 5:26). This seriously questions any sociological theories about verticle class conflict (at least in Newfoundland's case) which might be used as simplistic explanations of the late nineteenth century class struggle in Newfoundland society. The Newfoundland struggle was an intra-middle class struggle from the beginning; the middle class old economy elite, versus the middle class new economy elite. What made the myth particularly appealing as a point of orientation to the latter faction was that it put them in the position of beneficent by-standers. According to the myth, it was some ill-defined group of fishery aristocrats who were the perpetrators of all social injustices (the fish aristocrats were of course, in reality, simply their middle class counterparts). The victims of these injustices were the fishermen - a group that the new economy elite suddenly took notice of once the railway was sure to be a reality. This group then proceeded to enthrone themselves politically as defenders of the lower classes (the fishermen) in the latter's unsuccessful struggle against the upper classes (the fish merchants). As a result, while the urban labouring classes applauded this public stand, the outport fishermen went

right on fishing. The outcome of this classic class struggle culminated in the foundation of the People's Party - for the most part, at the high level, a coalition of former middle class elite adversaries (the former 'Aristocrats' and the 'Champions of the people' joined hands). It was only then that the Northern fishermen found themselves in a desperate position. They had no way to fight back except through a revisionary view of their own class image. And within the F.P.U., there were many who were organizing themselves for an imminent intra-labouring class political confrontation with the urban labour force supporters of the newly entrenched People's Party. The main struggle, however, was in the beginning essentially between one middle class faction and another. The myth offered a fanciful romantic flight from the realities of that struggle.

In looking at the potentially eligible electorate - those having occupations which corresponded to occupations of actual House members - this group was small in all rural districts throughout the period. It rarely reached thirty percent of the rural male population, and in reality, was probably much smaller than that figure since rural mechanics and shopworkers were included. St. John's, on the other hand, had a politically eligible occupational class of better than 60% by 1911. This would give St. John's an added advantage as a depot for Island candidacy selection.

The presence of a large urban mechanics force in St. John's almost ensured that potential urban problems of employment and poor relief would get priority treatment in the House. The legal community - almost exclusively centered in St. John's - almost guaranteed preferential St. John's consideration on important matters relating to the Island.

The society was not directly under the political domination by merchants as is sometimes suggested. Merchant representation by district in the elected House of Assembly usually ran around 40% of total occupational membership for those districts. Burin (5:9); and several Conception Bay districts ran somewhat higher, with Carbonear merchant representation the highest on the Island (5:7), although this representation was local. St. John's occupational patterns of representation were quite similar to the rural districts of the Island (5:8).

In looking at House representation in two periods of time, there is a slight shift away from merchant representation in the latter period, but that shift was shown to be statistically insignificant (5:13). The Executive and Legislative Councils both show similar patterns, yet shifts are again shown to be insignificant (5:15, 5:18). Despite all of the political difficulties that beset the Island during the 1885-1914, there is little noticeable change in the internal occupational structures of each of the three

Chambers of government. There is a significant difference in inter-Chamber occupational structures, however, particularly between the Executive Council and the Legislative Council (5:21); with a professional emphasis in the former and a merchant emphasis in the latter.

The three major denominations seem occupationally balanced in the Executive and Legislative Chambers, but there is a decided imbalance in Methodist professional representation in the House of Assembly. It has been suggested earlier that this professional deficiency might have restricted Methodist outlook or even possibly altered Methodist political strategy. This assumption is merely an hypothesis, however. The findings do suggest that the Methodists would make an interesting political study, being a major denominational force with a unique class (occupational) structure.

Both the Executive and Legislative Councils were subject to obvious upward social mobility (if one views occupational upgrading as evidence of social mobility).<sup>39</sup>

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<sup>39</sup>The shortcomings of a vertical occupational mobility scale are obvious when one looks at nineteenth century Newfoundland society. About 70% of the male population had no chance of going anywhere. Many of them did not expect to go anywhere so it did not matter whether there was a social mobility scale or not. When one talks about nineteenth century social mobility, it is important to remember that this modern concept only applied to possibly 30% of the male population, maybe less. Of this 30%, probably two-thirds could move very little - learn a wage trade, become a schooner-holder (one of the few options open to fishermen), mechanic, shop worker and

Members of both Councils came from similar backgrounds (5:25; 5:26) and the political competitiveness and tensions which arose between the two might, in part, be explained by obvious occupational differences between them, which could in turn have affected their views of the essential political issues in the late nineteenth century, principally the clash between the old and new economies.

And finally, while merchants and professionals dominated membership in all three chambers of government during the nineteenth century nearly a third of representation was made up of members in 'other' occupational categories. Many of these categories were obviously related to the fish trade, including captains, store managers, clerks, and planters. Below them, of course, were the bulk of the Island's male population, the fishermen. The difficulties the new economy faced in effecting an Island-wide economic transition were formidable. While the new economy politicians might be able to show-case certain key defectors from the old

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so on. Of the remaining one-third, probably half were literate clerks and the like, with opportunities to move into chief clerk positions of some status. The rest were professionals, small merchants, shop keepers, and low ranking civil servants. It was this group and their sons who stood to benefit in the fast changing society of late nineteenth century. This was the mobile class; some five to ten percent of the population. They were highly mobile, but their mobility depended on a great many factors, like periodic migration and the implication that many of those who stayed be resigned to the fact that the society was run for the 10%, the socially mobile.

economy for political purposes,<sup>40</sup> it in no way assured them that they had made any political penetration of the occupational structure of the old economy itself. For a society is, in reality, not merely broad horizontal bands of occupational categories as is suggested in governmental censuses, but small tightly knit social and economic units. These small, self-contained modules function in semi-independency of each other, often with a total indifference to the economic activities of other units. Social organization is composed of these small corporate units. The fishery was no exception. To exhibit a Captain or two as political prizes-- as did the spokesmen of the new economy - with hope that they serve as models in a titillating process of mass defection from the old economy - was not to see their own society clearly. The defection of a Captain merely meant that someone else within his small functioning modular unit would step in and take his place. Moving a functioning occupationally-biased society from one economic direction to another was a formidable task. Monolithic Utopian pronouncements were one thing; social realities were another.

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<sup>40</sup>Two key status lending popular defectors to the new economy were Captains Phillip Cleary and Samuel Blandford. Both were Steamer Captains, both fit the popular folk-hero model. Whiteway, new spokesman leader, in a public display of gratitude, took both men's sons into his law office as solicitor trainees, an unprecedented honour for Captains' sons at that time.

## CHAPTER VI

KINSHIP AND MARRIAGE AND RECRUITMENT  
INTO NEWFOUNDLAND POLITICS

The family played an important part in the nineteenth century fishing economy. The fisherman and his family assisted each other in the catching and curing of fish. At the other end of the scale, the merchant and his family (more usually the male members) assisted the family head in the supplying, buying, and selling of cured fish. One of the characteristics of fishing economy was its co-operative family structure. The merchant supplied fishermen's families with staples; barrels of flour, salt beef, and molasses, and the fisherman, in turn, delivered to the merchant his cured catch, usually the end product of joint family effort.

Each family generated its own hierarchical structure. The ability to extend family power into the local community depended on many variables. Not the least important were where one lived, and what place (occupation) one held in the local economy, for a fishermen's life in an outport community left him few chances to exercise any power options even at the local community level. While the economy made exacting demands on him as one member of a

larger labour force, local community organization insured that he comply with those demands in a fashion generally acceptable to the community consensus. Since a fishing village was composed of a number of family units, each performing, in a somewhat insular fashion, specific arduous tasks in a trade which excluded any forms of deviate economic behavior, the fisherman was therefore deprived of the possibility of developing any local political power. He has been romantically described, even in the Amulree Report of 1933, as having been highly individualistic, a euphemism that conveniently clouded political realities. For if power is more than the simple arbitrary assertion of one's will over other family members, and more a general sense of ability to control one's own life chances, then the fisherman neither had power nor individuality in a meaningful political sense.

By contrast, urban elite families were able to take advantage of the acceptable alternative forms of economic behavior offered by the urban environment. The urban elite family was not an insular and inflexible unit of power as is sometimes presented in Newfoundland historiography. The self-generating and re-enforcing strength of the urban elite family was its facility in diffusing its members into various occupations throughout an economically diverse urban society. In some merchant families, members found



positions in civil service, the professions, and even other business firms, giving the family as a whole a broad view of community trends and activities. When these families were, in addition, linked to other families through bonds of friendship and marriage, they presented a formidable urban power structure. Within these elite multi-family power structures, the individual member could pursue his own self-interests through a variety of acceptable opportunities, any of which was usually compatible with the general projected community image of the family as a whole. In addition, through friendships and marriage, the individual, as family representative, could draw his family into a wide collective community of families, often (though not always) denominationally predisposed to each other, and who in turn shared the same general community interests. Quite naturally, a substantial share of the Island's formal political activity flowed from this elite multi-family system.

This chapter deals with family participation in politics. Tables 6:1 through 6:3 present intra-family appearances in each of the three Chambers during the period under study. The relationships are restricted to four; father-son, uncle-nephew, brother-brother, and 'other'.<sup>1</sup> Each table is complete within itself; only

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<sup>1</sup>The category 'other' is limited to first cousins and half-brothers.

fathers and sons, for example, appearing in the same chamber are presented. A father appearing in the Legislative Council only, and his son appearing in the House only, are excluded from both the Legislative and House tables.

Table 6:1 examines the Legislative Council. Nearly forty-two percent of all Legislative Councillors were closely related. Most frequently recurring relationships were those of father and son. For despite a period of economic and social change (1880-1914), the table suggests that the Legislative Council, nevertheless, continued to stress continuity by direct inter-generational commitment.

Table 6:1

INTRA-FAMILY RELATIONSHIPS IN THE LEGISLATIVE  
COUNCIL DURING 1855-1914  
(percent)

<u>Relationship</u>	<u>Legislative Council</u> (70 = 100%)
1. Father-son	29.0 (20)
2. Uncle-nephew	5.7 ( 4)
3. Brother-brother	5.7 ( 4)
4. Other	1.4 ( 1)
	<hr/>
Total	41.8 (29)
	<hr/>

Son always followed father; never did the two appear in the Chamber at the same time.<sup>2</sup>

Table 6:2 examines the Executive Council. An even higher percentage of Executive Councillors than Legislative members were closely related. Since the Executive was the active policy-making Chamber of government, and as will be argued below, one would expect to find more intra-generational (brother-brother) participation than in the Legislative. Nearly one-half (14) of those closely related in the Executive were brothers. Again, brothers did not appear in the Executive at the same time, though it was quite common to find an Executive Councillor with a brother in the House of Assembly, both having been elected in the same general election. Younger brothers usually supported the positions held by their older brothers and were often willing to move politically with their brothers should the latter change political positions.<sup>3</sup> The strength of any

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<sup>2</sup>There were cases of Councillors having close relatives in other Chambers at the same time, however. Robert Kent (MLC) and John Kent (MHA); Samuel Blandford (MLC) and D.S. Blandford (MHA) are just two examples.

<sup>3</sup>Open political differences between brothers, when they occasionally took place, were rarely carried into the Chambers of government. Francis Winton, for instance (MHA 1869; 1878; 1882), initially a pro-Bennett anti-confederate, found his brother, Henry Winton, Jr., proprietor of the Public Ledger, bitterly opposed to his stand. While the latter carried on his anti-brother campaign through his newspaper, he did not, himself, try to publicly oppose his brother as a candidate.

TABLE 6:2

INTRA-FAMILY RELATIONSHIPS IN THE EXECUTIVE COUNCIL  
DURING 1888-1914  
(Percent)

<u>Relationship</u>	<u>Executive Council</u>
	(69 = 100%)
1. Father-Son	14.5 (10)
2. Uncle-Nephew	8.8 (6)
3. Brother-Brother	20.5 (14)
4. Other	1.5 (1)
	<hr/>
Total	45.0 (31)

government (Executive) depended on immediate unwavering support from a majority of House members. The use of brothers in nineteenth century Newfoundland politics was one method of reinforcing that strategy.

Table 6:3 examines the House of Assembly. Twenty-six percent (66) of the total members who appeared in the House of Assembly during the period were closely related. Twenty-eight were father-son relationships and with one exception,<sup>4</sup> none appeared in the House at the same time. Next to father and son, intra-generational participation among brothers was most common in the House. Of the twenty members of the House who were brothers, fourteen (70%) found their way onto the important Executive Council, indicating to some extent, the important strategic significance placed on these brother relationships in nineteenth century Newfoundland politics. In contrast, only ten (36%) of the twenty-eight father-son relationships generated in the House finally moved into the policy making Executive.

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<sup>4</sup>The exception was Robert J. Parsons, Sr., nine-time member of the House, and proprietor of The Patriot, a strongly pro-responsible government newspaper, and his son; Robert J. Parsons, Jr., a young lawyer, who both successfully ran as anti-confederation candidates in 1869. It was not unusual, however, as mentioned before, to find a son in the House and a father in another Chamber of government at the same period in time.

TABLE 6:3

INTRA-FAMILY RELATIONSHIPS IN THE HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY

DURING 1855-1914

(Percent)

<u>Relationship</u>	<u>House</u> (253 = 100%)
1. Father-Son	11.0 (28)
2. Uncle-Nephew	5.6 (14)
3. Brother-Brother	8.0 (20)
4. Other	1.6 (4)
	<hr/>
Total	26.2 (66)

In characterizing the three Chambers with regard to intra-family participation, the tables suggest that the Legislative tended to be a more traditionally-oriented body; sixty-nine percent (20) of close family relationships were father and son. While the Executive made use of father and son relationships found in the House, it tended to utilize brother and brother relationships to strategic advantage. It would seem the Executive was more presentist-oriented than the Legislative. Many of its politically strategic problems (often relating to political survival itself) were immediate and expedient. The use of brother intra-generational relationships could often help bolster a government's position. The tables suggest that this was sometimes the strategy. While the Legislature leaned toward an inter-generational pattern of continuity, the Executive placed stress on intra-generational relationships which, in turn, might have occasionally led to patterns of discontinuity. The House, meanwhile, remained in close interacting relationship with the Executive, with the latter making political use of the family relationship patterns of the former.

Table 6:4 examines three intra-family relationship patterns in all three Chambers during the period. The purpose of the table is to establish whether these patterns were consistent in all three Chambers. The hypothesis, that

TABLE 6:4

## INTRA-FAMILY RELATIONSHIPS IN THREE CHAMBERS: 1855-1914

	<u>Father-Son</u>	<u>Uncle-Nephew</u>	<u>Brother-Brother</u>	<u>Total</u>
Legislative	20	4	4	28
Executive	10	6	14	30
House	28	14	20	62
Total	58	24	38	120



intra-family relationships tended to follow the same patterns in all three Chambers," was tested, and the results suggest that the hypothesis should be rejected.<sup>5</sup> A visual inspection of the cells reveals infrequent brother relationships in the Legislative as compared with the Executive and the House. In addition, there is less father-son representation found in the Executive Council in relation to the other two Chambers. The table tends to substantiate the conclusions arising from Tables 6:1 through 6:3; namely, that the Legislative Council was more a traditionalist-oriented (father-son) Chamber than the Executive, which tended to stress intra-generational (brother-brother) representation. Viewed in this light, it would not be surprising to find in political studies of the period, that these two Chambers were occasionally at political odds with each other; with the former showing tendencies toward long-range traditionalist views and the latter, more active Chamber, caught up in the expedient issues of the present.

Tables 6:5 through 6:8 examine father-son occupational patterns in the three Chambers. Since a change in occupation can often influence perceptions of society, the tables are therefore important in establishing any changes in the occupational status of father and son.

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<sup>5</sup>  $\chi^2=10.084$ . With 4 d. f.,  $\chi^2$  is significant at the 95% level, and nearly significant at the 98% level. The findings suggest that the patterns were significantly different.

Table 6:5 examines the Legislative Council. With regard to the cells, the table suggests a strong pattern

TABLE 6:5

## FATHER-SON OCCUPATIONAL PATTERNS IN LEGISLATIVE

	<u>Merchant</u>	<u>Professional</u>	<u>Other</u>	<u>Total</u>
Father	4	5	1	10
Son	5	5	-	10
Total	9	10	1	20

of occupational continuity between father and son in the Legislative Council. In fact, there are only two instances of occupational deviation. The son of the father in the 'Other' category (Steamer Captain) became a lawyer, and the son of one Council Lawyer became a merchant. In the professional category, two doctors' sons, (also doctors), and two lawyers' sons, (both lawyers), followed their fathers into the Legislative Council. The intimate inter-generational family relationship between father and son, combined with similar occupational commitments would suggest a continuity of viewpoint carried along among these family members in the Legislature.

Table 6:6 turns to the Executive Council. An examination of the cells suggests a slight shift toward a professional preference among sons of Executive Councillors.

TABLE 6:6

## FATHER-SON OCCUPATIONAL PATTERNS IN EXECUTIVE

	<u>Merchant</u>	<u>Professional</u>	<u>Other</u>	<u>Total</u>
Father	3	1	1	5
Son	2	3	-	5
Total	5	4	1	10

One merchant's son and a fishery agent-manager's son moved into the professional ranks as lawyers during the period. The shift is a slight one, however, and since the father-son population in the Executive was small, it is difficult to make any generalizations regarding occupational trends.

Table 6:7 studies the House of Assembly. The House reflects a strong occupational continuity between father and son. One merchant's son moves into the professional class

TABLE 6:7

## FATHER-SON OCCUPATIONAL PATTERNS IN HOUSE

	<u>Merchant</u>	<u>Professional</u>	<u>Other</u>	<u>Total</u>
Father	5	4	5	14
Son	4	5	5	14
Total	9	9	10	28

as a lawyer. In the professional category, two sons of

journalists, as well as two lawyers' sons, all enter the House as lawyers, showing a shift within the professional ranks toward law. Sons of fathers in the 'Other' category, (two outport fishery agents, two small outport suppliers and a bank manager), more or less follow along in their father's occupations, also establishing a continuity in occupational patterns in that category. The only noticeable change in inter-generational occupational patterns in the House is a slight shift toward a preference for law among sons of former members.

Table 6:8 examines both father and son occupational patterns in all three Chambers of government. The purpose is to determine whether the patterns are similar for each of the three Chambers. The hypothesis, "Total father and

TABLE 6:8

TOTAL FATHER AND SON OCCUPATIONAL PATTERNS  
FOR THE THREE CHAMBERS

	<u>Merchant</u>	<u>Professional</u>	<u>Other</u>	<u>Total</u>
Legislative	9	10	1	20
Executive	5	4	1	10
House	9	9	10	28
Total	23	23	12	58

son occupational patterns were similar in each of the three Chambers," was tested and the findings suggest that the hypothesis be retained.<sup>6</sup> A visual inspection of the cells, however, reveals some important aspects of father and son occupational representation in the three Chambers. Patterns in the Legislative and Executive are quite similar. Ninety-five percent of the Legislative representation is divided more or less evenly between the two important occupational categories of merchant and professional. Similarly, 90% of Executive father and son representation is divided in this manner, while in the House, father-son representation is divided more or less evenly into three occupational categories. Executive Council father-son occupational patterns followed those established in the Legislative Council. Both Chambers reveal the same father-son elitist representation patterns despite differences in origin. Executive membership was the result of selection following the election process; Legislative membership was by direct appointment. In addition, the table suggests that the Executive made more use of father-son House representation available in the two occupational categories, merchant and professional, than from the third, 'Other.' In the Executive selection process the latter category was all but ignored while 50% (9 of 18) of merchant and professional father-son

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<sup>6</sup> $\chi^2=7.732$ . With 4 d.f.,  $\chi^2$  is statistically significant at the 80% level, and nearly significant at the 90% level (7.779). The hypothesis was, therefore, retained.

representation was put to use. In looking at father-son representation in the three Chambers, it can be suggested then, that the important, active Executive Chamber tended to follow the patterns established in the Legislative Council (traditionally viewed as the elitist Chamber), and in doing so, concentrated on selection of membership from the two important occupational categories of merchant and professional, ignoring at the same time father-son House representation outside the two.

Tables 6:9 through 6:12 examine father-son occupational patterns in the three Chambers by denomination. The purpose is to discover any differences in representation patterns among the major denominations.

Table 6:9 examines the Legislative Council patterns. Anglican father-son representation prevails in the Legislative Council. A surprising number (8) are professionals, (four doctors, four lawyers), in a Chamber in which one would characteristically expect to find more father-son merchant representation. The lawyers, as already mentioned, performed a special function in Council, acting as legal advisors and solicitors. The doctors, (6),<sup>7</sup> helped lend some neutral balance to a Chamber biased toward merchant representation. While not all doctors were held in the highest public esteem,<sup>8</sup> one can safely assume that those who

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<sup>7</sup>Six, including the two in the 'Other' category, (Presbyterians).

<sup>8</sup>Tocque: Newfoundland, 1877, p. 86.

TABLE 6:9

## FATHER-SON OCCUPATIONAL PATTERNS IN LEGISLATIVE BY DENOMINATION

	<u>Anglican</u>	<u>Catholic</u>	<u>Methodist*</u>	<u>Other</u>	<u>Total</u>
Merchant	5	2	2	-	9
Professional	8	-	-	2	10
Other	-	-	1	-	1
Total	13	2	3	2	20

\*The odd number (3) in the Methodist column total results from the son of a Methodist 'Other' (Captain) becoming an Anglican Professional (lawyer) late in the period under study.

appeared on the Legislative Council fitted this category. There was no Catholic or Methodist father-son professional representation on Council. In addition, Captain Samuel Blandford, the only member of the 'Other' occupational category, did not live to see his son, Sidney D. Blandford, enter the Legislative Council as an Anglican lawyer, and Edward P. Morris appointee in 1914.

Table 6:10 examines the same patterns for the Executive Council. All father-son Executive representation appeared in the Catholic and Anglican denominations. While the cells show a slight Catholic emphasis on professional representation, the general Anglican-Catholic patterns are similar enough to have little statistical significance.

In turning to the House, in Table 6:11, a strong Catholic father-son pattern becomes more in evidence. Catholic father-son representation (12) is more or less evenly distributed among the three occupational categories. Anglican representation is professionally biased, and, again, there is no Methodist father-son professional representation in the House. In looking at the Executive in relation to the House, it is seen that both Anglican and Catholic membership in the former makes use of 50% of the father-son representation available in the House. Of the six father-son Methodist representatives in the House, none move on to the Executive Council representation.



TABLE 6:10

## FATHER-SON OCCUPATIONAL PATTERNS IN EXECUTIVE BY DENOMINATION

	<u>Anglican</u>	<u>Catholic</u>	<u>Methodist</u>	<u>Other</u>	<u>Total</u>
Merchant	3	2	-	-	5
Professional	1	3	-	-	4
Other	-	1	-	-	1
Total	4	6	0	0	10

TABLE 6:11

## FATHER-SON OCCUPATIONAL PATTERNS IN THE HOUSE BY DENOMINATION

	<u>Anglican</u>	<u>Catholic</u>	<u>Methodist</u>	<u>Other</u>	<u>Total</u>
Merchant	-	4	3	2	9
Professional	6	3	-	-	9
Other	2	5	3	-	10
Total	8	12	6	2	28

Table 6:12 examines total father and son denominational representation in each of the three Chambers. Its purpose is to discern whether there is any significant imbalance between denominational father-son representation in the three Chambers. The hypothesis, "that father-son denominational patterns were similar for each of the three Chambers," was tested, and the findings suggest rejection.<sup>9</sup> The cells indicate that there was no Methodist or 'Other' father-son representation in the Executive. In addition, the table suggests that the Executive did not make substantial use of the father-son representation available in the House. For one of the Executive Council's most important inherent characteristics was that, above all else, it was an innovative Chamber that often functioned in an atmosphere of immediate political expediency. Political self-survival was one of its primary concerns (particularly in the hectic 1880's and 1890's), and in a period of rapid social and economic change, one would expect to find less emphasis placed on traditional inter-generational commitment (the father-son relationship) and more concern with affairs of the moment. In the Legislative Council, an appointive body, one might expect, on the other hand, to find a stronger inter-generational commitment, as was the case. It is interesting,

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<sup>9</sup> $\chi^2=12.705$ . With 6 d.f.,  $\chi^2$  is significant at the 90% level, significant in this case to warrant rejection.

TABLE 6:12

TOTAL FATHER-SON DENOMINATIONAL PATTERNS  
IN THE THREE CHAMBERS

	<u>Anglican</u>	<u>Catholic</u>	<u>Methodist</u>	<u>Other</u>	<u>Total</u>
Legislative	13	2	3	2	20
Executive	4	6	-	-	10
House	8	12	6	2	28
Total	25	20	9	4	58

however, to find this commitment professionally biased - rather than merchant - as one would normally expect. The Anglican commitment was strongest in the Legislative Chamber; the Catholic commitment was strongest in the House, possibly giving some insight into how those two denominational communities might have viewed their inter-generational commitment. With regard to the House, one might find a regional or district identification underlying father-son representation. John N. Rendell, for instance, followed his father, Stephan Rendell, in representing the district of Trinity, as did Robert Watson, and his father, Ellis C. Watson, both represent Trinity as well. Robert J. Kent and his son, James M. Kent, both represented St. John's East. But whatever special significance a father-son relationship might have had for the electorate of a particular district, it was not always politically transferable to the Executive (government) level. The politics of the father in one decade and the implied commitment to that policy by his son several decades later, while it might be appreciated at a local level, was not necessarily a political asset when viewed from the dominion level. A son, whose father had been a former member of the Executive Council, had no more prerogative for membership in that body than any other member of the House with a similar class and background. Executive Council attitudes reflected an on-going consensus commitment to the policies of the present. A son, following in the political footsteps

of his father, might not necessarily be at the centre of such a consensus. Implicit in the father-son commitment in politics was that the latter carried with him the certain formal responsibility of a two generational commitment into politics, and the actions of the son were often publicly weighed and contrasted with the former actions of the father.

In looking at intra-generational family relationships found in the three Chambers during the nineteenth century, the closest, of course, was that of brother and brother. The extent of this participation varied with the character and nature of the three Chambers of government. It was almost non-existent in the Legislative Council (only two out of forty members were brothers); while the Executive Council could make much more strategic use of brother relationships. In contrast with the Legislative, two out of every ten members of the Executive Council during the period were brothers.

Tables 6:13 through 6:16 examines brother relationships in each of the three Chambers of government during the period with regard to occupations of the two participants. The purpose is to establish the occupational patterns among brothers.

Table 6:13 looks at the Legislative Council. The table indicates that the occupational patterns were the same. Brother membership, in contrast to the father-son membership discussed earlier, was quite limited. In addition, brother

TABLE 6:13

OCCUPATIONAL PATTERNS OF OLDER AND YOUNGER  
BROTHERS IN THE LEGISLATIVE

	<u>Merchant</u>	<u>Professional</u>	<u>Other</u>	<u>Total</u>
Older Brother	1	-	1	2
Younger Brother	1	-	1	2
Total	2	0	2	4

membership followed the same patterns as the latter, in that no two close family relatives appeared in Council at the same time. The Legislative Council (while a membership carried with it as many responsibilities as one cared to assume) was still an honourific body, and it was by tacit agreement among all political factions concerned (including the governor) that the honour be spread as thinly as possible across a broad section of the elite community.

Table 6:14 examines the Executive, the Chamber with the highest percentage of brother-brother participation. Seventy percent of total brother representation in the House eventually received portfolios in government. Of this total (14), 86% (12) were found in one of the two important occupational categories of merchant or professional. Generally, younger brothers did not attain the political prominence of their older brothers.<sup>10</sup> Sometimes having an older brother in politics worked to the distinct disadvantage of the younger

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<sup>10</sup>Two possible exceptions would be Chief Justice John Little, the younger brother of Phillip F. Little, first Island premier under Responsible Government, and himself a Supreme Court Justice at the age of 36. John Little's active political career (a five-time M.H.A. from Harbour Main) did not even start until after his older brother retired to Dublin in 1866 upon their father's death. The other was Edward D. Shea, who took over the management of the family newspaper after the death of his brother, William R. Shea, in 1844. He was also a three-time M.H.A. from Ferryland, Cashier of the Newfoundland Savings Bank, and long-time President of the Legislative Council. His older brother, Ambrose Shea, was one of the most active politicians in Newfoundland's nineteenth century history.



TABLE 6:14

OCCUPATIONAL PATTERNS OF OLDER AND YOUNGER  
BROTHERS IN THE EXECUTIVE

	<u>Merchant</u>	<u>Professional</u>	<u>Other</u>	<u>Total</u>
Older Brother	3	3	1	7
Younger Brother	3	3	1	7
Total	6	6	2	14

brother. Isaac R. McNeily, solicitor to the House of Assembly and younger brother of Alexander J.W. McNeily, could not get elected to the House from Burin in the heated election of 1889. A few years later, **Marmaduke Winter**, younger brother of James S. Winter, was also defeated in Burin in 1894, in part because of the latter's controversial court ruling in the corrupt election practices unsitting trials.<sup>11</sup> Both instances were examples of younger brothers trying to support older brothers who were, at the time, engaged in controversial political struggles.<sup>12</sup>

Occasionally, as one brother faced adversity, the other experienced a rare moment of opportunity. One such case is that of Sidney Woods. Constantly in the political

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<sup>11</sup>James S. Winter had been presiding Judge in a politically motivated trial which threatened to destroy the Whiteway Party. The issues centred on the improper use of Public Works funds at election time; specifically in the general election of 1893. Winter had refused to accept evidence from those charged that their opponents had also made use of similar practices. Winter's ruling rested not on the validity of distributing Public Works money to districts (which was the legal practice), but the questionable position that it had taken place too close to election time to be considered ethical.

<sup>12</sup>Neither younger brother, in this case, ever served in the House. Isaac McNeily died two years later during the diptheria epidemic of 1891. **Marmaduke Winter was** unsuccessful in all of his bids for the House. He was appointed to the Legislative Council in 1910, however, by Edward P. Morris, in one of the latter's numerous fence-mending operations.

shadow of his older brother, Henry J.B. Woods, Sidney had failed to get elected in his brother's two-member district of Bay-de Verde in the 1880's. There did not even seem to be a place for Sidney in the St. John's family firm of John Woods and Son, lumber and coal dealers. Whether by choice or economic necessity, Sidney Woods had worked only briefly in his father's firm and then spent most of his career as a bookkeeper for various other firms, including Ayre's, John Steer's, and eventually the John Munn firm of Harbour Grace. Both brothers were prominent in local Methodist affairs with the older brother, Henry, again overshadowing Sidney in Methodist activities.<sup>13</sup> In 1891, however, Sidney Woods was appointed President of the Methodist Academic and Literary Institute. He was, by this time, proprietor of his own hardware store on Water Street, St. John's. His political opportunity came suddenly, in 1893, when his brother, Henry, was unseated for corrupt election practices.<sup>14</sup> Sidney, in turn, was elected in a by-election in Bay-de-Verde in 1894, (an election which was as much a vote of confidence for the departed Henry as it was a vote for Sidney), and he even

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<sup>13</sup>Henry J.B. Woods was on the Board of Governors of the Methodist College; Secretary to the St. John's and Newfoundland Bible Society; and was Superintendent of Sunday Schools at the Cochrane Street Church since 1882.

<sup>14</sup>The unseating trials mentioned already, Bay-de-Verde district had been the test case, and Henry (along with George Moores, a Bay-de-Verde merchant) had been the first to go. Thirteen others followed from the House; most being unseated, some resigning in protest.

appeared briefly as Financial Secretary in the make-shift D.J. Greene government of the winter of 1894. While he was never elected again to the House, he did make two bids for a seat from Twillingate; once in 1908, and again in 1909, though was unsuccessful on both occasions. Being the politically ambitious younger brother of a nineteenth century politician was not always a rewarding experience.

Table 6:15 examines the occupational patterns of older and younger brothers in the House. Brother patterns were more balanced among the three occupational categories in the House than in the other Chambers. In the 'Other' category were the McGrath brothers from Placentia, who carried on a small fishery trade, two Job Brothers agents from Trinity, and a fishery establishment bookkeeper. Of all the brother representations, only E.D. and Ambrose Shea, and E.P. and F.J. Morris, appeared in the House together, each having been elected from different districts. E.P. Morris was consistently returned from St. John's West, while his brother, Frank Morris, had most of his success as a candidate from nearby Harbour Main. E.D. Shea was elected from Ferryland on three occasions, while his older brother, Ambrose Shea, represented some five different districts (but not Ferryland) in an active political career that stretched over more than thirty years.<sup>15</sup> Generally,

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<sup>15</sup>In a thirty-five year period (1855-1889), which covered ten general elections, Ambrose Shea was defeated only once; in the Confederation election of 1869.

TABLE 6:15

OCCUPATIONAL PATTERNS FOR OLDER AND YOUNGER  
BROTHERS IN THE HOUSE

	<u>Merchants</u>	<u>Professionals</u>	<u>Others</u>	<u>Total</u>
Older Brothers	4	4	2	10
Younger Brothers	4	3	3	10
Total	8	7	5	20

however, younger brothers ran from the same districts as their older brothers; usually at some later point in time. Seventy percent (14) of the brother representation in the House followed this pattern. It should be remembered that intra-family brother participation never happened by mere chance. Successful brother representation was always the outgrowth of many factors, all of which were rooted in the political strategies and realities of their times, with each case reflecting its own unique set of circumstances. But as the example of Sidney Woods points out, entrance into politics for the younger brother of an Island politician could be a frustrating and difficult experience.

Table 6:16 examines the combined occupational patterns of younger and older brothers in each of the three Chambers. Its purpose is to establish whether the occupational patterns were similar in each of the three Chambers of government. Since the occupational patterns of brothers were surprisingly similar in each of the three Chambers, little or no distortion arises in using the combined Chamber totals. The hypothesis, "that the occupational patterns of older and younger brothers were similar in each of the three Chambers," was tested, and the findings indicate that the hypothesis should be retained.<sup>16</sup>

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<sup>16</sup> $\chi^2=3.399$ .  $\chi^2$  (with 4 d.f.) is significant at only the 50% level (3.357). The hypothesis, therefore, was retained.

TABLE 6:16

COMBINED OCCUPATIONAL PATTERNS OF OLDER AND  
YOUNGER BROTHERS IN THE THREE CHAMBERS

	<u>Merchant</u>	<u>Professional</u>	<u>Other</u>	<u>Total</u>
Legislative	2	-	2	4
Executive	6	6	2	14
House	8	7	5	20
Total	16	13	9	38

A visual inspection of the cells readily substantiates this conclusion. The Legislative 'population' was obviously too small to have any statistical significance. Executive brother representation, since it was drawn from the House, would naturally conform with the general representation patterns found in the House. Those Executive and House patterns were more or less in balance with each other, while at the same time, there was only a slight but noticeable preference shown in the Executive for brothers who were engaged in professional and merchant occupations.

Table 6:17 examines the denominational patterns among brothers in the three Chambers. Again, the Legislative 'population' is quite small in relation to the two other

TABLE 6:17

DENOMINATIONAL PATTERNS\* AMONG BROTHERS IN EACH  
OF THE THREE CHAMBERS

	<u>Anglican</u>	<u>Catholic</u>	<u>Methodist</u>	<u>Total</u>
Legislative	-	2	2	4
Executive	4	8	2	14
House	8	10	2	20
Total	12	20	6	38

\*There were no 'Other' denominational brother-brother combinations in the three Chambers during the period under study.



Chambers. The hypothesis, "that brother denominational patterns were similar for each of the three Chambers," was tested. The findings again suggest, (as with the brother occupational table), that the hypothesis be retained.<sup>17</sup> In examining the cells, the table suggests an obvious continuity of denominational patterns among Executive and House membership. In addition, the denominational distributions seem significant. Fifty-three percent (20) of total three Chamber brother representation was Catholic. The brother relationship was an intra-generational relationship which, in a political context, could often emphasize the present and immediate. The father-son relationship in politics was inter-generational, with the son often re-affirming the long held political values of the father. The Anglican community made most use of the father-son political relationship. Forty-two percent of all father-son political representation during the period were Anglican.<sup>18</sup> Active political participation in nineteenth century Newfoundland was never followed simply as a vocation by a small group of the business community, as has been

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<sup>17</sup> $\chi^2=5.248$ .  $\chi^2$  (with 4 d.f.) is significant only at the 70% level. The findings suggest that the hypothesis be retained.

<sup>18</sup>From Table 6:12 (25 of 58 father-son relationships).

suggested,<sup>19</sup> but was always, (beneath a shell of decorum and civility), the assertive expression of a way of life. Father and son participation formed one expression of that way of life; brother and brother participation formed another. When these two expressions were reinforced, at the same time, by denominational differences, the elite society demonstrated it was capable of producing its own unique and complex political expressions and behaviour. The possibility of inter and intra-generational divisiveness was inherent even in the elite family process.

In looking at the elite political system generally, an analysis of the father-son and brother-brother relationships found in the three Chambers can serve as a profitable guide to a broader understanding of the nineteenth century political system and how it functioned. For intra-family political participation was at the core of nineteenth century Newfoundland politics. Close intra-family participation was as high as 45% of total Executive Council membership, the active policy-making Chamber of government. This percentage does not take into account the possibility of an infinite

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<sup>19</sup>Noel: Politics in Newfoundland, p. 103. Noel suggests that Newfoundland business never provided the outlets for 'ambition' as it did elsewhere, hence 'ambition' turned to 'political ambition.' This was not the case, certainly, during the period 1855-1914. During that period, at least, men entered politics for exactly the same reasons men entered politics in Canada or England; namely, to maximize their individual life chances (both material and non-material) through collective, assertive social action. Politics in nineteenth century Newfoundland was never an after thought.

variety of other lesser relationships of importance, such as second and third cousins, grandsons and grandnephews, and a variety of in-law combinations. In addition, it does not take into account close relatives who might have held helpful supportive positions to those in politics: relatives who were in government civil service, in law, the ministry, and those who worked for influential firms in the urban community. Intra-family participation and mutual support provided the skeletal structure on which the nineteenth century elite political system was built. In addition to this formal family structure, which often served the politically ambitious, was, of course, a network of close family friends. For friendship patterns were often the informal extensions of the more formal intra-family behavioural patterns. Not enough attention has been placed on friendship patterns in nineteenth century Newfoundland political behaviour. Easily discernible in the contemporary newspapers are those who seem to be, on the surface at least, adversaries in the political process. But between elections, these same newspapers carry non-political stories, which collectively, often reveal the strong currents of friendship patterns among the urban elite of the Island. While rhetorical confrontation in newspapers adds drama to any historical research, an analysis of friendship patterns adds depth. For in an elite community where one was trying, through the political process, to maximize one's own life chances in an atmosphere where

others were doing the same, it was far more important to make friends than enemies.

Informal family friendship patterns often resulted in marriage between family members. Marriage generally implied parental consent and public sanction by the church, and therefore it was often viewed as a formal union which implied a willingness to accept certain responsibilities related to the past, present, and future. A married couple stood in the important pivotal generation between the past (their parents) and the future (their children). Most members of government chose to marry. In the Legislative Council there were only four members (of 70) who remained bachelors. In the Executive, there were 5 bachelors among a total of 69 representatives, and in the House there were 11 bachelors of a known 202 members. There were no known divorces among any members of the three Chambers, though as high as 10% of the House of Assembly (20 of 202) had remarried after the death of their first wives.<sup>20</sup>

Table 6:18 examines ages of members at the time of their marriages. All three Chambers, quite naturally, show almost identical patterns. There is even little variation between median and mean. The size of the House sample (120)

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<sup>20</sup>Usually deaths resulted from childbirth. Mid-century newspapers were often vague as to causes of death, however, often describing a variety of deaths as simply, "visitations from God." It was not until the late 70's and 80's that newspapers became more empirically explicit with regard to death.

TABLE 6:18

AVERAGE AGE OF MEMBERS OF THE THREE  
CHAMBERS AT TIME OF MARRIAGE

	<u>Sample</u>	<u>Median</u> (Yrs.)	<u>Mean</u> (Yrs.)	<u>Missing</u>	<u>Total</u>
Legislative	(37)	27.0	28.6	(33)	(70)
Executive	(48)	27.5	29.6	(21)	(69)
House	(120)	28.0	29.4	(133)	(253)

is probably closer to accurate averages. The table suggests that young men, on the average, spent many years in the business community before marrying. This is particularly true of the first half of the period under study, when many members received their commercial training in the apprentice-clerk system prevalent on the Island. It was not unusual for a young trainee to enter a firm at the age of twelve or thirteen. According to Tocque, "The clerks are always employed by the year, and generally board at the house of the merchant." An austere distance was maintained between clerk and family, "with the family of the merchant rarely (taking) meals with the clerks," and if so, the meal "is eaten in silence."<sup>21</sup> But despite Tocque's suggestions of the formal austerity that prevailed in merchants' houses, clerks did manage, on occasion, to marry the daughters of merchants. Such marriages could furthermore provide, aside from all the generally accepted blessings and responsibilities, a **sort of** leap up the nineteenth century social ladder. The merchant had plenty of opportunity to observe the clerk. Once more, social forwardness on the clerk's part at the dinner table could be either discouraged or encouraged, depending on the whims or designs of the family. Young men could find their community image altered drastically and somewhat irrevocably through marriage.

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<sup>21</sup>Tocque: Newfoundland, 1877, p. 88.

Michael T. Knight<sup>22</sup> is just one example. Knight worked as a clerk for James J. Rogerson, a merchant and influential Island politician, when he met, in the Methodist social community, Jemina March, eldest daughter of Stephan March,<sup>23</sup> a St. John's coal merchant and cod and seal fishery supplier. March was a close personal friend of Rogerson; both were important figures in the hierarchical lay-structure of the Methodist church. Rogerson could obviously assure March as to the trustworthiness and character of young Knight, something he had personally observed for years. Once Jemina and Knight were married, there was the question of Knight's status and future. If March brought Knight into his firm, the latter's position might seem ambiguous to the community, since March's own son, Stephan R. March,<sup>24</sup> was already a partner. The elder March solved this problem by forming a new company, "March and Knight."<sup>25</sup> The new firm may have duplicated some of the services and functions of the old company, but it nevertheless served as a vehicle to legitimize

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<sup>22</sup>Michael T. Knight, M.H.A., Twillingate, 1885-89; and again in 1893. Served as Surveyor General.

<sup>23</sup>Stephan March, M.H.A., Trinity, 1855; Bonavista, 1859; 1861-65; Trinity, 1865-69.

<sup>24</sup>Stephan R. March, M.H.A., Bay-de-Verde, 1885-89. Both Stephan R., and his brother-in-law, Knight, were members of the 1885-89 Thorburn party.

<sup>25</sup>Patriot, April 14, 1856.

young Knight, then twenty-four, as a viable and acceptable member of the St. John's business community. In addition, with March as patron, the new firm kept the newly-weds close within the family circle.

Tables 6:19 through 6:21 examines the birthplace of members and their wives in each of the three Chambers. The purpose is to determine whether there are any noticeable differences between birthplace patterns among the wives and members.

Table 6:19 shows the Legislative Council. Forty-six percent (22) of Legislative Councillors were born in the United Kingdom. Of that group, 64% (14) married St. John's-born wives. Only 4 (18%) of that group married wives from the United Kingdom. These findings substantiate those made earlier that nineteenth century Newfoundland was essentially a new North American society. Despite books suggesting the contrary,<sup>26</sup> many of the important members of the nineteenth century elite, if they had been born in England or Ireland at all, had most often come to Newfoundland in their early teens as apprentices and clerks to the few large merchant firms, only recently established themselves. Some were able to take advantage of an expanding

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<sup>26</sup>Robert Pinsent, Jr., M.H.A., Harbour Grace, 1865-69; former M.L.C., and later Judge of the Supreme Court, was also author of Newfoundland, Our Oldest Colony.



TABLE 6:19

BIRTHPLACE OF MEMBERS OF THE LEGISLATIVE COUNCIL  
AND THEIR WIVES

<u>Members:</u>	<u>Wives</u>				<u>Total</u>
	<u>United Kingdom</u>	<u>St. John's</u>	<u>Outports</u>	<u>BNA</u>	
United Kingdom	4	14	2	2	22
St. John's	2	8	2	2	14
Outports	-	6	1	-	7
BNA	1	1	-	3	5
Total	7	29	5	7	48

mid-century fishing economy - many were not. A few became wealthy and influential merchants in their own right, attesting to the speculative fluidity of Newfoundland society during the first half of the nineteenth century and the character of the fishing economy at that time. When it was time to marry, many of these young clerks or merchants were quite willing to marry within the existing St. John's community. There was no thought (except in very few instances) of returning home for prearranged marriages in the mother country.<sup>27</sup> For the most part, the elite nineteenth century society was indeed a nineteenth century creation. Legislative Councillors showed a preference for wives born in St. John's. Of the 14 members who, themselves, were born in St. John's, 8 married daughters from the urban community. Even more striking was the number of members born in the outports (7) who married St. John's girls (6), and later entered the Legislative Council. The patterns generally suggest the decided geographic mobility among the politically elite members of the Legislative. United Kingdom born members arrived, settled, and married in St. John's. Recently arrived outport members tended to do the same, while among members who were born in St. John's, 43% (6) married outside the city.

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<sup>27</sup>In the Legislative Council, the most elite of the three Chambers, only 7 marriages even remotely resembled the pre-arranged family variety. Three took place in England; three centred in Cork, Ireland, and one (a young medical school graduate) married an Edinburgh girl before returning to Newfoundland.

Table 6:20 examines birthplace of members of the Executive and their wives. In contrast with the Legislative, members of the Executive Council born in the United Kingdom (11) showed less preference for any specific geographic area when choosing to marry. Among St. John's-born members (21), 57% (12) married within the St. John's community; the remainder, married outside. Outport-born members (17) who did not marry from their local communities, again showed a preference for choosing St. John's-born wives (6). Of the 5 British North American-born members, 2 Nova Scotians brought their wives with them when they settled in Newfoundland; a third returned to Nova Scotia to marry; and a fourth, a Bermuda-born St. John's merchant, also married a Nova Scotian. And finally, a Prince Edward Island-born member eventually married in New Brunswick. Again, the Executive Council shows the same wide horizontal mobility patterns as the Legislative.

Table 6:21 examines the birthplace of members of the House of Assembly and their wives. Of the 40 members of the House who were born in the United Kingdom, 55% (22) chose St. John's wives. Only 19% (7) married in the United Kingdom; two of these were marriages which took place prior to arrival in Newfoundland. A larger percent of St. John's and outport-born members of the House married within their own communities than found in the other two Chambers. Sixty-nine percent (40) of St. John's-born members (58) chose wives born in that

TABLE 6:20

BIRTHPLACE OF MEMBERS OF THE EXECUTIVE COUNCIL  
AND THEIR WIVES

<u>Members</u>	<u>Wives</u>				<u>Total</u>
	<u>United Kingdom</u>	<u>St. John's</u>	<u>Outports</u>	<u>BNA</u>	
United Kingdom	2	3	2	4	11
St. John's	2	12	5	2	21
Outports	1	6	10	-	17
BNA	-	-	-	5	5
Total	5	21	17	11	54

TABLE 6:21

BIRTHPLACE OF MEMBERS OF THE HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY  
AND THEIR WIVES

<u>Members</u>	<u>Wives</u>				<u>Total</u>
	<u>United Kingdom</u>	<u>St. John's</u>	<u>Outports</u>	<u>BNA</u>	
United Kingdom	7	22	8	3	40
St. John's	5	40	9	4	58
Outports	3	19	60	1	83
BNA	-	5	-	6	11
Total	15	86	77	14	192

community. Seventy-two percent (60) of outport members married wives from their local communities. Eighty-five percent (163) of the wives of members of the House of Assembly during the period were Island-born. The remaining 15% (29) were distributed equally among the United Kingdom and British North America; 15 were born in the former, 14 were born in the latter.

Table 6:22 examines the birthplace of members' wives in the three Chambers. The purpose is to establish whether there was any difference in the patterns found in the three Chambers. The hypothesis, "that places of birth of members' wives were similar in all three Chambers," was tested and the findings indicate that the hypothesis should be rejected.<sup>28</sup> In examining the cells, it becomes evident that in the Legislative Council, of the number of wives born in Newfoundland, 85% (29) had been born in St. John's; only 15% (5) had been born in the outports. In the Executive, however, only 60% (21) had been born in St. John's; 40% (17) had been born in outlying districts. In the House, the St. John's-born percentage was even smaller: 53% of the wives had been born in St. John's; 47% were from outport communities. There was a geographic disparity between birthplace of wives of Legislative Councillors and the other two Chambers. This suggests a

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<sup>28</sup> $\chi^2=21.927$ . With 6 d.f.,  $\chi^2$  is significant at the 99% level (16.812), and nearly significant at the 99.999% level (22.457).

TABLE 6:22

## BIRTHPLACE OF MEMBERS' WIVES IN THE THREE CHAMBERS

<u>Members' Wives</u>	<u>United Kingdom</u>	<u>St. John's</u>	<u>Outports</u>	<u>BNA</u>	<u>Total</u>
Legislative	7	29	5	7	48
Executive	5	21	17	11	54
House	15	86	77	14	192
Total	27	136	99	32	294

possibility of class disparity between the former and latter Chambers - a point which will be examined below when the occupations of the wives' fathers is discussed. There is also some suggestion that the Legislative Council might have been more urban in outlook if family marital affiliation can be used as evidence for such a view.<sup>29</sup> In the Executive and House, on the other hand, with larger concentrations of members with wives born in the outports, it would seem that possibly being related by marriage to an outport family might have had its political advantages in the nineteenth century. This would seem particularly true of lower echelon House members, those who had migrated to the city and found jobs and were in a position to join political movements in which their major contribution to a party was that they could probably get elected in their former districts through joint efforts of inter-family outport connections. A lesser number of outport members married locally, and remained and worked in the districts in which they were born. These members often could present formidable stumbling blocks to St. John's political strategists, for they often were independent and politically secure within their own districts. The general procedure for

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<sup>29</sup>Many urban merchants were, of course, keenly interested in the outport areas they supplied. They probably developed the habit of 'speaking for their districts,' however, and did not deem it necessary to consult their constituencies. In times of rapid social change, such a practice could leave a member seriously out of step with his constituency. The fact that he supplied the district made many constituencies overlook the credibility gap.



removing these potentially disruptive political influences (and a method employed by all parties) was to appoint them Stipendiary Magistrates as quickly as possible. There are numerous instances of this during the period under study. Ideally, a Stipendiary Magistrate was a politically neutral figure, but in reality, of course, he often became the agent of the party that appointed him. The party then could, in turn, funnel future candidates of their choice through the district and it was often by the efforts of the Magistrate that they were elected. The practice, in addition, served to keep the urban centred party elites in firmer control.

Tables 6:23 through 6:25 examine the occupations of the fathers of members' wives in two Chambers. The purpose is to contrast the occupations of members in the two elite Chambers of government, the Legislative and the Executive, with those of their fathers-in-law, to see if, through marriage, there was any occupational differences among members and their fathers-in-law.

Table 6:23 examines the Legislative Council. The largest member occupation group represented in the table are the merchants, 31 in number. Of this group 42% (13) married daughters of merchants. Forty-eight percent (15) merchant members married daughters of fathers with occupations other than merchant or professional, and only 10% (3) of the merchants married into professional families. Of the professionals, themselves, (9), only 33% (3) married into merchant and

TABLE 6:23

OCCUPATION OF MEMBERS OF THE LEGISLATIVE AND THEIR  
WIVES' FATHERS

<u>Members:</u>	<u>Wives' fathers</u>			<u>Total</u>
	<u>Merchants</u>	<u>Professionals</u>	<u>Others</u>	
Merchants	13	3	15	31
Professionals	2	1	6	9
Others	-	-	9	9
Total	15	4	30	49

professional families. Sixty-seven percent (6), meanwhile, married into families in the 'Other' occupational categories. In addition, of the 9 Legislative Councillors whose occupations were other than merchant and professional, none married into families outside of that class (occupations). Several conclusions can be drawn regarding family class structure among Legislative Councillors during the 1855-1914 period. First, it should be remembered that the Legislative Council was the elite appointive Chamber of government. In Chapter 5, it was made clear that Council members tended to be new, rising middle-class elite men, rather than old-time Fishocracy Aristocrats, as myth would have it. The Legislative Council members had been highly mobile, as was attested by the high degree of statistical significance attributed to the difference between their occupational patterns and their fathers. Now, in observing the occupational patterns of members' fathers-in-law, the same patterns are seen to prevail. Members tended to have higher occupational status than their fathers-in-law. Less than half (42%) of member merchants married into merchant families. Two-thirds of professionals married into families below merchant or professional status, and of the 9 members from lower ranking occupations, none married outside those occupational categories. In addition, there was a strong merchant membership bias among Councillors (31). This factor, coupled with the strong merchant and 'Other' occupational biases of their fathers-in-law, would

possibly tend to render the Legislative Councillors unsympathetic, or at least considerably indifferent to new or professionally oriented views.<sup>30</sup> Whatever the validity of such an hypothesis, it was certainly evident that there was a scarcity of the professional view among Legislative Councillors and their fathers-in-law.

Table 6:24 examines the selectively elite Executive Chamber. An examination of the cells reveals that the disparities between occupational status of Executive Council members and their fathers-in-law is even more pronounced than in the Legislative Council. Out of 24 merchant members of the Executive, only one-third (8) married daughters of merchants. Two-thirds (16) married into families outside of merchant or professional occupational categories. And of the professionals themselves (20), only 35% (7), married into professional and merchant families. Sixty-five percent (13) married outside those categories. Of those in the 'Other' categories, only 1 member managed to marry outside that category.<sup>31</sup> The same professional disparity appears in the Executive Council. Of the 20 professional members, only 10%

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<sup>30</sup>This is simply an hypothesis based on the assumption that the occupational biases of the members and their fathers-in-law tended to reinforce each other, and that occupational pursuit tends to shape one's views and attitudes of the world. There would obviously be exceptions, particularly by nineteen hundred when almost anything seemed possible.

<sup>31</sup>The member was George Shea, manager of Shea & Co., (Ambrose Shea's firm). George Shea, a Catholic, married Judge Pinsent's daughter, an Anglican.

TABLE 6:24

OCCUPATIONS OF MEMBERS OF THE EXECUTIVE AND THEIR  
WIVES' FATHERS

<u>Members:</u>	<u>Merchants</u>	<u>Professionals</u>	<u>Others</u>	<u>Total</u>
Merchants	8	-	16	24
Professionals	5	2	13	20
Others	-	1	13	14
Total	13	3	42	58

(2) married daughters of professionals. All three membership occupational categories in the Executive showed a bias for daughters of families outside the merchant and professional class.

Table 6:25 compares the occupations of the fathers-in-law of members in the Executive and Legislative Councils. Its purpose is to establish that the occupational backgrounds of the wives' families were similar in these two elite Chambers. If this holds true, it would help to fortify the suggestion put forward in Chapter 5 relating the prevailing myth of a long established aristocratic fishery society. Table 6:25 sets out to examine whether any elite occupational disparity might have existed between members' fathers-in-law in the two Chambers. The hypothesis, "that Executive and Legislative Council members' fathers-in-law came from similar occupational backgrounds," was tested, and the findings suggest that the hypothesis be retained.<sup>32</sup> The occupational patterns of the fathers-in-law of members in both Chambers are quite similar. Tables 6:23 and 6:24 have already strongly suggested members were more highly mobile than their fathers-in-law. Table 6:25 suggests these patterns were similar for both Chambers.

The point of emphasis here has nothing to do with negating the economic and political power enjoyed by the elite members during the period under study. There is no

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<sup>32</sup> $\chi^2=1.537$ . With 2 d.f.,  $\chi^2$  is significant at the 50% level (1.386). The hypothesis was therefore retained.

TABLE 6:25

OCCUPATIONS OF MEMBERS' FATHERS-IN-LAW IN THE  
LEGISLATIVE AND EXECUTIVE COUNCILS

<u>Fathers-in-Law:</u>	<u>Merchants</u>	<u>Professionals</u>	<u>Others</u>	<u>Total</u>
Legislative	15	4	30	49
Executive	13	3	42	58
Total	28	7	72	107

reason at this time to doubt Tocque's suggestion, that "the merchants occupy the most important position in the social character of St. John's."<sup>33</sup> Tocque was writing in 1877, however, and the fishery was at its peak. In the 1880's and 90's, the political aspect of that 'most important position' was to be seriously challenged. But Tocque's references to a "fishocracy" ~~are~~ unfortunate.<sup>34</sup> He compares them with the Boston merchants, implying that a dynastic pattern had developed among the urban merchants. Tocque might have been unconsciously thinking of the future when he observed the merchant class in the 1870's, for their position, at that time, had never looked more secure. Since they were the only group on the Island who could manage to accumulate wealth in any degree, there was reason for him to think that, indeed, dynasties had been established. But except for a very few firms, this was not to be the case. Tocque saw St. John's elite society as a caste system where the merchant and professional classes "rarely, if ever, hold any social intercourse with the others".<sup>35</sup> He suggests that small grocers, master mechanics, schooner-holders and fishermen, were excluded from anything but the most perfunctory social contact with the elite, stating that, "There

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<sup>33</sup>Tocque: Newfoundland, 1877. p. 86.

<sup>34</sup>Ibid., p. 86.

<sup>35</sup>Tocque: Newfoundland, 1877. p. 86.



is no colony belonging to the British Empire where influence and name tend so much to form caste in society, and where it is more regarded than in St. John's."<sup>36</sup> But, Tocque's rather strong impressionistic statement is somewhat misleading. There was more fluidity in Tocque's elite world than his statement suggests. There is no reason to believe that the political elite was not just as family-name-conscious as the families to whom Tocque refers. Yet, with regard to marriages among the political elite in the Legislative Council,<sup>37</sup> only 21% (10) married into politically prominent Island families. An additional 8.5% (4) married into influential merchant families, while the remaining 70% married into what can best be described as modest middle class families. In the Executive,<sup>38</sup> 31% (18) married into politically influential families. An additional 6.9% (4) married into influential merchant or professional families. The remaining 62% again married into modest middle class families. In the House of Assembly,<sup>39</sup> only 19% of membership (34) married into politically influential families. Twenty-two percent (39) had married daughters of influential merchant

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<sup>36</sup>Ibid., pp. 86-87.

<sup>37</sup>Using a sample of 47 of a possible 70.

<sup>38</sup>Executive sample, (58).

<sup>39</sup>House sample, (179).

or professional families. The remaining 59% (106) married into modest middle class families or below. There is reason to doubt, therefore, that a caste system (using Tocque's phrase) did exist. It was a class system which was far less aristocratic than Tocque implies, however, and far more broadly middle class in character. A great deal of mobility was possible in this small middle class society. A family could be modestly middle class in one generation, and 'fish aristocrats' in the next. The St. John's urban middle class, therefore, had good reason to keep alive the contemporary myths relating to a nineteenth century Island aristocracy.

## CONCLUSION

The nineteenth century political system was built on a foundation of elite family participation. Forty-two percent of all Legislative Councillors were, in some way, closely related to each other. The same was true with 45% of the Executive representation and 26% of all House of Assembly representation. In the two most important Chambers of government, this intra-family participation was at its highest.

Father-son inter-generational participation tended to be highest in the Legislative Council. In addition, this form of intra-family representation showed an Anglican bias in that Chamber. The Executive and House were both less dependent on father-son representation patterns. Again, while Anglican father-son representation is noticeable in these two Chambers, there tends to be a slight bias toward Catholic father and son representation in the Executive and House.

Brother-brother (intra-generational) participation is strongest in the Executive Council, a Chamber in which representation of this type was most likely to have maximum strategic political effect. If there was any inter-generational divisiveness in these patterns, (the inter-generational patterns of father and son versus the intra-

generational patterns of brother and brother), it could well have been accentuated by the denominational variable: father and son relationships tended to be Anglican, while the brother-brother relationships were often Catholic. In both groups, however, each tended to follow similar occupational patterns; sons often followed their father's occupations, younger brothers followed the patterns of older brothers.

In looking at marriage, members married, on average, at age 28. In the Legislative Council, there was a strong preference for finding St. John's wives. This was equally true for both United Kingdom-born members and outport-born members. In the Executive Council, however, an electorally sensitive Chamber, United Kingdom membership marriage patterns were much more widely spread throughout the Island community. St. John's-born members also married outside their community and outport-born members showed a strong preference for St. John's born girls. In the House, 72% of outport-born members had found outport wives, however. Of all wives of members in the House, 85% were Island-born. In comparing the marriage patterns of the three Chambers, they showed significant statistical differences; the Legislative showed a strong bias for St. John's born wives, while the Executive and House exhibited much more balance between town and outport.

Turning to the fathers-in-law of members, it generally follows in the three Chambers that members more often out-ranked their fathers-in-law in class (occupational) status. This conclusion rests on taking an aggregate view of each of the three Chambers. There are, naturally, individual exceptions. Thirty-one merchant members of the Legislative Council, for instance, married only 13 daughters of merchants. In the Executive, 24 merchant members married only 8 daughters of merchants. Of the 20 professionals in that Chamber, only 7 married daughters of merchants and professionals. These patterns were sustained in both the Executive and Legislative Councils, the two most elite Chambers of government. Both Chambers show members whose fathers-in-law have little professional occupational status. Even lawyer-members married very few daughters of lawyers. The nineteenth century legal community on the Island was a unique and insular body. Since members generally were of higher occupational status than their fathers-in-law (and their own fathers, for that matter), it is suggested that they might have possibly wielded political power disproportionate to their actual position in society. When a politically ambitious young merchant married the daughter of a sailing captain with a large influential family in the outports (as was sometimes the case in mid-nineteenth century

Newfoundland),<sup>1</sup> the captain could easily become the local political agent of the young merchant. At the same time, however, he could exercise very little influence over the younger merchant, because of the hierarchical nature of Newfoundland society in general (captains took orders from merchants, and did not give them) and, in addition, his (the captain's) lack of understanding of the strange urban world in which the merchant operated. The result was that the urban elite could make political demands on the society which lay outside their class system, while at the same time that 'outside society' had little right to make firm reciprocal demands on them. Such non-reciprocal political relationships gave the urban elite an unprecedented political power. The caste system, that Tocque mentions, was actually a class system which insured that an unprecedented political power would continue to rest in the hands of the right families.

An examination of this elite class group shows it to be a much more flexible and mobile middle class group than most of the literature implies. It was aristocratic only in the sense that it professed to be the best of class (in this case, the middle class). In practice, however, there was less intra-group quality control (particularly after the 1880's) than has been implied. For within its own ranks, there was a great deal of opportunistic chance for advancement among its lower echelon middle class members. The fascination with maintaining family

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<sup>1</sup>It was not unusual for merchant's sons to marry captain's daughters during the height of the old fishing economy. This pattern changed later in the century, however. There are no examples of M.H.A. steamer captains marrying into late nineteenth century society.

names and identities was the natural outgrowth of the type of society nineteenth century Newfoundland maintained. If it was true that the elite of St. John's were more concerned with name and family than any other community in the British Empire, as Tocque suggests, (which seems highly doubtful at best), it was simply the natural outgrowth of the nineteenth century system. The urban middle class colonial elite ran an Island plantation economy. Unfortunately, however, the Island rural working class were not black. They came from West Country, England, and the South Coast of Ireland. In black labour force Island plantations, there was little need to spend much time on indoctrinating the blacks on the ideological niceties of the system. They were automatically excluded from any self-gratifying participation in the larger colonial system itself, and usually there were special laws seeing to it that this continued to be the case.

In Newfoundland, however, this was not true. Since merchant and fisherman were white, an elaborate system of artificial barriers had to be erected to separate the middle class colonials from the Island labour force. This was particularly true, since the fortunes of the colonial middle class often rose and fell. In addition, middle class colonials - a highly geographically mobile group - could often come and go with amazing regularity. The class system then, not only protected the local colonial middle class from intrusions

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from within, i.e. the fisherman labour force, but from intrusions from without, i.e. newly arrived middle class colonials of their own rank. Tocque is probably overstating this uniqueness he found in St. John's society. This elite class system was probably prevalent in most urban centres of largely white empire colonies of the time. Its uniqueness lies in the fact that it was the local colonials, themselves, who created these societies. These societies of middle class elites were highly mobile and the colonial world held out hope for some of the exploitive opportunities undreamed of by most of the members of their class in the mother country. An elite class system, such as Tocque describes, afforded this middle class the maximum of geographic mobility and opportunity. A person of middle class rank could travel from one white colonial society to another and have no difficulty in fitting in with the proper group. The myth of the colonial aristocracy, therefore, (Tocque's 'fishocracy') served many valuable social functions. All power options remained with the middle class colonial elite. No matter how ephemeral or sporadic were the careers of members of this class, it was the class system itself that was held in highest adulation. The individual members might come and go, but the system lived on.

## CHAPTER VII

### SUMMATION AND CONCLUSION

It is now possible to restate briefly the findings of the thesis and to place into proper perspective the relative importance of each of the variables discussed.

It has been seen that the members of the Legislative and Executive Councils tended to enter those two Chambers, by two entirely different processes, at the same age (48 years). Members of the House, on the other hand, usually entered active political careers between thirty-six and forty years of age. There were three important denominations present in the three Chambers; Catholic, Anglican and Methodist, and not simply a Catholic-Protestant division. Differences in place of birth were found to have a high degree of statistical significance among the three Chambers; the Legislative Council having a high percentage of United Kingdom born, the Executive Council and the House showing less foreign born. The differences found in the membership residency patterns of the three Chambers also showed a high degree of statistical significance. The Legislative Council had few outport members, though 27% of its members were St. John's residents with outport backgrounds. The Executive Council had 39% of its membership

either outport members or those with a former outport background. The House, on the other hand, had 48% representation from these two categories with a surprising 34% actual outport residents. This would suggest that the Executive Council (which drew heavily on St. John's residents with outport backgrounds) did not follow the established residency patterns found in the House during the period. There was found to be little significant difference in education between the three Chambers. The Executive Council showed the highest percentage of those with secondary education (many of whom were later lawyers) while the Legislative Council showed the highest percentage of University graduates (mostly doctors). The House, as would be expected, showed the highest percentage of those with only an elementary education. The place where members received their education was closely linked with place of birth. Contrary to local myth, few St. John's political elite residents had been sent abroad to schools during the period. The doctors, of course, are the exception. But probably no more than ten or fifteen of the 392 members in this study were sent from Newfoundland to schools in the United Kingdom or British North America. Almost invariably, those who had received education in the United Kingdom, did so before coming to Newfoundland.

With regard to geographic patterns, it was seen that generally, geographic local preference was not a strong

factor in candidacy selection during the period. There are some moderate to strong exceptions to this rule (mainly from Conception Bay, and Bonavista and Fogo in the North), and the pattern persists throughout the period.

Denominational preference, not geography, seemed to be the most important determinant in candidate selection. Districts generally seemed most often to follow denominational lines although there were exceptions. Some Northern Districts showed a continued recognition of certain Anglican candidates even after the Region had shifted toward Methodism. On Conception Bay, the Districts of Harbor Grace and Port-de-Grave moved toward Anglican representation, in contrast to local denominational distributions. Anglicans were represented disproportionate to their numbers in the South Coast Districts of Burin, Fortune, and Burgeo and LaPoile.

In turning to occupation and class, it was seen that political participation was limited to relatively few occupational categories in the House and an even smaller number in the Legislative and the Executive Councils. All could be considered middle class, lower middle class (and more rarely working class) categories of the period. The uniqueness of the Newfoundland situation rested in the fact that total Island membership in these categories was small; certainly no more than ten percent of the Island's male population. In addition, the urban centre of St. John's

contained the largest numerical concentration of citizens engaged in these occupations. The two most important occupational groups were the merchant and professional classes. The merchant class did not directly dominate nineteenth century Newfoundland politics as much as has been suggested. Even during the traditional fishing period (1855-1880), merchant representation by constituency usually averaged about 40% or less, with Conception Bay and Burin consistently showing the highest merchant representation. It was found that there was a statistically significant difference in the occupational structures of the two elite Chambers of government; the Legislative and Executive Councils. Merchants dominated the former, and professionals (mostly lawyers), were the largest single occupational group in the latter. There was also a significant imbalance between religion and class in the three Chambers. Methodism showed a pronounced deficiency in professional class representation in all three Chambers. This strongly suggests that beneath the evidences of inter-denominational antagonisms in the 1885-1914 period, there were far more irresolvable political issues at stake. There were more concrete issues directly relating to geography (rural versus urban), economics (old economy versus the new), and of equal importance, a disparity in professional representation. Unlike the other two major denominations, the Methodist community of the North showed an occupational

rigidity that made any acceptance of the new economy position difficult. It was the professional classes in the other denominations who helped facilitate the eventual reconciliation of the warring economy factions. In 1909, Methodist support for the progressive-minded People's Party came from Conception Bay and Burin, not from the heavily Methodist Northern Region. The social mobility of Legislative and Executive Councillors was striking during the period. Both groups came from similar backgrounds, and both groups generally outranked their fathers with regard to occupation. There was, however, a significant occupational difference between the (often competing) Legislative and Executive Councils. This would suggest that the political confrontation between the old economy and new economy factions was essentially an intra-middle class confrontation between two more or less socially similar groups, despite existing myths to the contrary. This would also suggest that politics during the period, far from being a vocation as has been suggested elsewhere, played a fundamental and integral part in the success strategy of the participating members.

In looking at kinship and marriage, it was found that intra-family participation in politics in nineteenth century Newfoundland was high. In the Legislative Council, it was nearly forty-two percent.. The Executive Council was even higher at forty-five percent and in the House, close

intra-family participation reached twenty-six percent during the period. There was a significant imbalance in the family relationships in the two most important Chambers; the Legislative Council showed a father-son bias, while in the Executive Council, a more active Chamber, the brother-brother relationship was more noticeable. With regard to denomination and family, the Legislative Council showed the most number of Anglican father-son relationships. The Executive Council and House, on the other hand, showed a slight Catholic father-son bias. Brothers tended to follow the same occupations as their older brothers (as did son usually follow father), and while brother-brother patterns were similar in the three Chambers, Catholics showed a greater tendency toward successful brother-brother representation. Patterns in the Legislative and Executive Councils show that, generally, members occupationally out-ranked their fathers-in-law. In the Legislative Council, for example, of thirty-one merchant members, only thirteen married daughters of merchants. The same patterns hold for the Executive Council, where twenty-four merchant-members married only eight daughters of merchants. In addition, with respect to the professional class in the Executive Council, of twenty professional members, only seven married into merchant or professional families. Membership in both Councils, regardless of occupation, married into few professional families during the period. Marriages among

members in both Councils reveal a rising middle class pattern, and contrary to the myth, the member himself, most generally, was of higher class status (occupation) than either his own father or father-in-law.

There is much evidence to suggest that this numerically small middle class community sat at the pinnacle of nineteenth century Newfoundland society. Within this group was a great deal of flexibility and mobility (both up and down), though members rarely were allowed to fall through the floor of the middle class. The son of a defunct urban fish merchant family, for example, was generally afforded class protection by being taken as a clerk in the firm of a family friend. The findings suggest that among this middle class group in nineteenth century Newfoundland, a political career extended one's influence beyond that which had formerly been attained by father and father-in-law alike, which most likely (at least among the successful) elevated one's status and improved one's chances for success.

Probably of all the variables examined, family and class stand out as the most important for recruitment into politics in Newfoundland, and for explaining the interrelationships of the other findings. All districts produced their hierarchical family elites. Generally, these elite families coincide with certain occupational categories which, in turn, were broadly accepted as elite class occupations. It was also generally recognized during



the dominant years of the traditional fishing economy that the most influential Island families lived in St. John's. In many of the rural districts, the local elites were more interested in extending their own local power base than participating directly in the St. John's political sphere. The practice in many important political districts of yielding local preference and accepting St. John's resident candidates served the interests of both the local and urban elites; for the local elites found salaried civil service positions in or near their local communities a more satisfactory aim than the prospect of serving in the House of Assembly in distant St. John's. Often a term in the House, however, was a means toward acquiring the proper local civil service position. In practice, local preference was often sacrificed for the long term aim of local community social stability. By shifting direct political responsibility out of the rural community, a great deal of pressure could be removed from the local community regardless of changing political climates in St. John's. The use of absentee politicians made the local political process more speculative than real and minimized the chances of internally politicalizing rural communities. At the same time, the practice gave politically motivated St. John's elites the opportunity to expand their political influence into rural areas. By living in St. John's, the politician, in turn, could establish himself as the distant

urban benefactor rather than local representative subject to direct political pressure. The system worked satisfactorily as long as the fishing economy held a monolithic sway over the Island's activities and urban denominational elites were more or less in tacit agreement with regard to maintaining a social status quo which perpetuated their social standing. Denominational competitiveness, the introduction of an alternative economy and the subsequent growth of urban populism all contributed to disrupt the relative tranquility which had existed through the 1870's.

Denominationalism, which served as a strong communicative link between families and the elite social structure, was hardly distinguishable from the existing hierarchical denominational structures. Since all major denominational headquarters were in St. John's, it followed that the churches' lay-organizational system helped to legitimize the urban elites position of rarely questioned social and economic Island leadership. The church - not the Island government - was the main social stabilizing force on the Island at mid-century and all elites leaned heavily toward at least tacit church sanction for the legitimization of their activities. In times of crises, such as depressions and poor fishing seasons, it was tacitly understood that the churches were the active organs for maintaining social stability and law and order. The

denominations served as self-disciplining organizations, each responsible for the conduct of their own membership. In addition, the denominational systems provided the only real instrument of intra-Island communication throughout most of the period. It provided the chief communicative political link between urban and outport elites (for they often had little else in common), with the latter often willing to concede to the hierarchical prerogatives of the former, providing that such commitments did not threaten the outport elite's local sphere of power. It was this tacit accommodation between urban and outport elites, reinforced through denominational affiliation that made the nineteenth century political system work, and in turn, helps explain some of the geographic patterns of representation developed in this thesis.

Despite the fact that the character of Newfoundland politics changed sharply during the 1885-1914 period when Island politics became intensely more issue-oriented, the changes in geographic representation, while noticeable in some districts, were not markedly different from that of the earlier period. While members of many new families enter politics after 1885, this new group did not differ significantly in occupational status than their predecessors. Most belonged either to the commercial or professional classes as had the traditional fishing economy group. In addition, residency patterns remained basically the same,

although the St. John's residents with outport backgrounds took on a new political significance in the latter period as politics moved more directly toward an openly popular base. Former outport resident members were able to establish tangible connexions with newly influential outport families in areas directly effected by old versus new economy issue. With the growth of urban and rural populism in the latter period, the importance of family connexions with regard to politics took on a new dimension and in some districts was much more actively political and competitive than in earlier periods when the Island tended to more or less unquestioningly accept a denominationally sanctioned hierarchical system. Not only did inter-denominational competition increase in the latter period, but in many districts, there was increased intra-denominational competition as well, particularly on the Avalon Peninsula and Conception Bay. As a result, the churches gradually lost their traditional credibility with respect to taking monolithic stands on political issues (though the church organizational machinery remained intact) and the growth of a more openly secular populism produced many new family political alliances between outport and St. John's. And yet, the members of this new political movement, as already mentioned, differed little in class characteristics and background from their predecessors - the traditional outport elite who had managed to maintain local social order and stability by resisting the eventual

internalization of the local political process. The new leaders were most often members of families who were outport merchants, suppliers, captains or local civil servants. It seems that even in the growing populist climate, the movement turned toward traditional class leadership (though the ideology might have stressed reform), possibly, in part, to legitimize the character of the movement. The old rural hierarchical order was challenged by new popularly supported leadership who represented the same class. The new populist leaders then, were not out to destroy the old hierarchical system, they merely intended to take over its machinery.

The same is true of the new urban politicians of the 1880-1914 period. Few differed in class characteristics from their urban predecessors. Most were newly arrived members of the commercial and professional classes. They were, on the whole, younger men, and some may have been more flexible in their political viewpoints (particularly the lawyer class) since few represented a second generational political commitment. Though they were from similar class backgrounds and represented a new middle class generation, they divided on positions relative to political issues as readily as had their predecessors a generation before.

It was members from this group, who in the late nineteenth century, were best suited opportunistically to take political advantage of the growing currents of urban populism with its emphasis on reforms and high expectations.

As Island politics became more urban, many of the St. John's resident members from this group who had direct outport family affiliations, became strategically more important to all urban party organizations. An increasing number began to appear on the Executive Councils. But despite a period of economic uncertainty and growing social unrest which characterized the late nineteenth century, the old hierarchical occupational and class structure of Newfoundland society remained intact at the beginning of World War I. There was a widespread upheaval within the political elite ranks itself during the 1890's. This upheaval was the direct result of all political factions seeking new alignments in order to restore at least a quasi-stability to an existing hierarchical system that had been forced to come to terms with universal male suffrage and a secret ballot. It was during this period that most of the currently popular political myths were born, namely that the People's Party of 1909 somehow represented a new political system built around a new all embracing ideology. A sharp distinction had to be drawn between the 'old system' and 'the new'. The old Water Street merchant class came to represent everything antiquated and evil to a new party dedicated to progressivism and the future. In reality, however, the old politically active Water Street merchants who were not already dead had, for the most part, withdrawn from active politics by the 1890's; they made a convenient non-existent

scapegoat. The People's Party introduced a new era of modern secular politics; their leader, Edward P. Morris, spoke out with a new secular righteousness on the evils of sectarianism in politics. In reality, however, while it was true that the new party no longer needed the direct ritualistic blessing of any of the churches' hierarchy - the political power of the government could now effectively challenge the political power of the church, at least on the Avalon Peninsula and Conception Bay - it did not mean that rather brutal election altercations ceased to take place at the local level, some tacitly sanctioned by Morris himself, in which there were blatant sectarian overtones. The People's Party would see to it that the Island would never be directly dominated by the old merchant class again. In truth, however, the Island was in fact, never directly dominated by the merchant class. During the 1855-1880 period, what direct merchant political control there was, had depended on tenuous alliances and accommodation with outport elites, a practice which certainly did not end with the political rise to power of the People's Party. The old merchant class were viewed as 'Aristocrats' whose families had held the Island in bondage for centuries. This, of course, was contrary to fact. The merchant class 'Aristocrats' had been a rising nineteenth century middle class phenomena. Most had come from modest backgrounds and had only secured a tenuous political hold on Island public affairs when they

came under political attack in the 1880's. The People's Party were seen somehow to represent the fisherman's cause against traditional merchant abuse. In reality, however, the fishermen were outside the People's Party's ideology altogether. Since the party's popular strength came from the Avalon Peninsula and Conception Bay - areas no longer heavily committed to the fishery after the late 1880's - the fish merchants, generally, became a convenient negative rallying cry. Any party whose popular validation rested on an anti-fish merchant ideology was, by implication, anti-fishermen in sentiment, since the interests of fishermen and fish merchant should coincide. The People's Party movement was somehow reflective of total Island popular sentiments at that time. This, however, was little more than St. John's wishful thinking. The movement was extremely provincial in character and its strength was centred in those areas where, for the most part, the labouring forces were most willing to reject the traditional fishing economy and move toward a modern progressively oriented foreign investment economy which emphasized the exploitation of interior natural resources. The People's Party movement was somehow a class struggle with the people of the Island emerging as victors and their elected representatives were merely their public servants. More correctly, the People's Party victory was the urban political accommodation of the long struggle between the new economy spokesmen and the old. The political



participants on both sides were essentially of the same occupational classes and backgrounds. What had essentially been a struggle between middle class elites was resolved in a tacit accommodation of those elites which produced, just prior to World War I, a quasi-political stability, which later ran into serious political and fiscal difficulties after the war. In the meantime if there had been any victor in this struggle, it was the politically active, progressive-minded wing of the urban middle class. They were in a position to take advantage of their new middle men position in the new urban-elite alignment.

The fact that these myths continue to persist, even today, is evidence of how deeply felt the popular rejection of the past was at the turn of the century. The inconsistencies and irrationalities inherent in many of these myths (preserved for posterity in the newspaper files of the times) are historically dated stumbling blocks to a richer analysis of the times in which a much more accurate picture of nineteenth century Newfoundland society can be drawn. This thesis has tried to suggest the possibility for a new political history of Newfoundland with special emphasis related to social and economic factors. It should try to assess more realistically the old economy period and the subsequent challenge by the new. It should take into consideration the social and regional character of nineteenth

century Newfoundland society. The exclusion of all women and some seventy or eighty percent of the male population from the active political process during most of the nineteenth century should not discourage attempts to analyze at least the relationship these groups had with the political process as a whole. And finally, the active and most mobile groups of nineteenth century Newfoundland society should be more realistically assessed with relation to who they were and what positions and views they really represented with relation to members of their own class and society as a whole.

This thesis, as in most of Newfoundland historiography, places the omnipresent and omnipotent 'merchant' is at the centre of the stage. But, it should be kept in mind that in any careful assessment of the commercial classes of the period, a Water Street coal dealer, while a merchant, was not necessarily a 'merchant prince'.

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