A STUDY OF THE MIGRATION FIELD OF ST. JOHN'S: 1921

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by

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ABSTRACT

Using St. John's as the study area, the research demonstrated the migration field of the largest settlement of the island. The pattern indicated that St. John's attracted most of its migrants from the North-East coast, the most populous region of the island. The migration field appeared to be more restricted to the areas of Conception Bay, when the field is mapped by certain categories. The concepts of the "migration field" and the "migration region", however, are interesting but their fullest application appeared to be relatively complicated, especially the "migration region".

The growth of population of St. John's is traced from the early part of the 19th century to 1921. It appeared that during increasing development in the western part of the island, the proportion of the population on the eastern coast declined substantially, but St. John's did continue its growth throughout the study period.

The present research examined the demographic and socio-economic characteristics of the households with migrants, particular emphasis being given to the migrant members. This examination is followed by a micro-level study of some selected roads and streets. The investigation indicated that the females are more migratory, as usual, than the others - and the greatest propensity of migration is found within the age limit of 20-29 years. In other words, most of the parents in the households were migrant. By occupation the migrants held both higher order professions like business, governmental officials, and the most traditional occupation - fishing and related jobs. Non-migrants appeared to be more characterized by skilled

manpower.

The micro-level investigation of five roads and streets indicated that the Rennies Mill Road and King's Bridge Road were high class residential area with the people engaged in the higher order occupations. Water Street appeared to be the locality of business and commerce with smaller households and the highest proportion of migrants. LeMarchant Road was underlined as the middle class residential area with both skilled manpower and professionals. Brazil Square demonstrated the qualities of low class residential areas with highest proportions of boarders.

In order to understand the migration field some of the selected high-intensity migration field were chosen to demonstrate the socio-economic background of the origin points. The investigation indicated that the religious minorities had the greatest propensity to migrate. An indirect procedure of calculating the period of migration indicated that most of the migrants came to the city at the beginning of the present century. And there was a tendency for the migrants to settle close to the main commercial area. By occupation the skilled manpower were relatively more migratory.

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Chapter I

INTRODUCTION

The most complex component of population change and growth is migration. Migration is the spatial process of population transfer which in general contributes to the growth of towns and cities at the expense of rural areas. The importance of such movement for the geographer is that it provides a human network for the diffusion of ideas and information. It also indicates symptoms of social and economic disequilibrium and can be regarded as a human spatial adjustment to environmental and socio-economic problems. The interest of the geographer in migration stems essentially from his general concern with the combination of spatial and structural change in human organizations. Such movements as, for example, those of rural migrants to the cities or the periodic journey to work, are usually a challenge to the people involved in that they constitute a test of adaptation to an unfamiliar world. They are no less a test for the geographer who seeks to interpret and generalize the human dimensions of these worlds.

Of the three components of population change, fertility, mortality and migration, that of migration is perhaps the most complex largely because of difficulties in measuring the numbers involved. A common method of estimating the volume of migration is by deducting the component of natural increase from the intercensal absolute change. The main deficiency of this approach is that it gives only the net flow of population movement with no indication of the volume of actual directional flows involved. Thus

the geographic or spatial interest in migration is immediately lessened. What is needed is a spatial framework through which the migrational mechanism may be examined.

To some extent the notion of the migration field meets this problem. The concept of the migration field is useful in expressing some of the spatial characteristics of migrants. One definition states that "a migration field is technically the area from which a destination place draws its migrants" (Brown, et al.:1970, 474). Hagerstrand defines it as "the geographical distribution of migrants as seen from the parish or commune under investigation". (Hagerstrand:1957, 29). Ajo added to the work of Hagerstrand by defining the most active and intense portions of the migration field as the "migration region" (Ajo:1954). By this he essentially meant the areas from which most of the internal migration takes place.

The amount of empirical evidence available in the field of migration is enormous and the range and coverage of the statistical data are constantly improving. But still, after almost one hundred years, Ravenstein's "Laws of Migration" provide the fundamental framework for an elaboration of migration patterns and mechanisms. These "Laws" were, in fact, the first coherent attempt at formulating migration theory. They described many of the demographic and economic variables implicit in the phenomenon of migration with special reference to distance. More recently however, a number of students of migration have emphasized movement not only in terms of mere distance but also in terms of opportunities. In 1940, Stouffer developed the notion of intervening opportunities. The idea proposes that

volume of movement is directly proportional to the number of opportunities between places. Later studies in this line arrived at conclusions with encouraging results (e.g. Bright:1941, Isbell:1944). The most difficult part of this type of study, however, would seem to be a consistently satisfactory definition of "opportunities".

Lee, however, appears to have been one of the most successful of the scholars refining the ideas of Ravenstein. He noted that while the findings of Ravenstein's earlier paper are generally accepted as laws (despite Ravenstein's disclaimer), the findings of the later one are considered to be general conclusions (Lee:1966,285). Lee also suggested that ... "the volume and provenance of migration streams are a function of the balance of perceived opportunities at both origin and destinations." (Lee:1966,287). In other words, migrants tend to weigh the positive and negative factors, i.e., those factors which either attract or repel at either end of the migration route.

Concentrating on "distance and opportunities" in migration, Rose tested the hypothesis that persons of higher social order move greater distances than others (Rose:1970). Rose also suggested that lower-class people find more intervening opportunities in a given distance than do the upper-class. A comparable analysis was carried out by Stub and yielded generally similar results (Stub:1962). Brox also contributed analyses which elaborated on this aspect of migration. His Norwegian experience suggested that rural-urban migration appears to be prominent among the people of lower and higher social order (Brox:1966).

An interesting study by Gugler was devoted to the nature of internal migration in Africa. He suggested some interesting contrasts and comparisons with European and American findings. He showed the characteristics of rural-urban migration in sub-saharan African societies and the nature of the continuing relationship between the urban migrant and villages. Gugler's findings, however, strongly confirm Ravenstein's and Lee's hypotheses (Gugler:1969).

In Scandinavia, other than Hagerstrand's contribution, numerous studies have been made on the spatial structure of migration. The work of Ajo (Ajo:1954), Olsson (Olsson:1965), and Gerger (Gerger:1966) are particularly noteworthy. Hagerstrand published his outstanding paper on migration in a symposium in 1957. The central theme of the paper was the understanding of the migration field and to a lesser extent the migration region. Hagerstrand suggested that the origins of migrants to any area are distributed in a wide range which declines in intensity from the focus. Migration also tends to take place largely within well defined streams, which in many cases are highly specific both in origin and destination. Hagerstrand paid considerable attention to the theme of distance and volume of migration, but concluded that a wholly convincing model could not be derived. Following Hagerstrand's work Ajo coined the term "migration region" - by this he essentially meant the areas from which most of the internal migration takes place. Ajo's complex work, carried on largely outside orthodox academic institutions, was innovative and interesting though Ajo was modest about his findings; this was, perhaps, because as Staveley noted, "these early contri-

butions were richly suggestive rather than definitive." (Staveley:1973, 3).

Outside Scandinavia important studies of the migration region, in particular, were carried out by Hollingsworth (Hollingsworth:1970 and Ng (Ng:1966). Each of these scholars, without knowing the other's work, worked on the migration regions of Scotland. Both studies reflected the fact that the migration of people followed a well defined stream. They also suggested that "between the regions there is relatively little migration but within (each region) internal migration is high" (Hollingsworth:1970, 73). Hollingsworth noted that the migration regions may be used to define more realistic and functional administrative units than those currently in use. Ng went farther to suggest that all regional and economic development, particularly the designation of growth points, should conform to the realities of the migration region.

The notion of study of the migration field in particular was carried further by Allen (Allen:1972) and Staveley (Staveley:1976 & 1981). Allen primarily focused on the French-Canadian movement to southern Maine, U.S.A. and assessed the importance of accessibility and industrial development in shaping the migration field. Staveley looked at the migration field of Newfoundland and Labrador in general. The fundamental question raised by him is the limitations of the concept of the migration field, which Staveley noted that "the limitation of the concept of the migration field lies in its structure rather than in its morphology" (Staveley:1976, 28). In more recent years he examined the migration fields of the early industrializing towns in Newfoundland (Staveley:1981).

More recently, a study by Flory (1978) attempted a novel and comprehensive analysis of the migration flows to the burgeoning 19th century English industrial towns of Wolverhampton and Blackburn. Flory utilized data on newspaper circulation and telegraphic plus postal communications to argue that the movement of people was correlated with the degree of information available to potential migrants as well as the distance between origins and destinations. More often, Flory noted, people moved only short distances where the maximum information is available. It is, perhaps, a difficult question as to which existed first - did the information field exist quasi-independently and people follow its form, or was it the case that when people moved to a large extent then the information field started expanding?

Another study by Anderson (Anderson:1977) suggested that it is not always the poorer and backward areas that send the most migrants. Even population pressure is not a major cause of emigration. Her examination of migrants to Moscow and St. Petersburgh indicated that relatively prosperous places send more people to culturally advanced destinations for it is the skilled people who moved most. Brumbaugh's micro-scale study (Brumbaugh:1978) on the other hand indicated that migration flow does not always proceed directly to major urban centres. It passes through intermediate settlements. This pattern, as Brumbaugh noted, is present in Palaeohora, a Greek village. Wiafe's much larger scale study on the other hand suggested that Accra, the capital city of Ghana, attracted more than 50% of the total urbanbound migrants (Wiafe:1978), and it was an aspiration

for better opportunities that led the people to move to the capital city. Thomas and Wittick's study of Bolivia (Thomas & Wittick:1981) tracing the movement of people to the capital city of La Paz demonstrated a clear pattern. The most populous areas (provinces) sent proportionately more people and the phenomenon of distance-decay function seemed more prominent.

The study of migration in Newfoundland is rather sparse, particularly with respect to rural-urban migration. Staveley (1973), made a detailed examination of internal migration in Newfoundland and Labrador at the level of the political district, for the period 1935-45. He made a more general study of intra-provincial movement for the period 1935-66 using vital statistics data, but the lack of directional information limited the utility of this analysis. Later, taking advantage of access to the nominal census information for every individual, Staveley looked at the migration field of early industrializing towns in Newfoundland (1981). In addition to such studies on migration, a number of studies have been completed related to government aided group-migration under the various Federal and Federal-Provincial resettlement schemes between the period 1953-1975. In general these studies were carried out from sociological, economic and regional development and planning perspectives (e.g. Head:1964, Iverson & Matthews:1968, Copes:1972, Robb & Robb:1972, Courtney:1973 and Staveley:1980).

Government aided migration was largely aimed at consolidating the inhabitants of selected isolated outports in centres with a prospect of social

and economic growth. But the migrants were permitted a wide degree of freedom of choice of destinations and the resulting overall pattern of resettlement was not wholly that which had been anticipated. This was in essence more a programme aimed at eliminating "uneconomic" settlements than it was designed to develop significant new concentrations of urban populations. Thus truly "urban" gains were modest. For example St. John's and Corner Brook, the biggest two urban centres in the island, respectively received only 6 and 8% of the migrants changing location under these programmes (Courtney:1973,47).

Thus rural-urban migration, particularly the movement of people to the main commercial centre of Newfoundland, St. John's, has not yet been studied. While migration and urban growth are often seen as an interrelated phenomena, the study of migration, especially to the major urban industrial and commercial centres, attracted interests from various disciplines and resulted in volumes of study which helped in the understanding of circulation of population in cities.

Objectives of the Study

The present study attempts to examine some socio-economic and geographical aspects of human mobility in a heavily rural, slowly urbanizing country during the early years of the 20th century. Some of the fundamental theoretical and conceptual elements described above provide a useful framework against which the available migration data can be investigated. More specifically, the present study aimed to examine the following aspects:

(a) The study attempts to trace the pattern of the growth of the city of St. John's, Newfoundland, and analyses the characteristics of the population in comparison with those of other Canadian cities - selected for reasons of broadly similar size and/or economic and political function.

(b) The study focused on the migration field to identify any definite pattern of areas of origin. In order to provide a more detailed view of the areas of origin some selected communities are examined in depth. To what degree do those communities differ in socio-demographic characteristics from the point of destination during the period in question.

(c) What were the characteristics of the migrant household with respect to basic demographic and socio-economic parameters such as age-sex groupings, occupation, denominational affiliations and so on? The study also attempts to identify any differentials amongst migrant, i.e., the selectivity of certain persons or the tendency of certain groups to be more migratory than others.

(d) What were the socio-demographic characteristics of areas of destinations? Was there a clear spatial ordering of migrants at destinations? In order to examine this question more closely, the study aimed at a micro-level look, i.e., by some selected roads and streets.

Data and Methodology

The level of detailed analysis called for by the foregoing questions is not ordinarily possible given the nature of contemporary published census statistics. Recently however the enumerator's records for the Newfoundland Census Returns for 1921, 1935 and 1945 became available for public scrutiny at the Provincial Archives of Newfoundland and Labrador. The public access to these relatively recent nominal lists which formed the material for the census returns opens new possibilities in the study of population movement. These returns provide a variety of information on each individual

enumerated; place of birth, relationship to head of household, marital status, sex, age, occupation and so on (for details see Appendix A). It appears probable that these data are amongst the most contemporary and exhaustive available to the student of migration and other aspects of socio-demographic inquiry.

The present study considered the data for the period 1921, which appeared to provide the best set of spatial information. The 1921 census contains most of the information required for migration, particularly with respect to precise settlement of origin and also the address at ultimate destination. One positive attribute of these data is that they help us to understand St. John's in a period before large scale industrialization took place which affected radically the traditional lifestyle of Newfoundland. In fact, the early period of the present century, particularly for Newfoundland, remains less complicated than the later period.

The study, however, is confined to the area under the city of St. John's during the period 1921. The reason for choosing St. John's as the study area is simple; this was the largest urban settlement with over 60% of the service and manufacturing industries located in Newfoundland in 1921 (Census:1921, Vol. IV). It was also the political and social capital of the island. It was thus expected that much socio-demographic variety would exist in this settlement which would enrich the study.

The census data available at the Archives are unique in the sense that such recent information is not available anywhere else in Canada. Census data on each individual are kept secret under the Census Act (Statutes of

Canada; Vol. I, p. 444). Fortunately for the researcher the present set of data do not fall under Canadian census jurisdiction, since these were gathered before Confederation which took place in 1949. In point of fact, except for some Scandinavian sources, such a comparable body of relatively recent data is probably not available for research in the Western World.

The operational definition of migrant in the present study is quite simple. The birthplace information has been used to define migrant, just as Ravenstein used it in his seminal study. Any St. John's resident of 1921 whose place of birth was outside the city limits is considered as migrant. The data available with the nominal enumerator's return are unique but they do have some limitations. They fail to indicate directly when the migration took place and also do not record possible stop-overs from the point of origin to destinations. But, accepting these limitations, information on all migrants and their households (with migrant and non-migrant members) was coded and punched onto cards for computer tabulations.

The present study, as noted earlier, covers the area under the city boundary in 1921. The description of the boundary is available in the St. John's Municipal Commission Act:1921 (see Fig. 1.1 for the city boundary and ward boundaries). Unfortunately this act does not say anything about the ward boundaries. Thus the Journal of House of Assembly was examined from the period 1901 to 1921. It appears from this investigation that descriptions of the ward boundaries were given in 1901, 1905 and in 1909. The latter was the most recent definition of the boundaries before the study period. Accordingly the present study utilized the description of 1909.

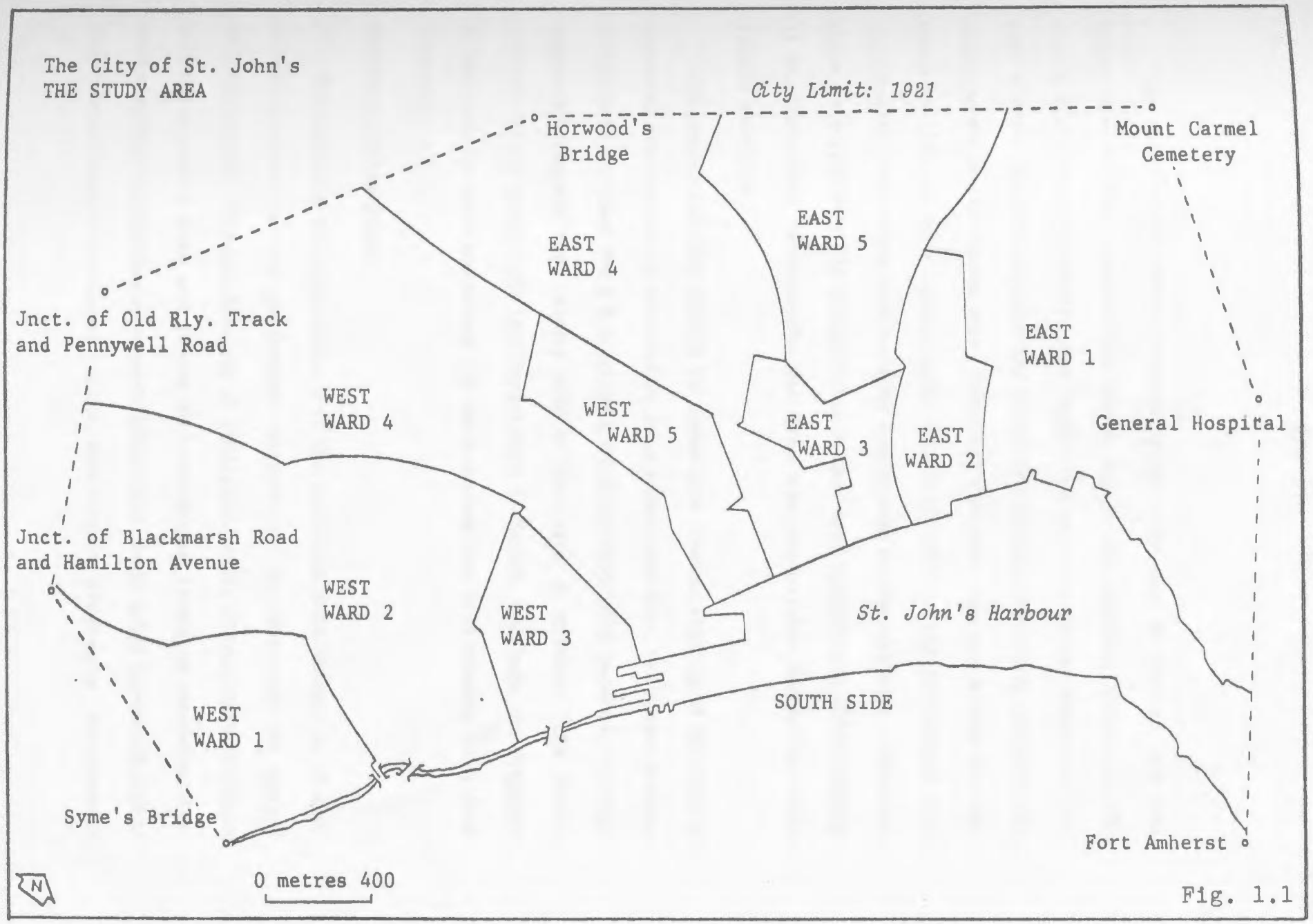
The City of St. John's
THE STUDY AREA
City Limit: 1921
Horwood's Bridge
Mount Carmel Cemetery
EAST WARD 4
EAST WARD 5
EAST WARD 1
Jnct. of Old Rly. Track and Pennywell Road
WEST WARD 4
WEST WARD 5
EAST WARD 3
EAST WARD 2
General Hospital
Jnct. of Blackmarsh Road and Hamilton Avenue
WEST WARD 2
WEST WARD 3
St. John's Harbour
SOUTH SIDE
WEST WARD 1
Syme's Bridge
Fort Amherst
N
0 metres 400

Fig. 1.1

The districts or wards comprising the city may be divided into two major blocks. The eastern five wards fall in the political district of St. John's East and the western five wards fall in the political district of St. John's West. Apart from these ten wards the present study also included the area known as the South Side. Although this area was not within the city limits in 1921, it both enjoyed and offered services to the city people and was located just across the harbour contiguous to the city core. Although there were relatively few people living in that area (population:1372, number of migrants:294), functionally the area was inseparable from the city's overall activities.

One important note should be made here. During copying of the data it appeared that out of 10 wards of St. John's East and West, the major portion of the data for East Ward 2 is missing from the microfilm records. A rough estimate suggests that nearly 80% of the data is missing. The Public Archives at St. John's and the Department of Health, who hold the originals of the returns, were contacted. It was reported that it is missing from their collection too.

Relevance of the Study

Academically the phenomenon of the migration field should be of particular interest to the geographer because of its inherently by spatial characteristics. The examination of differential rates of movement between individual source area and places of destinations, changing migration networks, spatial perception of opportunities, and many other questions are of major importance to economic, social, and cultural geography. The present

research, in fact, is an attempt to look at such characteristics with special emphasis on the social geography of Newfoundland.

Chapter II

THE POPULATION OF ST. JOHN'S: 1921

St. John's appears to have been one of the earliest settled or regularly visited areas of Newfoundland. It seems likely that from the very beginning of English settlement St. John's established itself as the most important centre of the island. The reasons for this are relatively logical; both the site and situation of St. John's were particularly favourable - a large, safe harbour on an inhospitable coast, and the closest sailing point to Britain with which the colony had extensive trading connections. St. John's thus, with all her other facilities, became a focus for a large portion of the island's economic activities.

Partly by reason of the development of St. John's and partly because of political, economic and ecological factors, Eastern Newfoundland, from the earliest period of settlement, was more heavily populated than other parts of the island. It was not until the turn of the present century that a number of factors - the French Shore Treaty of 1904, the construction of pulp and paper mills, the extraction of mineral resources and the completion of the railway - combined to stimulate economic and demographic development in the west. In practice, these achievements contributed to the decline, always relative and sometimes absolute, of eastern settlements. The central and the western areas saw a gradual increase in resource development which attracted a growing population. As a result the eastern part shrank in terms of its share of population and resources (Copes:1961, 18). But St. John's was one of the very few places in the eastern region which

remained stable and even showed a gradual and modest increase in population size. This gradual shift of population can be traced in the census statistics. It appears from Table 2.1 that from 1836 to the present century Eastern Newfoundland lost a little under twenty-four points in its percentage share of total population, the Avalon lost twenty-one points, but the city of St. John's lost only four points. While all the regions grew in absolute totals over the period 1836-1901, St. John's grew at almost exactly the same rate as Eastern Newfoundland (2.2%), and slightly faster than the Avalon Peninsula. This westward movement of population assumed prominence during the second half of the nineteenth century. In 1857, 20% of the population of Newfoundland were settled in St. John's, but this share fell to 12.7% by 1891. However, by the turn of the present century, St. John's had started increasing again in a modest way even though other eastern regions were still in decline.

The Growth of Population in St. John's: 1836-1921

The population of St. John's, following strong gains in the first half of the nineteenth century, grew relatively slowly in the second half, but from the beginning of the present century the importance of St. John's as a commercial and industrial centre became more pronounced. Accordingly the growth of the city increased substantially. By 1901 the city had recorded a growth of nearly 15% over the previous census period. From 1901-1911 the growth rate slowed but it had surged again by 1921 (see Table 2.2).

Because of its combined role as the major port and political centre, St. John's has traditionally accommodated a disproportionately large share of

Table 2.1: Population of Newfoundland: By Regions

Period	Total NFLD.	Eastern NFLD.*		Avalon Peninsula		City of St. John's	
		No.	As % of NFLD.	No.	As % of NFLD.	No.	As % of NFLD.
1836	75,094	71,089	94.7	54,776	72.9	13,335	17.8
1845	96,295	84,451	87.7	72,866	75.6	20,941	21.7
1857	124,288	112,549	90.6	81,889	65.9	24,851	20.0
1869	146,536	115,228	78.6	89,626	61.2	22,553	15.4
1874	161,374	125,581	77.8	94,720	58.7	23,890	14.8
1884	197,335	147,368	74.7	111,262	56.4	24,758	12.6
1891	202,040	146,990	72.8	109,048	54.0	25,738	12.7
1901	220,984	157,007	71.0	114,479	51.8	29,594	13.4
1911	242,619	167,584	69.0	121,044	49.9	32,292	13.3
1921	263,033	178,880	67.9	121,463	46.2	36,444	13.8

* Includes Avalon Peninsula, Burin Peninsula, Trinity Bay and Bonavista Bay.

+ Based on estimated divisions of Trinity Bay population.

Source: *Census of Newfoundland:* 1836-1921.

Table 2.2: Growth of Population of St. John's: 1836-1921

Period	Number	Percentage of Growth	Average Annual % Growth
1836	13,335	-	-
1845	20,941	57.0	6.3
1857	24,851	18.6	1.6
1869	22,553	-9.2	-0.8
1874	23,890	5.9	1.2
1884	24,758	3.6	0.4
1891	25,738	3.9	0.6
1901	29,594	14.9	1.5
1911	32,292	9.1	0.9
1921	36,444	12.8	1.3

Source: *Census of Newfoundland: 1836-1921*

Newfoundland's industries and industrial labour force. In 1869, over 80% of the major industries were located in St. John's (Joy:1977, 3), though this share had fallen to 63% by 1921. In the more restricted period of 1891 to 1921, it appears from the census figures that 93% of the major industries were located in St. John's in 1891, before the development of the railway system encouraged industrial development elsewhere in the island. This figure came down to 75% in 1901 and to 70% in 1911. Indirectly it indicates the degree to which other centres were growing relatively faster.

Although St. John's grew steadily over the period, its growth was not as spectacular as that of many industrializing North American cities. This was because the growth of the population of St. John's was largely due to natural increase rather than from floods of migration, particularly international migration. Statistics suggest that in 1911-21, nearly 91% of the population increase was due to natural growth. An examination of Table 2.3 indicates that the city recorded only modest gains by in-migration, though these figures of course reflect net gains - actual population flows to the city would have been larger. It also appears from the census figures that during the period 1900-1911, the districts of Conception Bay and Trinity Bay lost population by emigration. St. John's alone in this period recorded a positive growth. It should be noted here that the figures appearing in Table 2.3 are a little exaggerated because they cover the political districts of St. John's East and St. John's West. The district boundary was slightly more extensive than the city boundary.

Characteristics of the Population

Table 2.3: Implied Net Migration: St. John's: 1901-1921

	Actual Figure from Census			Compiled from Vital Statistics		
Period	Increase past 10 years	Decrease past 10 years	% Growth	% increase by natural growth	Loss by immigration to other districts	Gain over natural growth by persons moved in
1901	3968	0	11.0	9.6	0	1.4
1911	5690	0	28.0	22.4	0	5.6
1921	6473	0	28.5	25.9	0	2.6

Source: *Census of Newfoundland: 1901-1921*, Table V.

The population of St. John's in 1921, as defined in this study was 36,444 and the present section attempts to analyse some of the salient demographic characteristics of the city. The analysis includes the following aspects of population structure - age-sex groupings, denominational affiliations, ethnic origins, level of literacy, composition of working force, and occupation of the people of the city. The presentation of these facts starts with the city of St. John's itself. Following this an attempt has been made to compare the socio-demographic structure of St. John's with some selected Canadian cities - Saint John, New Brunswick (population in 1921: 47,166), Regina, Saskatchewan (population in 1921: 34,437), Victoria, British Columbia (population in 1921: 38,727), Windsor, Ontario (population in 1921: 38,591) and Halifax, Nova Scotia (population in 1921: 58,372). The cities of Victoria, Regina and Windsor were of nearly the same size as St. John's and the former two had similarities in political role in that they were the capital cities for their respective provinces. On the other hand, Halifax, the nearest comparison city and largest urban centre in Atlantic Canada, was also a capital city though it was somewhat larger than St. John's during the period in question. The city of Saint John in New Brunswick was also bigger, but both Halifax and Saint John were largely similar to St. John's in terms of function - both were maritime fringe and important ports of the region.

Age-Sex Groupings

The population composition, particularly the age-sex grouping of St. John's, is interesting. In 1921 more than 53% of the city's population was female. The dominance of females is more apparent in the age groups 16-20

years and 21-25 years. As usual, the aged female population is greater than the males (see Fig. 2.1). The shape of the pyramid roughly indicates a progressive structure; the pyramid is wider at the base and becomes narrow at the top, except for the combined age groups above 65 years.

Apart from this general view some intra-urban differences in the pattern may be seen as in Table 2.4. Generally speaking, people under 15 and over 60 years may be categorized as dependent population and this group accounts for over 43% of the total population. It appears from the table that the western part of the city is more populous than the east. Nearly 53% of the population were settled in the western part. Looking at this in more detail it appears that East Ward 1 has more male population (21.3%) in the younger age group, while female dominance in the same age group appears in the East Ward 4 (21.1%). In this age-group the localities of the western part of the city had nearly equal proportions of population in each sex, but generally the distribution, as measured by deviation from the mean, was fairly even. Similarly in the age-group 15 to 60 years, the population of the western part of the city demonstrated that the proportional differences, according to sex, were relatively less than the eastern part. In this age-group (15-60 years) East Ward 2 recorded the highest proportion of male population (27.1%). East Ward 3, however, recorded the highest proportion of female population (38.5%). In general, the table indicates that variation in proportion of population by sex was greater in the eastern part of the city.

Examining the population of the city by age-group, but ignoring sex, it appears that the western part had more dependent population than the east

AGE-SEX GROUPINGS OF ST. JOHN'S: 1921

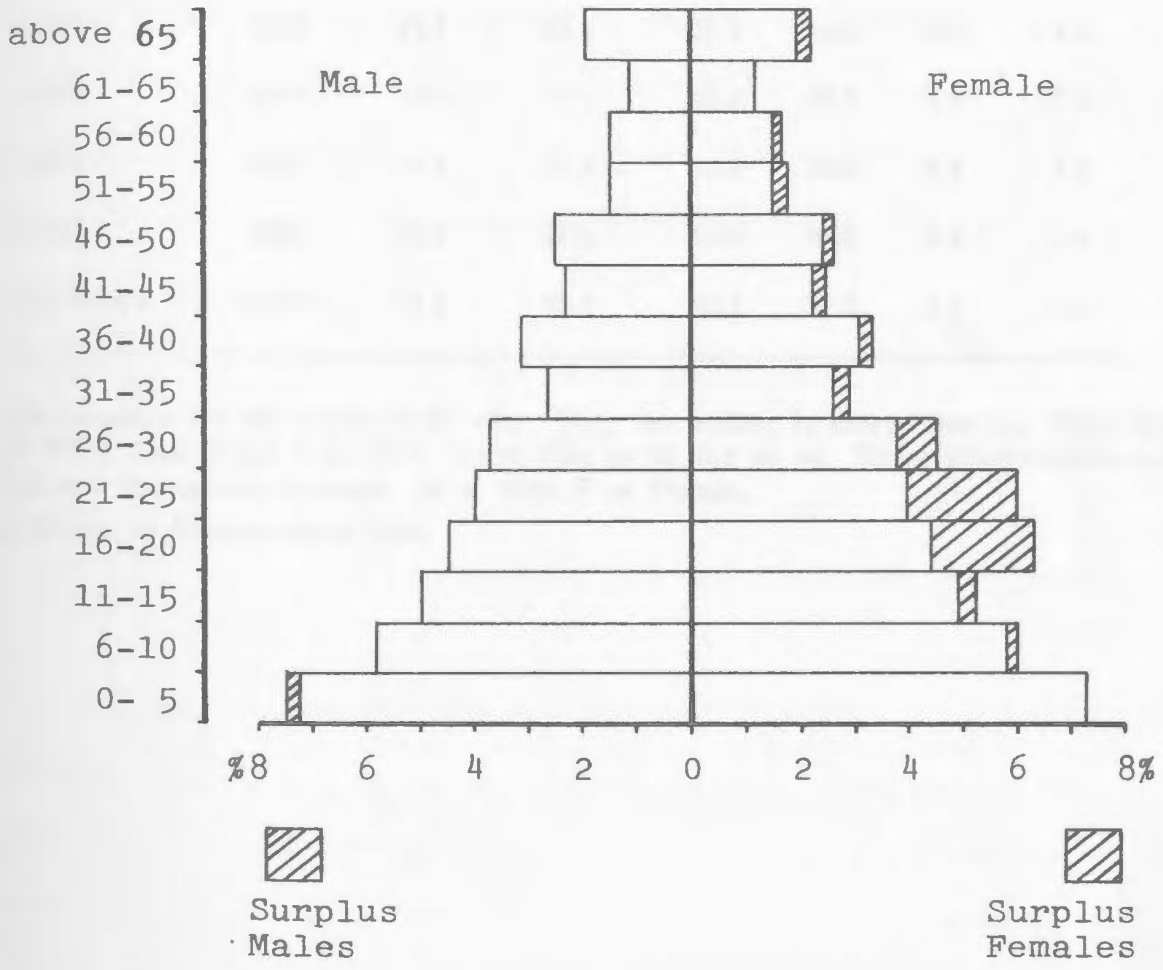

Fig. 2.1

Table 2.4: Age-Sex Groupings of the Population of St. John's: 1921
(percentage of population)

Localities*	Population	Less than 15 Years		15 to 60 Years		Above 60 Years	
		M	F	M	F	M	F
SS	1372	19.4	18.9	25.6	29.0	3.6	3.5
WW1	1512	17.6	17.4	25.7	34.0	2.8	2.5
WW2	3902	19.0	19.2	25.1	29.9	3.3	3.5
WW3	3430	18.1	18.0	26.1	31.2	3.3	3.3
WW4	5185	19.6	19.2	26.1	29.0	2.8	3.3
WW5	4984	19.3	19.8	25.7	29.1	3.0	3.1
EW1	4383	21.3	16.7	23.5	32.1	2.9	3.5
EW2	3396	14.7	16.4	27.1	34.2	3.6	4.0
EW3	1355	12.5	13.5	26.2	38.5	3.8	5.5
EW4	5232	17.4	21.1	24.9	30.2	2.9	3.5
EW5	3291	16.4	17.0	24.8	36.1	2.8	2.9
St. John's	38042	18.2	18.4	25.4	31.5	3.1	3.4

* The localities are the wards of the city. They are written in short form; e.g. West Ward 1 as WW1, East Ward 1 as EW1, South Side as SS and so on. These abbreviations will be followed throughout the work. M = Male, F = Female.

Source: *Census of Newfoundland: 1921*

(see Fig. 2.2). The eastern part thus had a larger proportion of people who can be described as active population. East Ward 3 recorded the highest proportion of people that fall within the age limit 15 to 60 years (nearly 65%) of which more than 60% were female. It is probably important to note that during the period 1921, employment opportunities, particularly for females, were limited.

The significance of the age group distribution becomes more apparent when comparison is made with other Canadian cities. St. John's had substantially fewer people in the prime working age group of 15-64 than were present in the comparison cities. Table 2.5 also suggests that St. John's, Newfoundland had the highest proportion of people under 15 years (36.6%), among the comparison cities. Probably it is worthy of note that fewer people in the prime working age could have an impact on productivity and it may be conjectured that St. John's would not perform well in this area.

Denominational Affiliations

Denominational affiliations of the people are frequently an important component of social geography. Particularly in the traditional society denominationalism was a very strong force for either unity or fission. In St. John's and Newfoundland during the period in question this was particularly true.

The denominational affiliations of the people of St. John's have been tabulated (see Table 2.6). The table indicates that the largest single group in nearly all parts of the city was Roman Catholic. The only exception was the South Side, where a little over 39% of the people were associated with

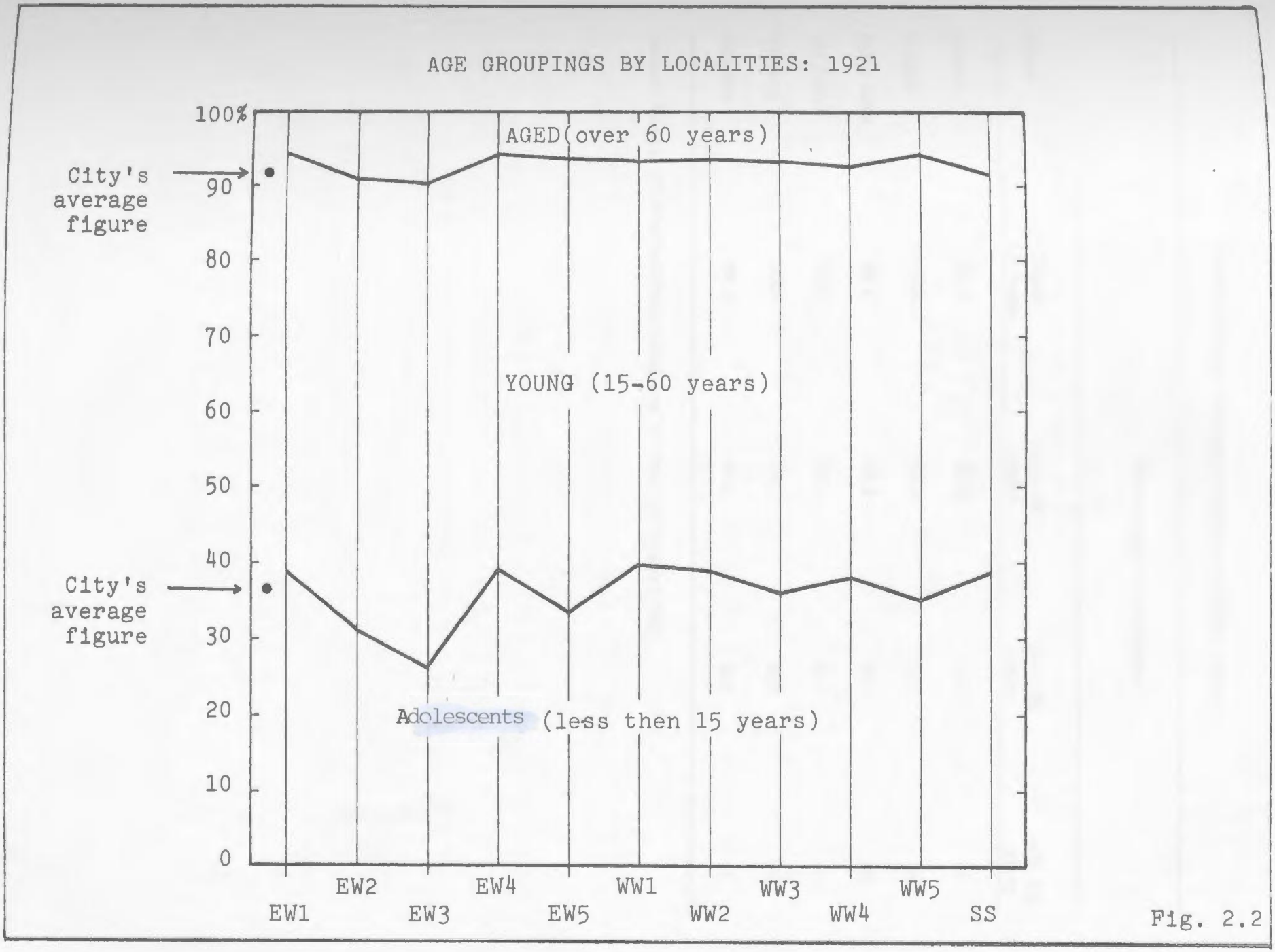
AGE GROUPINGS BY LOCALITIES: 1921
100%
90
80
70
60
50
40
30
20
10
0
City's average figure
City's average figure
AGED(over 60 years)
YOUNG (15-60 years)
Adolescents (less then 15 years)
EW1
EW2
EW3
EW4
EW5
WW1
WW2
WW3
WW4
WW5
SS

Fig. 2.2

Table 2.5: Age Groupings of Selected Cities: 1921

Cities	Percentage of Population			
	Under 15 years	15 to 64 years	Over 65 years	Age not given
Halifax	29.6	66.0	4.2	.2
Regina	30.8	67.2	1.7	.3
Saint John	28.7	65.2	5.7	.4
St. John's	36.6	59.3	4.1	-
Victoria	25.0	70.1	4.2	.1
Windsor	28.2	68.1	3.3	.4

Source: *Census of Newfoundland: 1921 and Census of Canada: 1921*

Table 2.6: Denominational Affiliations of the People of St. John's: 1921 (percentage of population)

Localities	Population	Roman Catholic	Church of England	Methodist
SS	1372	34.3	39.2	20.7
WW1	1512	57.7	15.3	14.2
WW2	3902	40.7	22.7	27.0
WW3	3430	53.6	21.8	17.2
WW4	5185	59.1	18.3	25.2
WW5	4984	54.4	17.8	21.0
EW1	4383	49.1	27.3	17.1
EW2	3396	53.7	24.4	15.1
EW3	1355	40.0	27.7	20.7
EW4	5232	46.7	23.9	22.9
EW5	3291	49.2	26.1	16.2
St. John's	38042	49.6	22.4	20.4

Source: *Census of Newfoundland: 1921*

Table 2.6: Denominational Affiliations of the People of St. John's: 1921 (continued) (percentage of population)

Localities	Population	Salvation Army	Presbyterian	Congregational	Others
SS	1372	3.6	1.2	1.0	-
WW1	1512	1.7	9.1	1.3	.1
WW2	3902	4.0	3.1	1.2	1.3
WW3	3430	3.8	2.3	.8	.5
WW4	5185	4.2	1.3	.1	.8
WW5	4984	3.6	.9	.6	1.7
EW1	4383	2.3	3.3	.7	.2
EW2	3396	.8	3.7	1.1	1.2
EW3	1355	.4	6.9	3.3	1.0
EW4	5232	1.7	2.4	1.1	1.3
EW5	3291	.7	5.0	2.1	.7
St. John's	38042	2.6	3.0	1.0	1.0

Source: *Census of Newfoundland: 1921*

the Church of England. In general, nearly 50% of the city's population was Roman Catholic. The other two important denominations were Church of England and Methodist. In terms of the number of people recorded each of these two had less than half the adherents of the Roman Catholic Church. This difference was not constant in all parts of the city. In fact, the proportion of Roman Catholics were higher in the Western Wards in general, and West Ward 1 in particular. The distribution of people affiliated with the Church of England was generally higher in the eastern wards of the city, especially East Ward 3, though their major proportion was recorded in the South Side. The Methodists in general aggregated in the western parts of the city. Similarly, the largest proportion of people associated with the Salvation Army settled in the western parts of the city.

Some interesting comparisons may be made with Canadian counterparts (see Table 2.7). This table shows that St. John's possessed a higher proportion of people (49.6%) under the Roman Catholic Church than the other cities. Moreover the population of St. John's was less fragmented than the others. For example, the three major denominations (Roman Catholic, Church of England and Methodist) accounted for a little over 92% of the total population of St. John's. Such figures for the comparison cities ranged from 66% to 73%. This indicates that the population of St. John's was in some senses the most coherent or most evenly balanced grouping of major denominations. In other words, the population of St. John's was less diverse and more resembled a traditional society. One other important observation of the table is that of the importance of the Salvation Army in the cities

Table 2.7: Denominational Affiliations of Selected Cities: 1921
(percentage of population)

Denominations	Halifax	Regina	Saint John	St. John's	Victoria	Windsor
Church of England	28.0	26.6	24.1	22.4	40.2	22.4
Roman Catholic	39.6	16.2	30.6	49.6	6.3	31.1
Methodist	9.6	12.5	12.0	20.4	13.0	18.7
Presbyterian	11.3	27.0	*	3.0	20.3	15.1
Salvation Army	*	*	*	2.6	*	*
Congregational	*	*	*	1.0	*	*
Others	11.4	17.0	32.0	1.0	19.0	11.8

* means less than 1%

Source: *Census of Newfoundland: 1921 and Census of Canada: 1921.*

concerned - only St. John's has a visible grouping.

National Origins of the People

An attempt has been made to trace the national origins of the people of the cities under analysis. The population of St. John's was homogeneous to such a high degree (95.5% native born) that it was not considered worthwhile to conduct any intra-urban analysis. Table 2.8 indicates that in most comparison cities the overwhelming majority of the people were native, i.e. either born in the city or in the province - St. John's however had by far the highest percentage of native born. The situation was different in Victoria, for though 46% were native born, nearly 40% came from Britain. The figure for Regina also indicates that it had a larger number of people who came from Britain reflecting, presumably, a recent and substantial immigration. A simple generalization may be made that the older established Atlantic cities had long progressed past the point at which overseas immigrants made up a significant proportion of the population. St. John's was the most proven example of this.

The Level of Literacy

The level of literacy is an important indicator of social and economic development. Generally the degree of exposure to education is positively correlated with the economic achievement of a given society. Alexander (1980) has closely examined the level of literacy in Newfoundland, at least partly in an attempt to determine threshold levels for particular stages of development. The 1891 census indicates that 68% of the Newfoundland population were literate. This figure was far lower than any other neigh-

Table 2.8: National Origins of People in Selected Cities: 1921
(percentage of population)

Cities	Native Born	British Born	Other Foreign
Halifax	84.5	12.1	3.4
Regina	56.3	26.3	17.4
Saint John	89.8	6.4	3.8
St. John's	95.5	2.0	2.5
Victoria	46.4	39.7	13.9
Windsor	71.6	15.1	13.3

Source: Census of Newfoundland: 1921

and Census of Canada: 1921

bouring country or province; the comparable figure for the Maritime Provinces, for example, was 87%. Still, Alexander concluded that, according to Bowman and Anderson's indicator, an adult literacy level of only 30 to 40% is necessary to be categorized as developed and Newfoundland had achieved such a threshold in the early to mid-nineteenth century (Alexander:1980, 31). However, without unduly protracting the issue, it is probably worthwhile to look at the literacy levels in St. John's - the capital and the largest city of the province. Table 2.9 demonstrates the figures for 1921. It appears from the table that a little over 75% of the population of St. John's may have been literate. The table also indicates that the eastern wards had a higher percentage of literate people. On the negative end of the literacy scale the eastern wards showed smaller proportions of children who were not at school, and a smaller proportion who could only read. The most marked difference appeared in the category of persons who could not read or write. The western wards, particularly the South Side and West Ward 5, had quite a large proportion of people who were completely illiterate.

In order to look at the spatial distribution of literate persons in the city, Fig. 2.3 was constructed. The figure suggests that the literate persons were relatively agglomerated in certain localities of the city. East Wards 2, 3 and 5 appeared to be the areas with the higher literacy levels. The situation of West Ward 3 was relatively better among the western wards. The rest of the wards in the west indicated a similar but lower range of literacy. The lowest level of literacy prevailed on the South Side.

When compared to other cities these figures become more interesting.

Table 2.9: Level of Literacy of the People of St. John's: 1921 (percentage of population)

Localities	Total	Persons 5-15 years at school	Persons 5-15 years not at school	Persons over 15 years at school
SS	1337	18.0	5.1	1.0
WW1	1550	17.5	3.4	3.4
WW2	3672	19.1	3.2	1.5
WW3	3323	18.6	2.0	1.2
WW4	4546	20.6	3.1	1.2
WW5	4734	19.0	4.1	.6
EW1	4342	22.0	2.5	1.6
EW2	3267	17.0	1.0	2.2
EW3	1451	16.5	.2	2.6
EW4	5067	21.0	5.1	1.1
EW5	3333	20.0	.6	1.7
St. John's	36622	19.5	2.8	1.5

Source: *Census of Newfoundland: 1921*

Table 2.9: Level of Literacy of the People of St. John's: 1921
(continued)
(percentage of population)

Localities	Total	Persons over 10 years can read & write	Persons can read but cannot write	Persons over 10 cannot read & write
SS	1337	64.0	.5	11.4
WW1	1550	69.7	.6	5.4
WW2	3672	68.0	.3	7.9
WW3	3323	70.6	.3	7.3
WW4	4546	68.7	.2	6.2
WW5	4734	65.7	1.0	9.6
EW1	4342	68.6		5.3
EW2	3267	79.8		.05
EW3	1451	78.2	.2	2.3
EW4	5067	68.5		4.2
EW5	3333	75.4	.4	1.9
St. John's	36622	70.5	.3	5.4

Source: *Census of Newfoundland: 1921*

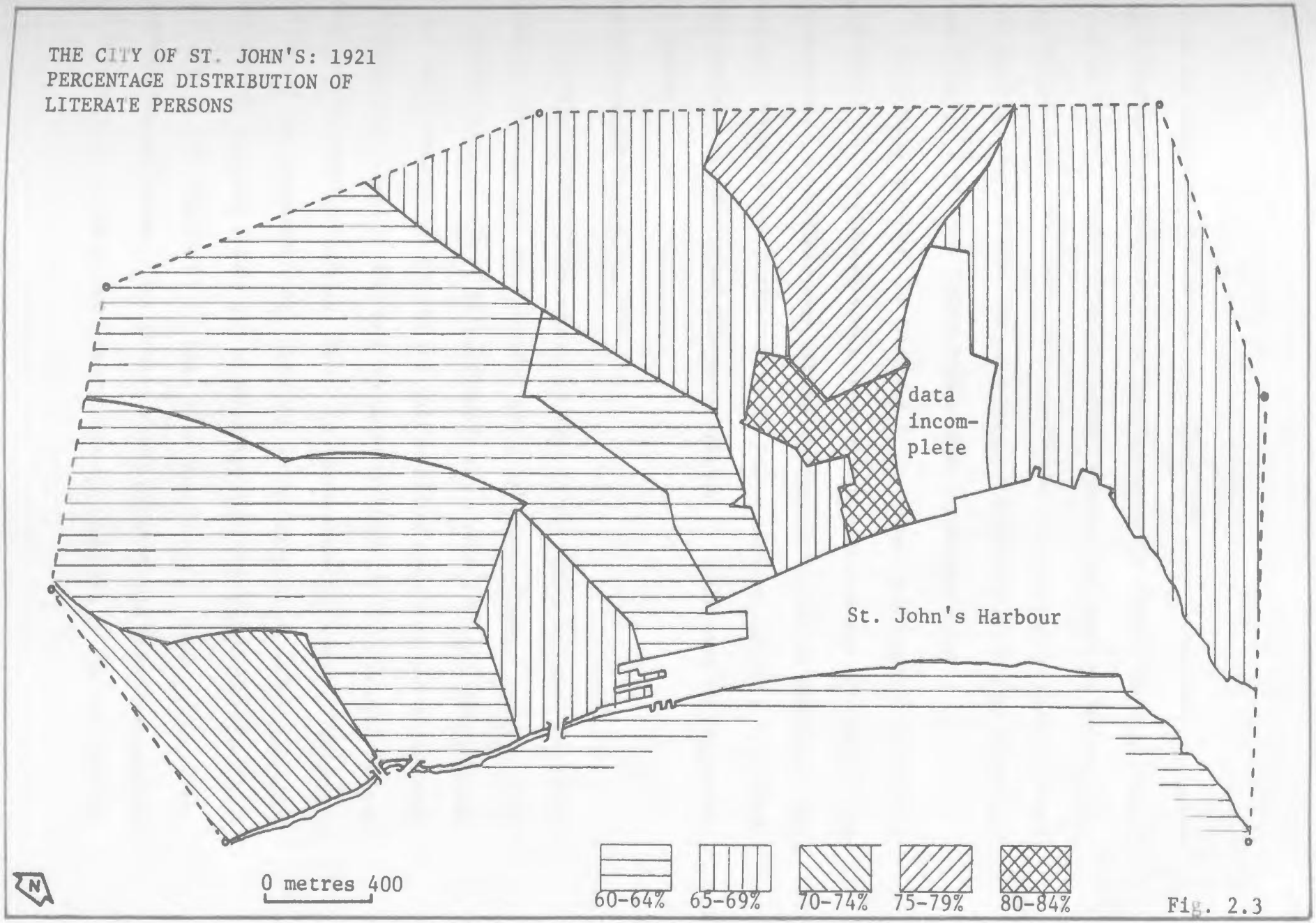
THE CITY OF ST. JOHN'S: 1921
PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF
LITERATE PERSONS
data incom-
plete
St. John's Harbour
N
0 metres 400
60-64%
65-69%
70-74%
75-79%
80-84%

Fig. 2.3

All of the comparison cities had more than 83% of the population who could be categorized as literate, while this figure for St. John's was much lower (see Table 2.10). Some of this difference can be explained by the fact that in 1921 St. John's had more than one-fifth of her population below 5 years. But even allowing for this, the percentage of the population who could read and write was somewhat higher, and similar in all other cities.

In general however the situation of St. John's with respect to literacy was better than the other areas of the island. On average only 55% of the Newfoundland population was literate during the period in question. The rate for people of the north-east coast fell somewhere between 53 to 56%. This indicates a substantial difference between St. John's and its neighbouring places.

Work Force and Occupation

An examination of the economic base of St. John's will give an opportunity to evaluate the occupational structure more closely. Newfoundland in general, and St. John's in particular, was never a highly industrialized area. Still, since St. John's was the capital of the colony as well as the largest settlement, it was a relatively favoured location for the concentration of many of the major industries. Table 2.11 indicates that quite a significant portion of the population was involved in the secondary sector, although this portion declined slowly but steadily through the thirty year period to 1921. It is also important to note that the primary sector suffered the greatest relative decline. The decline in the primary and secondary sectors and the increase in the tertiary sector may be explained by the fact that St.

Table 2.10: Level of Literacy in Selected Cities: 1921
(percentage of population)

Levels of Literacy	Halifax	Regina	Saint John	Victoria	Windsor	St. John's
Can read and write	83.6	84.0	85.5	87.5	84.5	70.5
Can read only	.5	.3	.4	.5	.4	.3
Cannot read nor write	5.0	4.5	4.3	4.1	4.1	5.4
Not applicable less than 5 years)	10.9	11.2	9.8	7.6	11.0	14.8

Source: *Census of Newfoundland: 1921*
and Census of Canada: 1921

* It is impossible to make strict comparisons between St. John's and the other cities as data were gathered in dissimilar categories. The Canadian cities' data for "can read and write" are based on percentage of population > 5 years. The St. John's figures for this declaration of literacy are of persons > 10 years. If we add to the St. John's column the roughly 9% of the population undeclared in the comparison (the 5-9 year olds) and assume that all were literate, we would arrive at a figure of literacy slightly under 80%, or clearly below that of any Canadian comparison city. In practice, a large proportion of the 5-9 year category would have been illiterate. It is improbable that the aggregate comparative figure for St. John's literacy would have reached much more than 75%.

Table 2.11: Employment Structure of St. John's: 1921
(percentage of total labour force)

Period	Primary	Secondary	Tertiary	Others
1891	10	28	23	34
1901	4	27	22	47
1911	4	26	31	39
1921	3	24	32	41

Source: *Census of Newfoundland: 1891-1921*

General Classification

Primary	fishing, forestry, farming, mining
Secondary	manufacturing, transportation, mechanical and technical trades
Tertiary	administrative, retail and wholesale trade, commercial services
Others	domestic workers, seasonal and casual workers.

John's, by 1921, was experiencing a modest transformation towards being an administrative, as well as a service centre. This explanation is underlined by an examination of Table 2.12, which portrays the occupational categories of the people of St. John's. As expected, a large proportion of the people of St. John's were employed in the group "Service Personnel and Governmental Officials" (26%). The group "Technical Tradesmen" is also equally important (23.8%). It is worth noting however that the sector "Otherwise Employed" accounted for a large proportion of people (40%). This may well reflect the unstable job market and a large pool of ill-defined and shifting occupational groups. It also makes it difficult to use the occupational labour force statistics for anything other than rudimentary analysis.

Examining the spatial difference of occupational categories in the city, it appears that most of the professionals and merchants were settled in the eastern wards of the city. Service personnel were relatively widely distributed in the city except the West Ward 1 and South Side - the highest proportion of service personnel were recorded in East Ward 3. One interesting observation from the table is that most of the technical manpower appeared in the western wards, but, on the other hand, census statistics indicated that the eastern wards held the location of the majority of industries. However, East Ward 1 was the area with the largest proportion of people mainly involved with fishing. They were also moderately large numbers of people with the same occupation in West Ward 1 and the South Side.

An attempt was made to compare the St. John's working force characteristics with those of other Canadian cities, though with limited success

Table 2.12: The Working Force of St. John's: 1921
(percentage of population)

Localities	Profess-ionals	Merchant & Trader	Service Personnel and Govt. Officials	Technical Trades-man	Primary Activities (Mainly Fishing)	Otherwise Employed
SS	1.5	.4	19.7	28.3	9.3	40.8
WW1	5.0	2.6	18.3	24.9	11.9	37.3
WW2	1.5	.8	23.2	31.9	5.3	37.3
WW3	2.3	1.1	25.0	24.8	1.2	45.6
WW4	.5	.3	24.3	34.0	2.1	38.8
WW5	1.0	4.4	20.8	25.5	2.5	45.8
EW1	4.0	5.0	24.4	19.0	15.1	32.5
EW2	.9	1.7	33.7	18.7	.8	44.2
EW3	4.5	1.3	39.9	8.5	.8	45.0
EW4	3.3	2.3	27.9	22.6	9.2	34.7
EW5	8.6	3.5	26.2	15.5	4.1	42.1
St. John's	2.6	2.3	26.0	23.8	4.9	40.4

Source: *Census of Newfoundland: 1921*

The Canadian census for 1921 was organized by various occupation categories which were not relevant to, or used, in the Newfoundland census. These categories do however give a reasonable indication of the nature of the comparison cities. Table 2.13 summarizes the statistics. It appears that by far the most important occupier of labour in all cities, excluding Windsor, was the "service sector", although this category comprehends a wide range of activities. On the other hand very few people were engaged in primary activities - this sector mainly includes agriculture, fishing, logging and mining, etc. Trade and Finance appeared important in three cities (Halifax, Saint John and Regina). Windsor, however, clearly demonstrated the characteristics of a manufacturing city. One important observation from the table is that Regina and Victoria had nearly equal proportions of people who were involved in the primary sector. This figure is also comparable to St. John's. Nearly 3% of the working force of St. John's engaged in the primary sector.

In general, construction and manufacturing were important in the Canadian cities, while in St. John's these activities were not classified as a separate identity. The occupation categories for the Canadian cities clearly indicates the nature of their economic base and reflects the fact that they were more diversified and developed than St. John's, the least developed city on the Atlantic coast.

Summary

The present chapter attempted to examine the growth of population of St. John's over the period 1836-1921. The investigation suggests that following strong gains in the first half of the nineteenth century the population

Table 2.13: The Working Force in Selected Cities: 1921
(percentage of population)

Cities	Primary Activities	Manufacturing	Construction	Transportation	Trade & Finance	Service Personnel	Other Industries
Halifax	.8	12.1	14.7	14.6	21.3	30.4	6.0
Regina	3.5	10.8	8.3	10.3	26.1	35.6	5.2
Saint John	1.6	20.9	7.3	15.2	24.6	24.2	5.9
Victoria	4.0	13.7	8.6	12.1	19.3	34.2	8.0
Windsor	.6	35.1	12.3	11.7	18.5	17.0	4.7

Source: *Census of Canada: 1921*

of St. John's grew relatively slowly in the second half. But at the turn of the present century the importance of St. John's as the commercial and industrial centre became more pronounced and thus population increased substantially. Over the period 1836-1921 the population of the city grew nearly three times with an average annual growth of 1.6%.

The population structure of the city indicates that female population was dominant. In 1921 more than 53% of the city's population was female and the female dominance is more apparent in the age-groups 16-20 years and 21-25 years. The intra-urban differences of population by sex indicates a that majority of the population lived in the west but female dominance is greater in the eastern parts of the city. This indirectly reflects the existence of higher number of household workers like maidservants, housekeepers. In fact, such personnel are higher in number in the more prosperous, Protestant dominated areas of merchants, tradesmen and professionals. On the other hand there was more dependent population in the western wards than the eastern wards. It also appears that St. John's during the period in question had more dependent population than the other selected Canadian cities. The denominational affiliations of the people of St. John's were mostly associated with the Roman Catholic Church, the Church of England and the Methodist Church. The Protestants in general were in the majority in the eastern parts of the city. More specifically two wards had relatively few Catholic people - South Side and East Ward 3. The three major churches encompassed almost 92% of the population of St. John's, while the Canadian cities in comparison were much more diversified. The ethnic composition of

St. John's also indicates that the people were much more homogeneous than the other cities. Over 95% of the population of St. John's were native born. The literacy level indicates that in 1921, perhaps 75% of the city's population were literate, but such figures were far below those of the Canadian counterparts. In terms of locality, it appeared that despite a smaller population, a higher proportion of population were literate in the eastern parts of the city. The higher literacy level in the eastern parts again suggests that those were the areas of higher social order. The employment structure however, indicates that over the period the primary sector suffered the greatest relative decline. The decline in the primary and secondary sectors indicates that the city was experiencing a modest transformation towards becoming an administrative and service offering city. The city also appeared to have a good proportion of technical persons and tradesmen, which reflects the city's involvement in the manufacturing sector, although at a modest level. During the study period, however, the counterpart Canadian cities appeared to be far more developed than St. John's.

Chapter III

THE MIGRATION FIELD DISCERNED

Patterns of the Migration Field

The present chapter deals with spatial aspects of population movement to St. John's. In particular it examines the migration field, the area from which a destination place draws its migrants. The City of St. John's in 1921 recorded 10,787 persons who were born outside the city limit - this was almost 31% of her total population.

Figure 3.1 illustrates the migration field of St. John's for the period under study. As has been previously noted, Eastern Newfoundland was more heavily populated and so not surprisingly the incidence of movement to the largest settlement of the island was greatest from this zone. In fact, the eastern region held the majority of the traditional urban centres of Newfoundland (Staveley:1982, 223-5) and it was these settlements in Conception Bay which contributed heavily to the migration flows. A close examination of Fig 3.1 suggests that settlements on the western shores of Conception Bay transmitted out-migrants on a large scale. On the other hand few people came from the West and South coasts of the island. Generally speaking the North-East Coast was the region from which St. John's sucked her migrant population. Comparatively few people appeared to respond from the southern part of the Avalon Peninsula, although a substantial number of people came from in and around Placentia.

The migration field appeared to be dense and continuous only in Conception Bay and on the western shore of Trinity Bay. In Bonavista Bay and

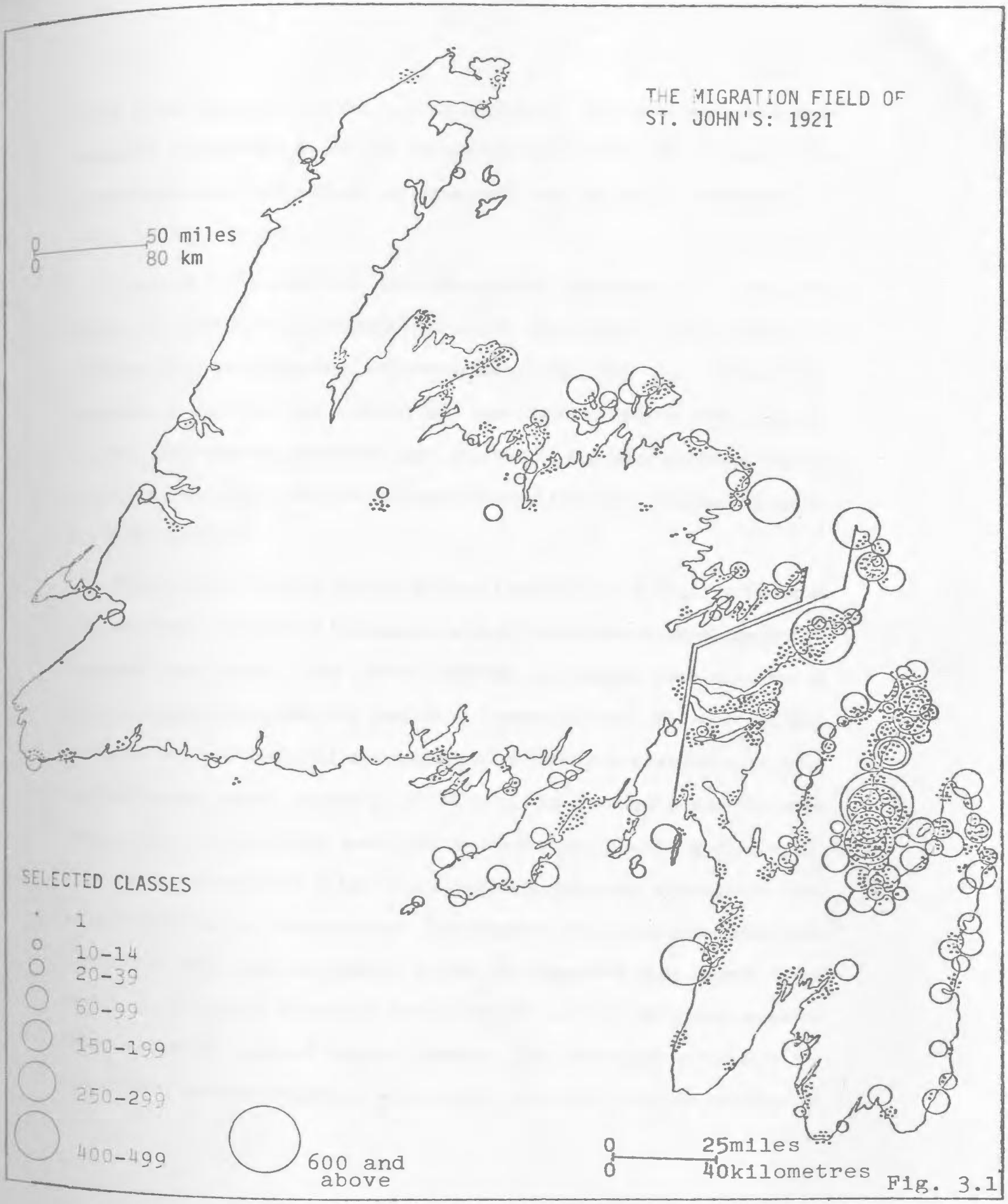
THE MIGRATION FIELD OF
ST. JOHN'S: 1921
0 50 miles
0 80 km
SELECTED CLASSES
1
10-14
20-39
60-99
150-199
250-299
400-499
600 and above
0 25miles
0 40kilometres

Fig. 3.1

Notre Dame Bay the field was a little dispersed. The most scattered field appeared on the West Coast and the western part of the South Coast. The overall migration field reflects, in some ways, the pattern of transportation networks in the island.

Figure 3.1 demonstrates only the internal migration but there were people who moved to St. John's from outside the colony. Nearly 15% of the total flow may be categorized as international migration. Fig. 3.2, however, attempts to portray both internal and international flow in some regional context. The regions considered here are mainly the local electoral district for the internal flow. For international sources they are classified by country or by continent.

The district of Trinity was the highest ranked area of origin in terms of raw numbers. Over 12% of the migrants to St. John's came out of the settlements of this district. This district however was bigger, both in terms of area and population, than any district of Conception Bay. For example, Bay de Verde had less than half the population of Trinity but ranked as second highest area of origins: almost 9% of the total flow recorded Bay de Verde as their origin. An interesting point may be made here that the district of St. John's West recorded one of the lowest contributory totals, although the district borders on the City boundary. This suggests that close proximity does not always encourage movement. It may be suggested that people make daily trips to the city when they are reasonably close to the major employment centre. In terms of regions, however, the North-East accounted for over 60% of the total migrants, while nearly 35% came from the districts of

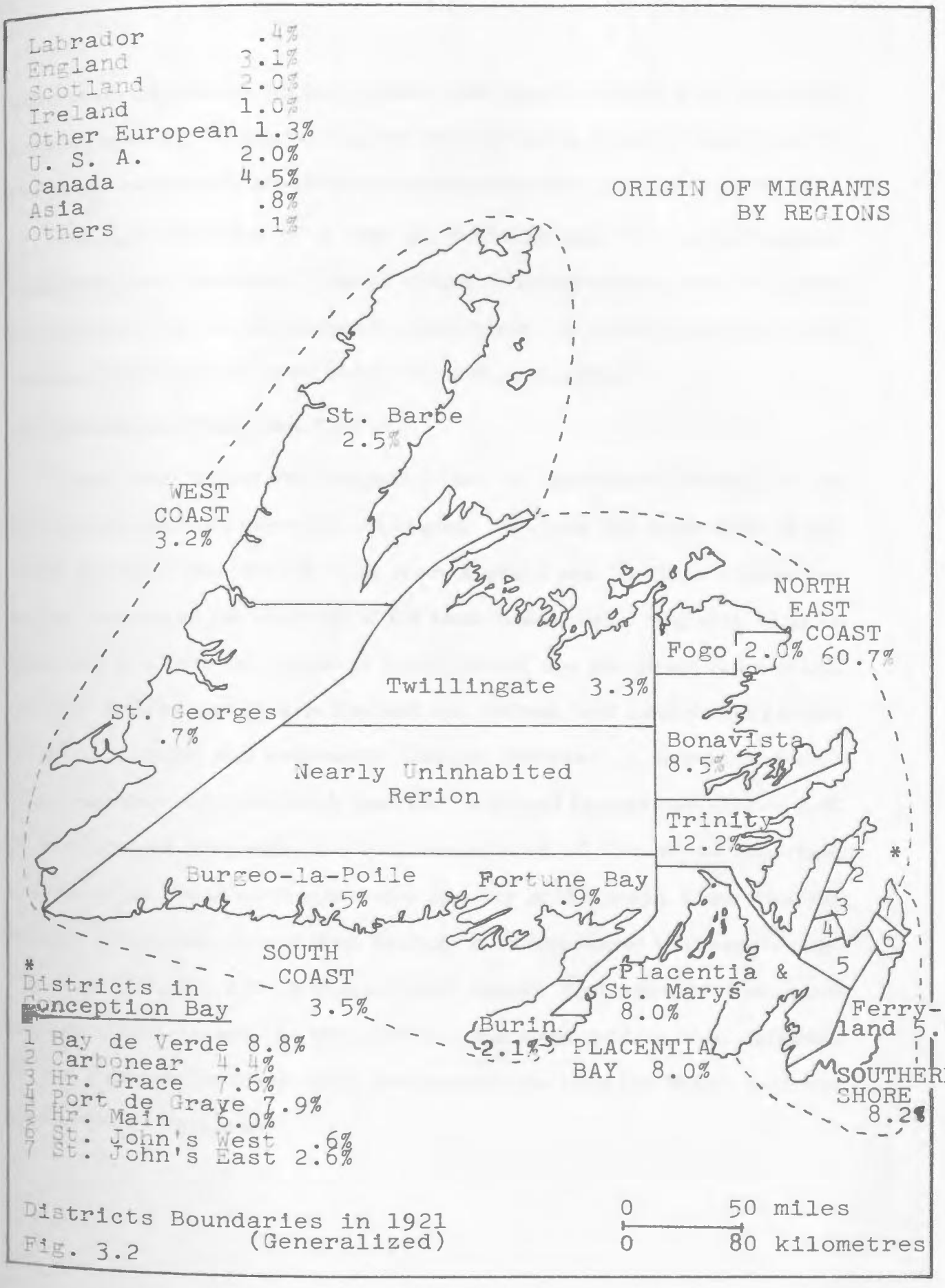
Labrador .4%
England 3.1%
Scotland 2.0%
Ireland 1.0%
Other European 1.3%
U. S. A. 2.0%
Canada 4.5%
Asia .8%
Others .1%
ORIGIN OF MIGRANTS BY REGIONS
St. Barbe 2.5%
WEST COAST 3.2%
NORTH EAST COAST 60.7%
Fogo 2.0%
Twillingate 3.3%
St. Georges .7%
Bonavista 8.5%
Nearly Uninhabited Rerion
Trinity 12.2%
Burgeo-la-Poile .5%
Fortune Bay .9%
SOUTH COAST 3.5%
Placentia & St. Marys 8.0%
Burin 2.1%
PLACENTIA BAY 8.0%
Ferry-land 5.0%
SOUTHERN SHORE 8.2%
* Districts in Conception Bay
1 Bay de Verde 8.8%
2 Carbonear 4.4%
3 Hr. Grace 7.6%
4 Port de Graye 7.9%
5 Hr. Main 6.0%
6 St. John's West .6%
7 St. John's East 2.6%
Districts Boundaries in 1921 (Generalized)
0 50 miles
0 80 kilometres

Fig. 3.2

Conception Bay alone. An insignificant flow came from the West and South coasts. In reality, these two regions were far away from St. John's and in the period in question probably the most inaccessible parts of the colony.

Although Labrador is a part of Newfoundland, it is geographically separated from the island. Hence, it had little interaction with the social and economic life of her mainland counterpart. Thus only a fraction (.4%) of the people migrating to St. John's came from Labrador.

The International Migration Field

Apart from the internal migration flow an appreciable portion (14.7%) of people came from international origins. This flow was dominated by two major sources. One stream came from England and Scotland. These two regions accounted for over 33% of the total international migrants. It is an historical fact that the people of Newfoundland are the direct descendants of Great Britain, particularly England and Ireland, and clearly this pattern of social, cultural and commercial contact persisted. A second and even larger stream came from North America - Mainland Canada contributed 4.5% of the aggregate flow, while the U.S.A. contributed 2%. One of the important aspects of the Canadian flow is that a majority of the people came from the Atlantic region, particularly from Halifax. It also appeared that people coming from Toronto and Montreal were mainly professionals like bank managers, doctors and the like. But the migration field, in fact, extended beyond European territory, for a few people came from the Middle East and even as far as from India.

It might be useful to compare the international migration as a proportion with other Canadian cities, especially with the old established Atlantic cities like Halifax and Saint John. Interestingly, similar to St. John's, Halifax had nearly an equal proportion (15.5%) of international migrants. But Saint John had only 4.5% of international migrant during the period in question. This suggests that St. John's was in no way inferior, in terms of cosmopolitan population, to its mainland counterparts.

It was assumed that it might be interesting to trace the year of immigration to the island, as this was a category of information asked of all non-Newfoundland born residents. The total number of international migrants was 1544, of which nearly half (48%) did not list the year of immigration. Table 3.1, however, summarizes the facts available on those who did list this information. The table demonstrates that nearly 41% of this group immigrated in the period 1914-1921, and of this number nearly 25% arrived in 1919 - this suggests some sort of impact of World War I. A close look at the data indicates that the people who migrated to Newfoundland particularly in 1919 are mostly from Britain (64%). One interesting aspect is that most of them were late 30's in age while the Canadian flow was relatively younger. A little over 51% of the Canadian born reported their age between 30 to 35 years. In both these flows most of the migrants were the heads of households.

The Migration Field by Volume

In order to get another view of the extent of the migration field a count was made to demonstrate the number of settlements that contributed to the

Table 3.1: Year of Immigration to Newfoundland

Period	Number (N = 799)	Percentage
1824-1833	5	.6
1834-1843	1	.1
1844-1853	6	.7
1854-1863	18	2.2
1864-1873	22	2.8
1874-1883	55	6.9
1884-1893	81	10.1
1894-1903	95	11.9
1904-1913	190	23.8
1914-1921	326	40.8

total flow. There were 602 different places that contributed to the total migrant count, of which 586 may be categorized as Newfoundland flow. Table 3.2 summarizes the facts of the Newfoundland flow. It indicates that the settlements contributing fewer than 6 migrants in the total were by far the most numerous, accounting for 66% of the places of origin. This reflects the fact that the migrants came from a widely distributed field. But when the percentage of migrants is considered, it appears that only 8% of the migrants came from these numerous and widely dispersed origins. Accordingly it suggests that very few came from the widely scattered migration field. Generally, the migrants came along well marked streams. The notion may be supplemented from the figures of the table above. The migrant count groups 51-70, 301-400 and 401-700 held a little over 4% of the total communities but accounted for nearly 38% of the total migration count. In other words only 25 communities sent 4183 migrants to St. John's. A closer scrutiny suggests that the settlements under the migrant count grouping 51-70 were mostly located in the Avalon Peninsula - more specifically out of 19, 8 were from Conception Bay. The 6 most influential sending communities were Trinity (522 persons), Greenspond (342 persons), Carbonear (327 persons), Harbour Grace (640 persons), Brigus (327 persons), and Placentia (349 persons). The location of these settlements again indicates that 4 of 6 were on the Avalon Peninsula.

The Migration Field by Category

The present study also attempted to look at the migration field of some selected members of households. The members are Head of Household, Wife

Table 3.2: Communities that Shaped the Migration Field (Internal Flow)

Migrant Count Groupings	Communities that contributed the flow		Migrants in the Groupings	
	No.	%	No.	%
1-5	389	66.4	848	7.6
6-10	58	9.9	569	5.1
11-20	47	8.0	701	6.3
21-30	27	4.6	656	5.9
31-50	14	2.4	639	5.8
51-70	19	3.2	1226	11.0
71-90	9	1.5	731	6.6
91-120	7	1.2	955	8.6
121-160	7	1.2	984	8.9
161-200	2	.3	345	3.1
201-300	1	.2	482	4.3
301-400	3	.5	1358	12.2
401-700	3	.5	1599	14.4

and the first born child. The head was selected because he or she is the member who, it may be reasonably assumed, makes the decisions for the family. The wife was selected because her status in the household usually contributes to the decision making policy. The first born child was taken to show a representative distribution of other members of the household.

Figure 3.3 illustrates the migration field of the heads of the households. It is important to note that over 96% of heads were male and with few exceptions household heads were married. The distribution of this category of migrants, in general, shows a similarity to the overall migration field. The eastern part is thickly dotted with migrant sources, particularly Conception Bay. In fact, Conception Bay contributed the majority of the flows. Trinity Bay was also a migration prone area. The overall pattern suggests that the North East Coast was the main source area from where most migrant heads came to St. John's by 1921. The field is also extended to the south particularly in Placentia Bay - the settlement of Placentia alone contributed the majority of the flow.

An attempt has been made to quantify the patterns, particularly to see if there is any difference between the overall migration field and that of heads of households. The figures are demonstrated in Table 3.3. This suggests that to a great extent the pattern is generally accordant. But there are also some subtle differences. The table for example suggests that the migration field of household heads was slightly more restricted than that of the general migrant population. Migrant heads came in slightly smaller proportions from regions like Bonavista Bay. Placentia Bay, Fortune Bay, South

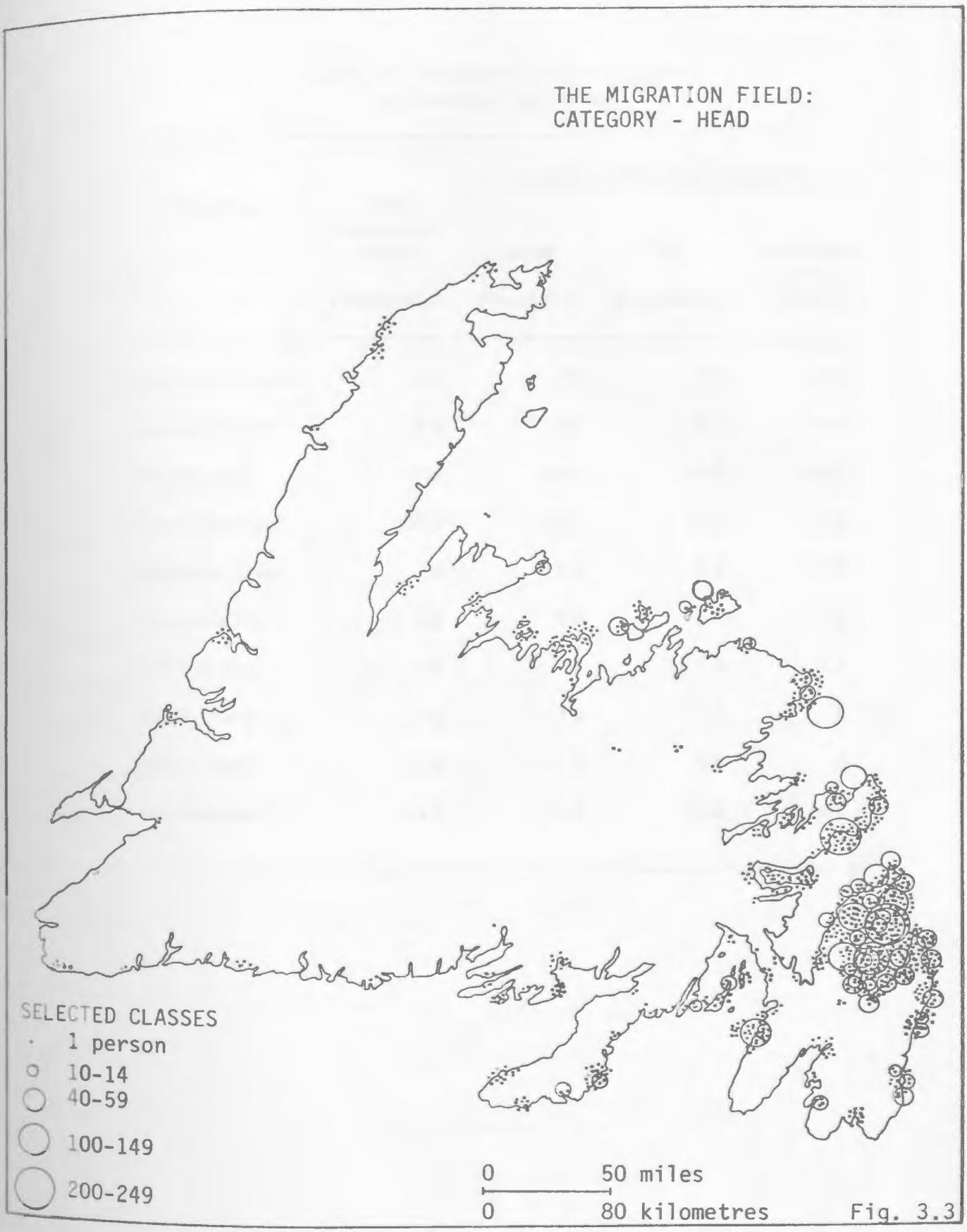
THE MIGRATION FIELD:
CATEGORY - HEAD
SELECTED CLASSES
1 person
10-14
40-59
100-149
200-249
0 50 miles
0 80 kilometres

Fig. 3.3

Table 3.3: Migrants by Source Regions
(percentage of population)

Regions	Total Migration Field (N-10,787)	Migration Field by Categories		
		Head (N=3201)	Wife (N=2803)	First Born Child (N-865)
Notre Dame Bay	5.5	5.6	6.1	6.9
Bonavista Bay	8.5	8.1	5.2	8.6
Trinity Bay	12.2	14.8	17.8	13.5
Conception Bay	35.3	39.2	40.9	37.8
Southern Shore	7.6	7.4	7.4	3.8
Placentia Bay	8.0	6.5	7.8	7.0
Fortune Bay	2.9	.8	1.2	1.4
South Coast	3.5	1.2	.6	.6
West Coast	3.2	.3	1.0	.6
International	14.8	12.0	12.0	19.2

Coast and West Coast. Generally the southern part of the island sent proportionately fewer heads than the North-East regions. But comparatively more heads came out of the settlements of Conception Bay and Trinity Bay. A little over 35% of the total migrant population was from Conception Bay, while the comparable figure for heads was 39% - a relatively large difference in the overall proportion of distributions. This suggests that migrant heads came out of more restricted channels. A closer examination of the data suggests that only three settlements (Harbour Grace, Carbonear and Brigus) in Conception Bay contributed nearly 16% of the total flow of the household heads.

An examination of the migration field of wives showed that the pattern was somewhat similar to that of the heads (see Table 3.3 and Fig. 3.4) but it also demonstrates a little more restricted flows directed from the oldest settled areas of the island. Conception Bay in particular and the North-East Coast in general were the major source regions of migrant wives. Very few wives came from the West Coast, although some came from the Fortune Bay areas. An observation of Fig. 3.4 and Table 3.3 suggests also that fewer wives came from Bonavista Bay in comparison to household heads and on the other hand proportionately more females came from Notre Dame Bay.

Other than the head and wife of households the migration field of first born child has been examined. The first born child was chosen because of the significance of this event for the formation of a household. In addition, it appeared from the data examined for the present study that a number of

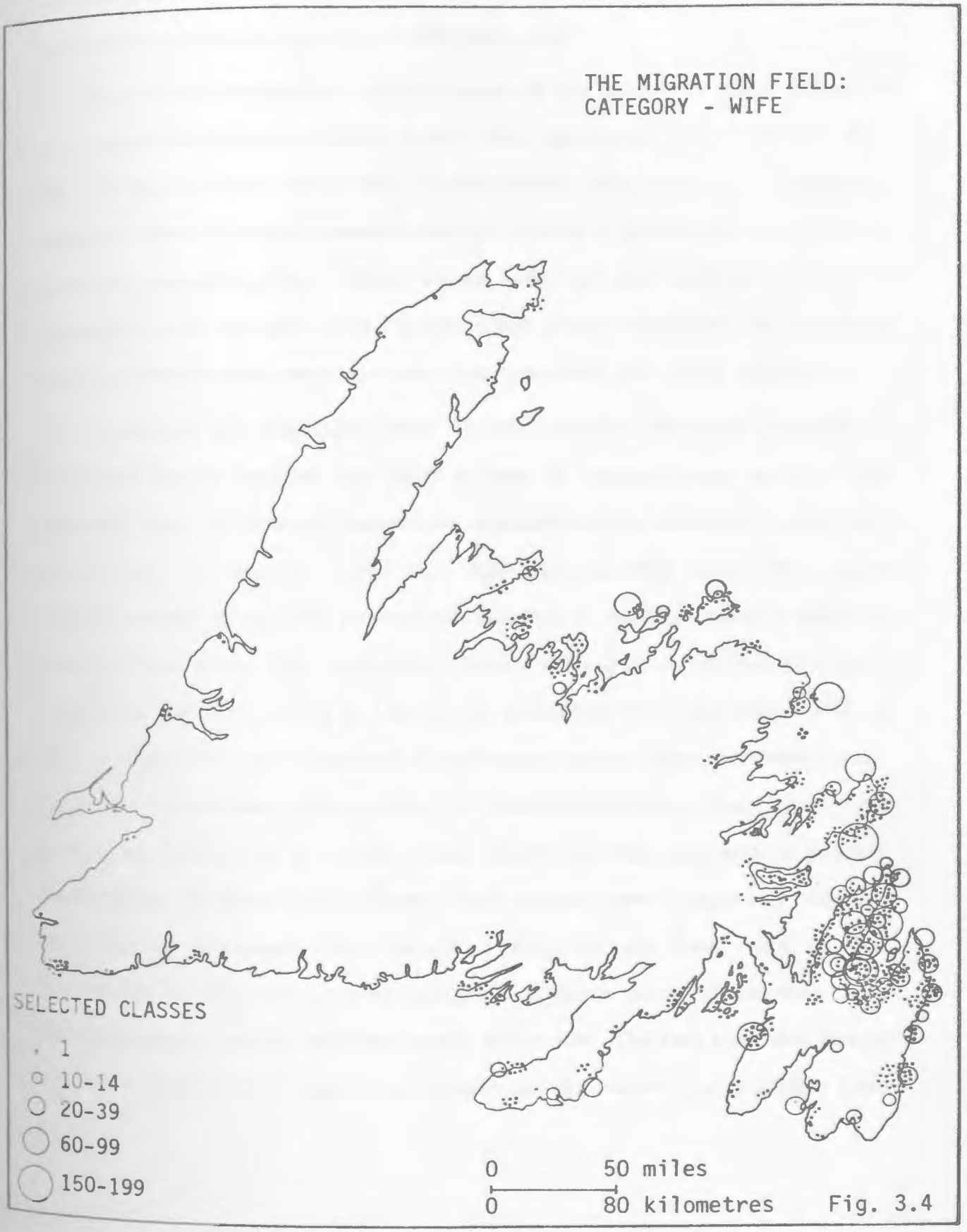
THE MIGRATION FIELD:
CATEGORY - WIFE
SELECTED CLASSES
1
10-14
20-39
60-99
150-199
0 50 miles
0 80 kilometres

Fig. 3.4

households recorded movement during the process of family formation. A later section of this chapter deals with this issue.

The distribution pattern of birthplace of the first born child indicates that there were three particular areas where the babies were born (see Fig. 3.5). Of these three areas, that of Conception Bay was again dominant, while the other two were clusters around Trinity in Trinity Bay and Greenspond in Bonavista Bay. Notre Dame Bay was also dotted with some migrants around Tilt Cove, and Placentia Bay around Placentia, but the West Coast and South Coast were virtually free from first born baby migrants.

In essence the migration field for the selected members indicates a somewhat similar pattern but their degree of concentration varied. The migration field of heads of household appeared to be somewhat more restricted than the general field. This may indicate that these were more stable elements of migrant population, tending to be more heavily selected from the local area. This again could reflect a clearer perception of opportunities by the inhabitants of the closer reaches of the migration field. It may be suggested that there may be geometric rather than arithmetic scaling of the information field existing in those closer areas. The higher proportion of housewives from the inner migration field suggests a general confirmation of Ravenstein's thesis that women most frequently migrate over shorter distances. The restricted field for the first born is also interesting, for the migration of families is a much more critical step than merely single person or childless couple migration. The fact that this family migration was relatively restricted reinforces the notion that a higher level

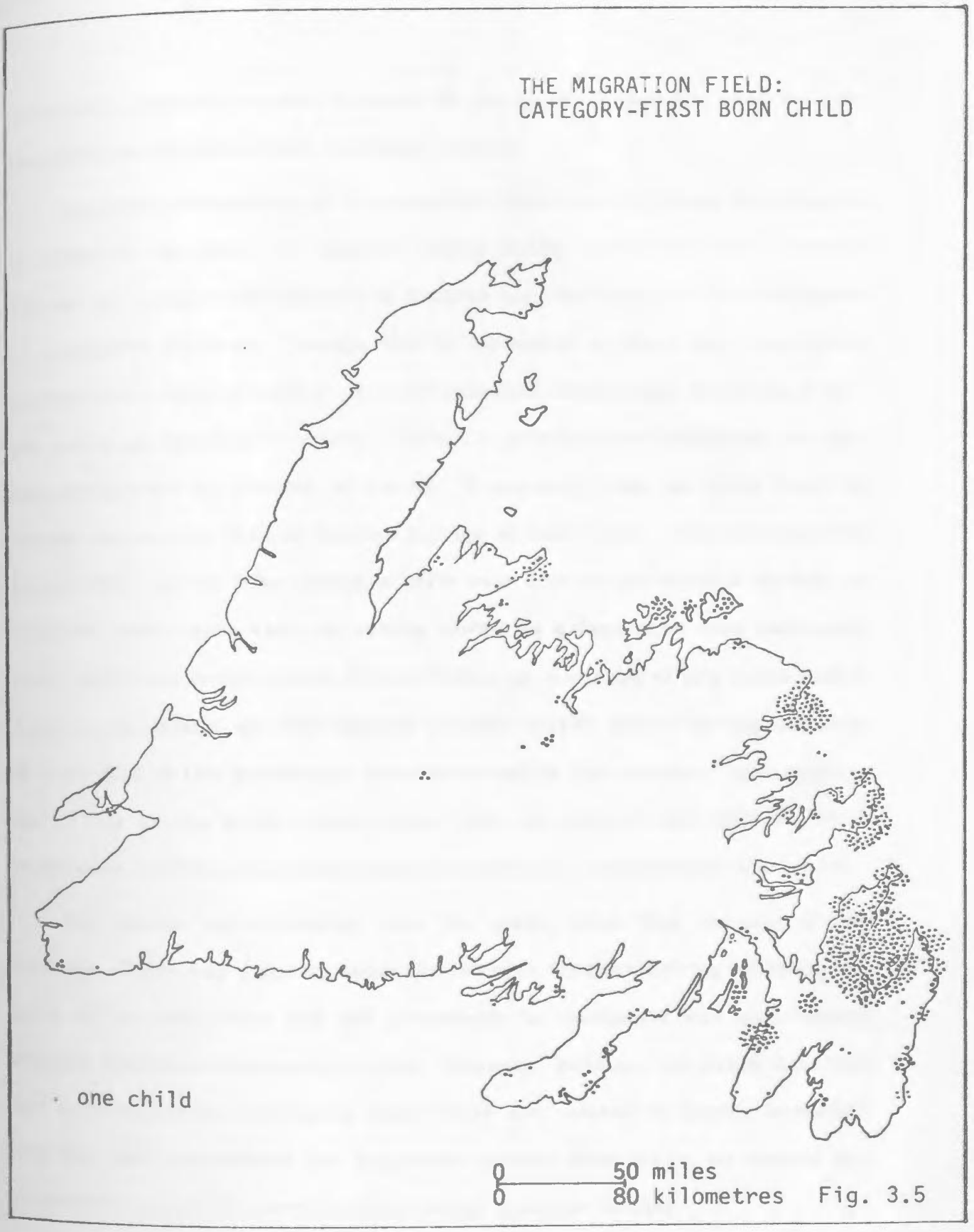
THE MIGRATION FIELD:
CATEGORY-FIRST BORN CHILD
one child
0 50 miles
0 80 kilometres

Fig. 3.5

information network existed between St. John's and those few centres, particularly the old established merchant centres.

The spatial structures of the migration field have also been investigated in terms of movement of families during family formation. To a certain degree, the complex movements of families may be traced by the birthplace of successive children. Though this is obviously a crude and incomplete surrogate for total movement, it is nevertheless better than assuming a simple one-stage movement system. Table 3.4 provides the breakdown of various frequencies by number of moves. It appears from the table that the largest category is that of families moving at least once - this accounts for nearly 45%. On the other hand, a little over 25% of the families showed no evidence, from these data, of having moved as a family: we may cautiously infer that these families were formed following marriage of migration individuals in St. John's, or that migrant couples moved before having children. At least 20% of the households were recorded in the category "not applicable". This is the group which either did not record any children or it represents individuals in institutions like hospitals, orphanages, and so on.

One simple generalization may be made from this section of the analysis. There was a strong tendency towards families moving following the birth of the first child and the propensity to movement was significantly smaller following subsequent births. However, because the table does not say anything about the moves which were not related to family formation and the data themselves are suggestive rather than finite, we should not reasonably expect to carry this part of the analysis further.

Table 3.4: Number of Inferred Moves of Families

No. of Moves		Frequency (N=4464)	Percentage
Families with;			
	0 move	1,135	25.4
	1 move	2,001	44.8
	2 moves	311	7.0
	3 moves	84	1.9
	4 moves	18	.4
	5 moves	6	.1
	6 moves	2	.04
	7 moves	1	.02
Not Applicable		906	20.3

In order to obtain a more detailed analysis of the migration field an attempt has been made to examine the place of birth of first born children and their parents. The figures are summarized in Table 3.5. It appears that an overwhelming majority of the families showed children born in different communities from those of the parents. The difference is particularly pronounced in the case of children and father's birth places. A little over 81% of the first born babies were born in different communities from those of the father, while the corresponding figure for mothers appears to be much lower - nearly 70%. One very simple explanation of this phenomenon may be that traditionally the pregnant mother went to her parents house during delivery and thus it can be expected that an increased number of children would be born in mother's birthplace, which was likely to be her parents house. Such an explanation would need firmer evidences to be sustained and it is difficult to demonstrate from the present set of data. The general inference is interesting because it flies in the face of conventional wisdom about traditional marriage patterns in places like rural Newfoundland. According to this conventional wisdom, women upon marriage moved generally to the place of residence of the husband (e.g. Mannion:1974, 14) and thus we would expect children to be born patrilocally. The apparently high incidence of **matrilocal** births in the migrant population of St. John's might suggest that this was a somewhat distinct, i.e. non-traditional population, and this fortifies the notion of a minority footloose population of migrant **marginal** individuals who were an important element in Newfoundland's transition from traditional to modern society (Staveley:1981a).

Table 3.5: Birth Places of Parents and the First Born Children

Types	Figures in Percent	
	Same	Different
Birth Place of Father and the First Born Children	18.6	81.4
Birth place of Mother and the First Born Children	30.2	69.8

The High-Intensity Migration Field

The present study also attempted to examine the high-intensity migration field - which Ajo in a more general sense described as the migration region. This notion is difficult to demonstrate with the present set of data, because the analysis of migration regions in the fullest sense requires data on the two-way flow of migration.

However the present study attempted to examine the location of the high-intensity migration field or, in its simplest sense, the foci of the migration field. That is, the inquiry looks at the proportion of migrants coming out of certain origin points. It requires, however, much more flexible and refined indicators to measure the volume of migration. Defining the high-intensity migration field thus becomes more complicated. Because there are so many communities in the general migration field of St. John's which contributed migrants, some form of elimination was necessary. Therefore an arbitrary frequency-size was chosen to reduce the sample. Accordingly, only settlements with a frequency of 5 migrants or more were considered for the calculation. It is important however to note that such elimination, probably, did not heavily distort the total picture because settlements with fewer than 5 migrants accounted for only 5% of the total migration flow.

This elimination made, the methodology followed was to collect the population size of all settlements remaining in the sample for the period 1901, 1911 and 1921. In order to have a reasonable feeling for migration fields, the index is given as a percentage (no. of Migrants to St. John's/Mean Population of Origin) x 100 though it is recognized that this is a percentage

of a hypothetical population rather than an actual population. Mean Population refers to 1901 + 1911 + 1921 population ÷ 3.

Figure 3.6 demonstrates the distribution of the sample settlements with their Migration Index. It is assumed at this point that 10% or more may be a suitable index threshold for the definition of a high-intensity migration field. The figure thus clearly illustrates that most of the high-intensity migration fields are localized in certain areas. Conception Bay, especially, holds most of the foci of the migration field. This area was the site of the oldest settlements of the island, but by 1921 the region had been experiencing long run economic stagnation and decline.

Other than the high-intensity migration field of Conception Bay, the most important foci in Notre Dame Bay were Groais Island, Tilt Cove, Herring Neck and Fogo. In Bonavista Bay, Greenspond and King's Cove appeared to be important, while such foci in Trinity Bay were Trinity and Catalina. In Placentia Bay, important high-intensity fields were Flat Island, Oderin, Harbour Buffett and Placentia. The Southern Shore was also marked with some foci but they are located relatively close to each other. One interesting observation on the distribution of high-intensity migration foci is that they are mostly scattered. They are much more closely spaced along the shores of Conception Bay though this may merely reflect the dense pattern of rural settlement in that area. A closer examination also suggests that most of the old established towns are foci of a high order: for example, Trinity, Placentia, Carbonear, Harbour Grace, Brigus, Cupids and so on. However, the total distribution of the high-intensity migration field reflects the pattern of the

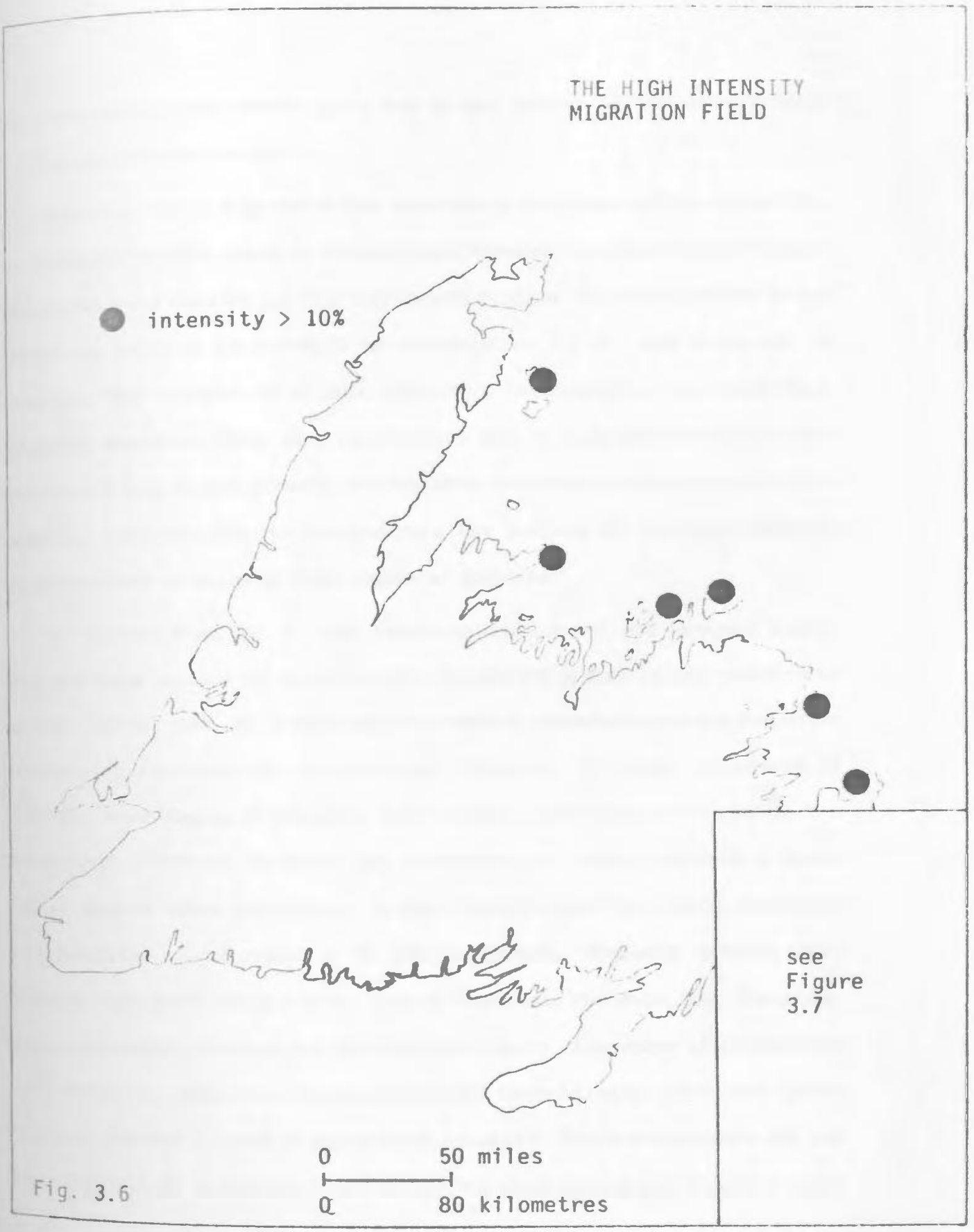
THE HIGH INTENSITY
MIGRATION FIELD
intensity > 10%
see
Figure
3.7
0
50 miles
80 kilometres

Fig. 3.6

total migration field, which again was rather similar to the overall settlement pattern of the island.

Since the many high index foci were highly clustered in Conception Bay, an attempt has been made to demonstrate whether the high-intensity migration fields were distributed in a continuous fashion or located rather in isolation. In order to pursue such an investigation Fig. 3.7 was developed. In this case the criterion is a little different - in identifying the **total** high-intensity migration field, only settlements with a frequency-size of 5 were considered but in the present section each and every settlement was considered. This will help to demonstrate the pattern of the high-intensity migration field in terms of their degree of isolation.

It appears from Fig. 3.7 that relatively continuous and compact migration foci were located on the west side of Conception Bay, locally referred to as the "north" side. In Trinity Bay the sending communities were relatively scattered particularly on the west side. Close to the major settlement of that bay some degree of similarity may be seen, although their index is of a lower level. However, abruptly the settlement of Trinity recorded a much higher level of index population. In fact, Trinity alone was a most important and dominant source region of St. John's migrants. Similarly, a much more isolated high-order focus may be seen in Placentia, Placentia Bay. The situation is somewhat different on the Southern Shore. A number of settlements with moderate index were located relatively close to each other and, taken together, formed a band of rather high-intensity. These settlements did not have the highest individual index values but their cumulative figure is quite

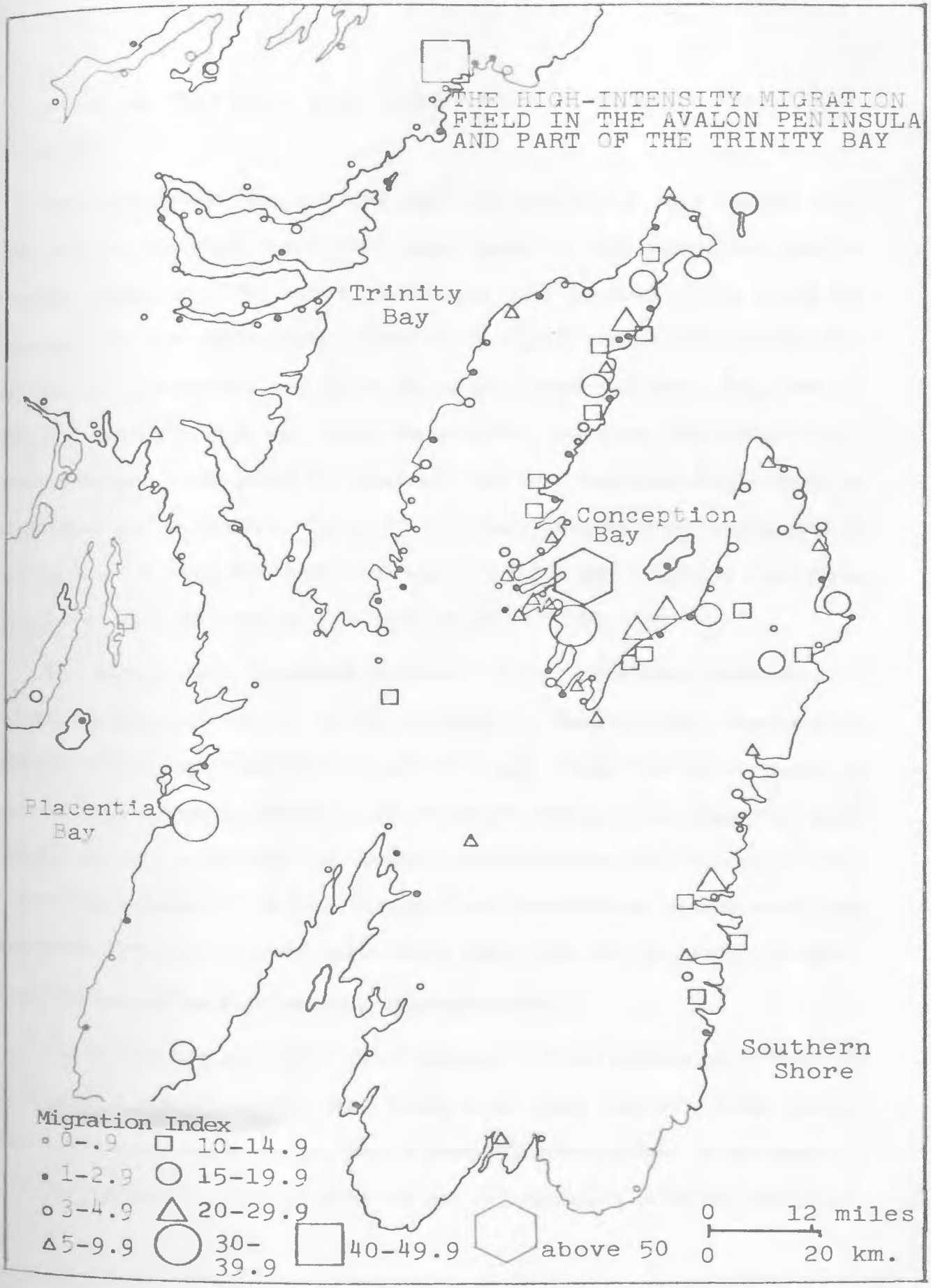
THE HIGH-INTENSITY MIGRATION FIELD IN THE AVALON PENINSULA AND PART OF THE TRINITY BAY
Trinity Bay
Conception Bay
Placentia Bay
Southern Shore
Migration Index
0-.9
1-2.9
3-4.9
5-9.9
10-14.9
15-19.9
20-29.9
30-39.9
40-49.9
above 50
0 12 miles
0 20 km.

Fig. 3.7

comparable to many major high-intensity fields of the Avalon Peninsula or Trinity Bay.

The Conception Bay pattern may be generalized in a simple way. Although the migration foci formed a belt along the west coast, they may be roughly divided into two zones. Carbonear may be fixed as the boundary between the two zones; the upper zone starts with Salmon Cove and extended up to Grates Cove at the tip of the Conception Bay. The focus of this high-intensity field was Lower Island Cove. The lower zone starts from Carbonear and runs south to Holyrood-Port de Grave and Brigus may be considered as the nuclei of this field. The high-intensity zone in this area is discontinued a little but then resumes as a third high intensity zone from Seal Cove, which declines sharply after Topsail (see Fig. 3.7).

The intra-colonial migration field for St. John's, however, represents an interesting parallel with the thesis proposed by Hagerstrand. The field, in general, is relatively clustered around the bays. These clusters represent a zone of high-intensity migration. As would be expected, the migration field breaks up into a number of discrete clusters once the migration field become discontinuous. In fact, though these clusters are usually small and dispersed, they contain some particularly high-order foci of migrant origins.

Some Aspects of the High-Intensity Migration Field

"Most migrants proceed a short distance." The relevance and truth of Ravenstein's proposition has been shown in so many research works that it has now become a law rather than a simple generalization. A corollary of this proposition is that a modest volume of population joins the migration

flow from a relatively long distance and this too has been attested by more recent researchers (Flory:1978, 147). Another characteristic of such movement is that the flow prefers to go to the biggest centres, where there is generally a more assured demand for labour. Generally the largest city concentrates improvements in accessibility and these factors work in a positive manner to augment the flow to the major centre. Ravenstein's classic explanations and other research findings, however, often contemplate that the long distance migrants are concentrated in certain socio-demographic groups.

Any analysis of the volume of migration and distance travelled requires an understanding of the settlement pattern and the transportation network of the island. Newfoundland's settlement pattern evolved since the seventeenth century in a largely scattered fashion. The earliest attempts to exploit island's resources were by migratory fisherman who created fishing stations and settlements near the rich fishing grounds particularly on the north-east and south-east coasts. For physiographic, ecological and technological reasons, the settlement pattern that developed was characterized by a large number of small communities which were relatively isolated from each other (Staveley:1981b, 160).

The transportation systems linking those scattered settlements remained sea based and an integrated road network did not develop. In fact, land transportation in Newfoundland in the period in question was minimal until the railway network, run initially by the Reid Newfoundland Company, established a degree of influence. Including the branch lines the

railway network was completed and fully opened for traffic by 1916 (for detail see Fig. 3.8). The network included the lines from St. John's to Harbour Grace to Bonavista and Trepassey were completed in 1911 and 1914 respectively. The extensions from Broad Cove to Heart's Content and Carbonear to Grate's Cove were opened in 1915. Naturally, most of these routes were made in the eastern populated part of the island, and it was assumed that they would carry both people and goods. But Hiller's study suggests that the Newfoundland railway did not carry enough traffic and its tarriffs were too low (Hiller:1981, 20). Some critics even suggested that the railway should be eliminated and coastal steamer service should be introduced on a larger scale (Amulree:1933, 206). The railway, however, did stimulate some economic activities on the coasts it served. This was particularly the case with those harbours where the railway connected with the bay coastal steamers (Hiller:1981, 20).

The coastal steamers, which connected the most remote areas of island, were particularly important on the West Coast and South Coast. But they were also important on the North-East coast or Notre Dame Bay. It appears from the routes they hopped around the coasts (see Fig. 3.8), maintaining overall connections among the communities as well as with the largest political and industrial settlement of the island.

Since St. John's is situated in a peripheral location and her contacts towards the interior part of the island are largely interrupted by bays, it is very difficult to construct zones of contact by systematic distance intervals. However, the fact of physical separation is not a crucial factor here - the

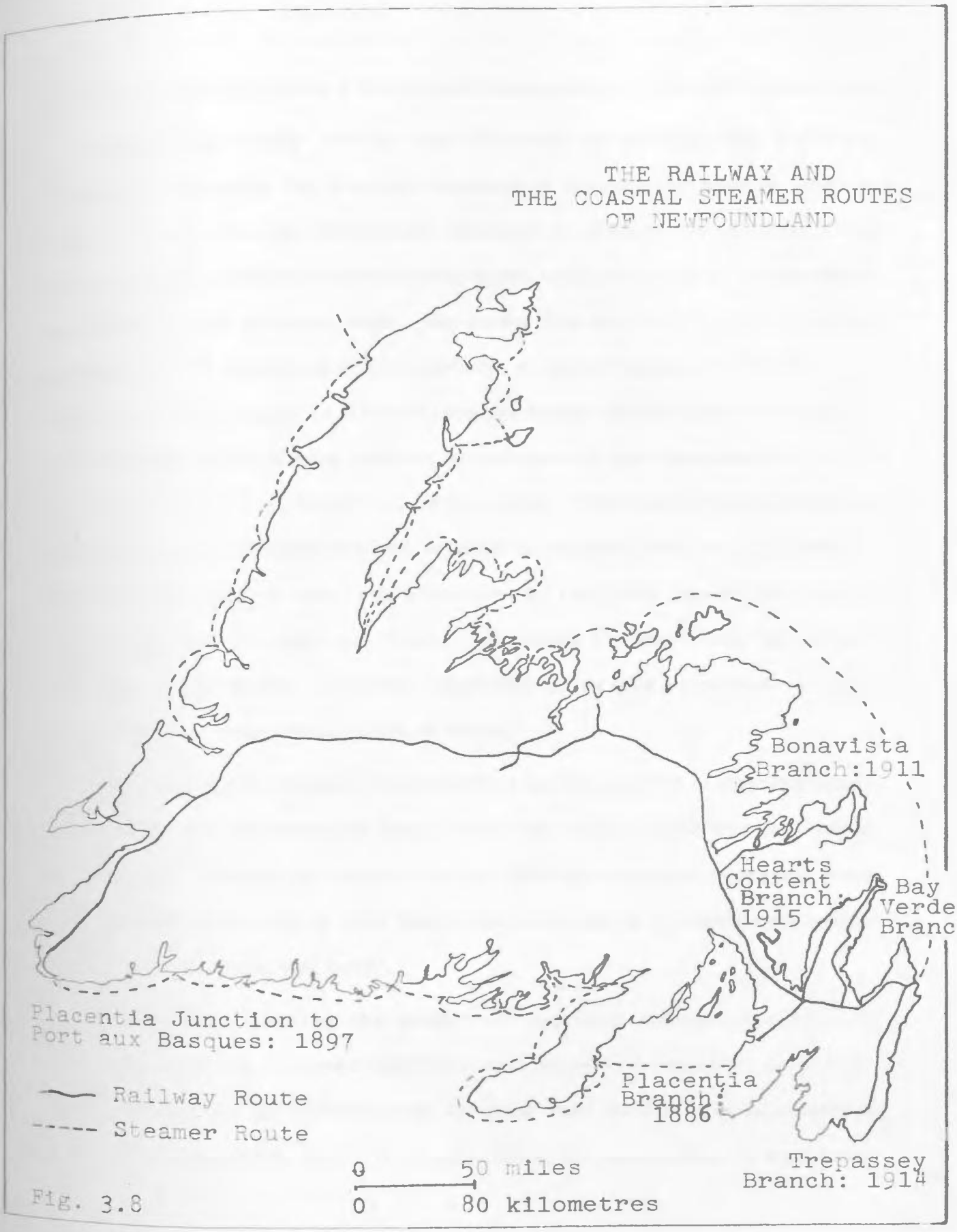
THE RAILWAY AND
THE COASTAL STEAMER ROUTES
OF NEWFOUNDLAND
Bonavista
Branch:1911
Hearts
Content
Branch:
1915
Bay de
Verde
Branch:1916
Placentia Junction to
Port aux Basques: 1897
Placentia
Branch:
1886
Trepassey
Branch: 1914
Railway Route
Steamer Route
0 50 miles
0 80 kilometres

Fig. 3.8

question of accessibility as a function of time appears to be more important.

A relatively simple method was followed to quantify the patterns. Instead of computing the physical distance of settlements from St. John's, "time of travel" was considered as a measure of relative accessibility. This was done twice; once by railway travel times and once by sea. Preferences were given to the shortest path. Measuring the sea routes was somewhat complex. At the beginning of the century, a coastal steamer might reasonably go 8 knots (roughly 14.5 kilometres per hour); this is a best assumption - travel times, given varying weather and stopovers, are impossible to calculate with precision for this period. Even in the 1980s coastal boat schedules are nowhere near as constant and reliable as those of land or air transport. Therefore, the time of travel was calculated by recording the distance which was then divided by speed per hour. Calculating the travel time by railway was much more simple; a railway timetable guide was consulted. It contained both the distance and time of travel.

For the present analysis, the sample of all settlements of migrant origin appeared to be unnecessarily large, thus, the study considered only those settlements classified and referred to as the high-intensity migration field. It is probably important to note that these settlements accounted for nearly 50% of the actual migrant count.

Figure 3.9 illustrates the profile of migration volume and distance travelled. It should be noted here that international flows particularly from U.S.A., Canada and Britain has been dropped from the analysis as irrelevant to the local migration field. The figure, however, shows that a significant

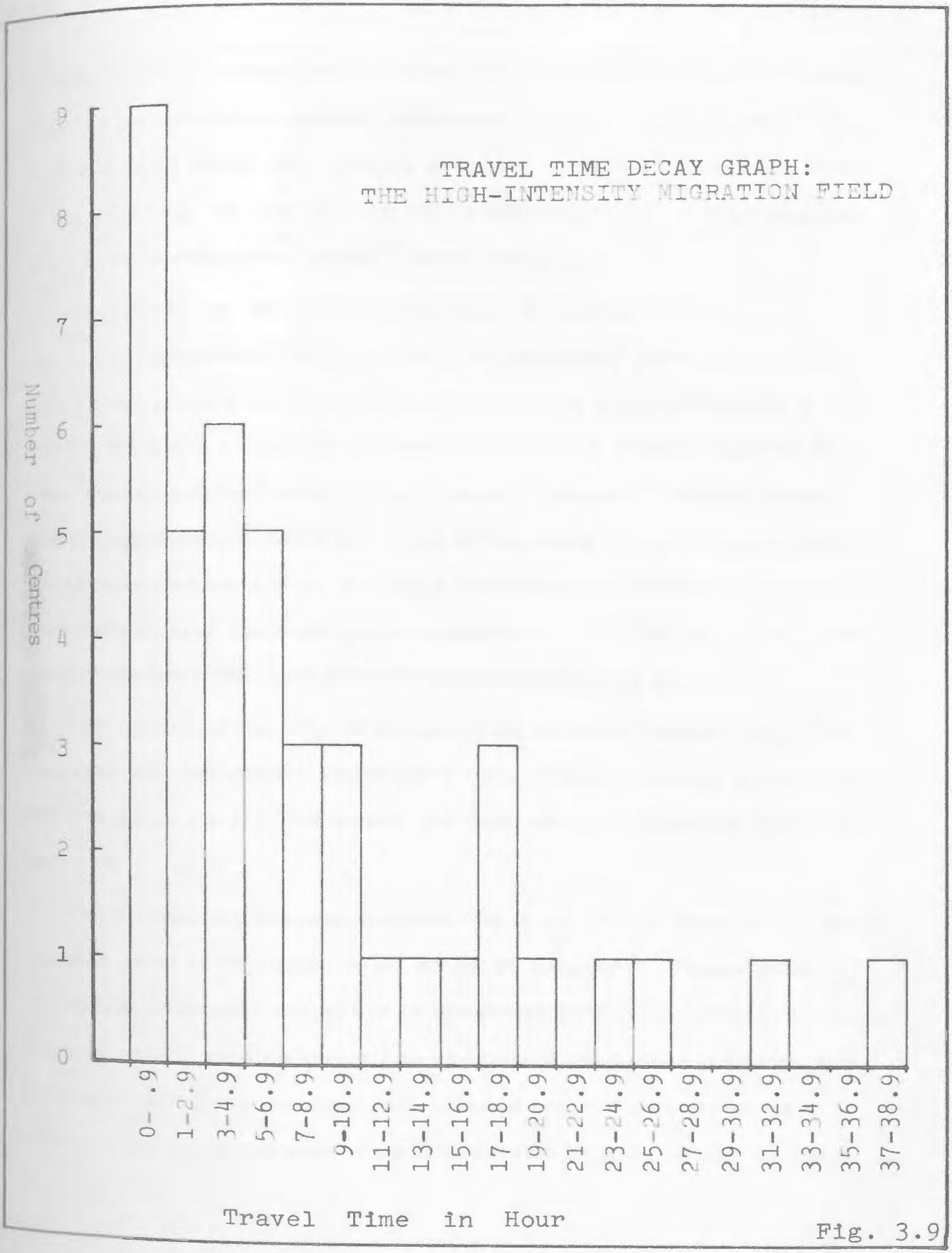
TRAVEL TIME DECAY GRAPH:
THE HIGH-INTENSITY MIGRATION FIELD
Number of Centres
0
1
2
3
4
5
6
7
8
9
0- .9
1-2.9
3-4.9
5-6.9
7-8.9
9-10.9
11-12.9
13-14.9
15-16.9
17-18.9
19-20.9
21-22.9
23-24.9
25-26.9
27-28.9
29-30.9
31-32.9
33-34.9
35-36.9
37-38.9
Travel Time in Hour

Fig. 3.9

number of people moved within a travel time of almost one hour indicating that the high-intensity migration fields were localized in certain areas. That is, 9 out of 40 major high-intensity field were located within the one hour travel zone. Fig. 3.9 also indicates nearly 63% of the selected high-intensity fields were located within roughly 7 hours travel time.

The profile of the time travel graph in general suggests that the number of high-intensity fields declined with increasing travel time. A closer look at the group 0 to 9 hours indicates that out of 9 communities 8 are located beyond a travel time of half an hour. This reflects the fact that close proximity did not always attract people to migrate. Instead, probably, people commuted at convenience. Most of the peaks, however, resulted from the streams that came from the oldest settlements of Conception Bay. The most isolated peak appeared in the travel zone 17 to 18.9 hours. This zone covered the flows that came from the islands in Placentia Bay.

The essence of Fig. 3.9 is that most of the migration streams came from the areas that fall within 7 hours travel time. Beyond 11 hours travel time, with one exception (17-18.9 hours), the high- intensity migration fields are scattered.

The present analysis also indicates that in the sample cases 47% of the migrants came to St. John's from within 75 kilometres. Flory's study by comparison calculated 47% within 32 kilometres zone (Flory:1978, 81). The graph in general records abrupt rise and falls of peak which indicates that the migration regions were located in selected areas of time-travel zone. In order to test the significance of the relationship between volume of migra-

tion and time-travel, Spearman's rank correlation was conducted. But the result did not clearly confirm the existence of any relationship. The situation may be explained by the fact that the analysis considered only those settlements that came up because of their higher index value, but these settlements were not necessarily those with the highest number of migrants in absolute figures.

Apart from this analysis an attempt has been made to search out any relationship between number of migrants in certain zones and their respective population at origin. The method is relatively simple - a travel time isopleth was drawn (see Fig. 3.10) particularly in the North-Eastern part of the island. Then a count was made of the number of migrants sent to St. John's from each zone and the zone's population. Note should be taken that the travel-time grouping is not uniform throughout the scale and also the construction of the isopleth is arbitrary. In fact, this was done to give an impression of the intensity of field in respect to the overall transportation systems. Isopleths were thus drawn according to the indices calculated for the identification of the high-intensity migration field. The figures have been summarized in Table 3.6. The table suggests that there may be a general relationship between number of population in the zone and their respective number of migrants to St. John's. The highest proportion of migrants (29%) came out within the travel-time of 3 to 5.9 hours, and this is the zone more heavily populated (38%) than the others. The most interesting observation from the table is that although the zone 6 to 9.9 hours accounted for less than 6% of the population it sent more than 14% of the

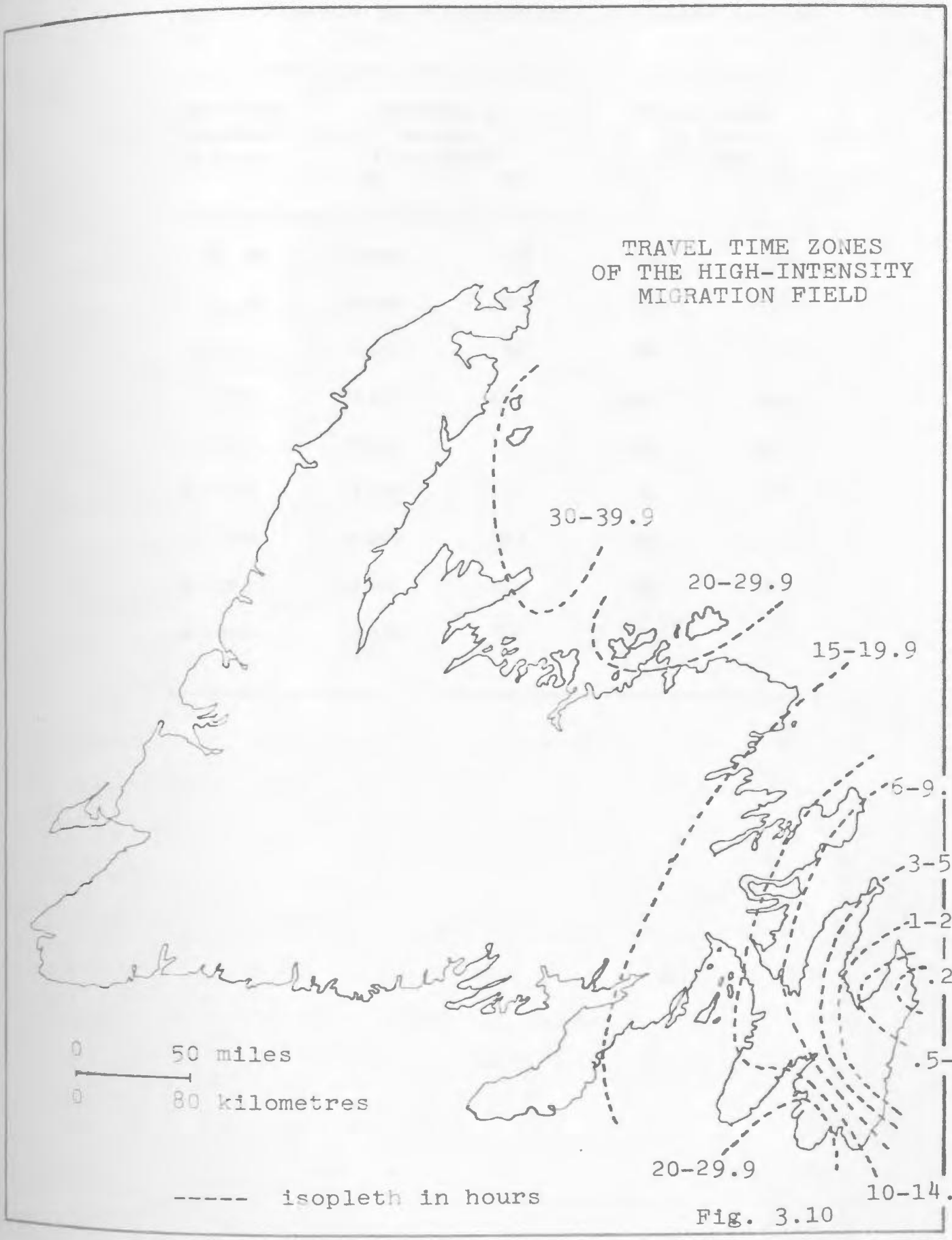
TRAVEL TIME ZONES
OF THE HIGH-INTENSITY
MIGRATION FIELD
30-39.9
20-29.9
15-19.9
6-9.9
3-5.9
1-2.9
.25-.49
.5-.9
20-29.9
10-14.9
0 50 miles
0 80 kilometres
----- isopleth in hours

Fig. 3.10

Table 3.6: Population and Number of Migrants by Travel-Time Zones

Time-Travel Groupings (in hours)	Population in the Zone (N=140,485)		Migrants From the Zone (N=7703)	
	No.	%	No.	%
.25 - .49	4,610	3.2	153	2.0
.5 - .9	12,449	8.9	825	10.7
1 - 2.9	6,978	5.0	981	12.7
3 - 5.9	53,467	38.1	2,270	29.5
6 - 9.9	8,054	5.7	1,111	14.4
10 - 14.9	11,798	8.4	981	12.7
15 - 19.9	22,999	16.4	886	11.5
20 - 29.9	17,189	12.2	447	5.8
30 - 30.9	2,941	2.1	53	.7

total flow considered in the present analysis. This indicates that the migration field is relatively localized in certain areas. More specifically some settlements sent migrants in large numbers to St. John's. The table also suggests that very close to the City there were few people but even so these contributed few migrants in proportion. Similarly on the other end of the time-distance scale there were more people but as a general rule proportionately few people came to St. John's.

However, an attempt has been to test the significance of correlation between population in the zone and their respective size of migrant population. The Spearman's rank correlation suggests that there is a positive relationship among the two variables but not at the level which is statistically acceptable (.10 level).

The present chapter also dealt with one other important phenomenon of the migration field - marriage-linkages. This demands special examination because of its inherent spatial characteristics. Thus Fig. 3.11 was constructed to demonstrate the spatial relationship of different places. A first-hand impression of the figure suggests that, as usual, Eastern Newfoundland criss-crossed by the majority of the marriage links. Conception Bay and Trinity Bay especially recorded the maximum number of linkages. It is probably important to note at this point that apart from the internal linkages there were international marriage links which are eliminated from the analysis. The general pattern of the linkages suggests that most were aligned with the shape of the bays, particularly Conception Bay. Marriage linkages in Trinity and Conception Bays suggest that the links were highly

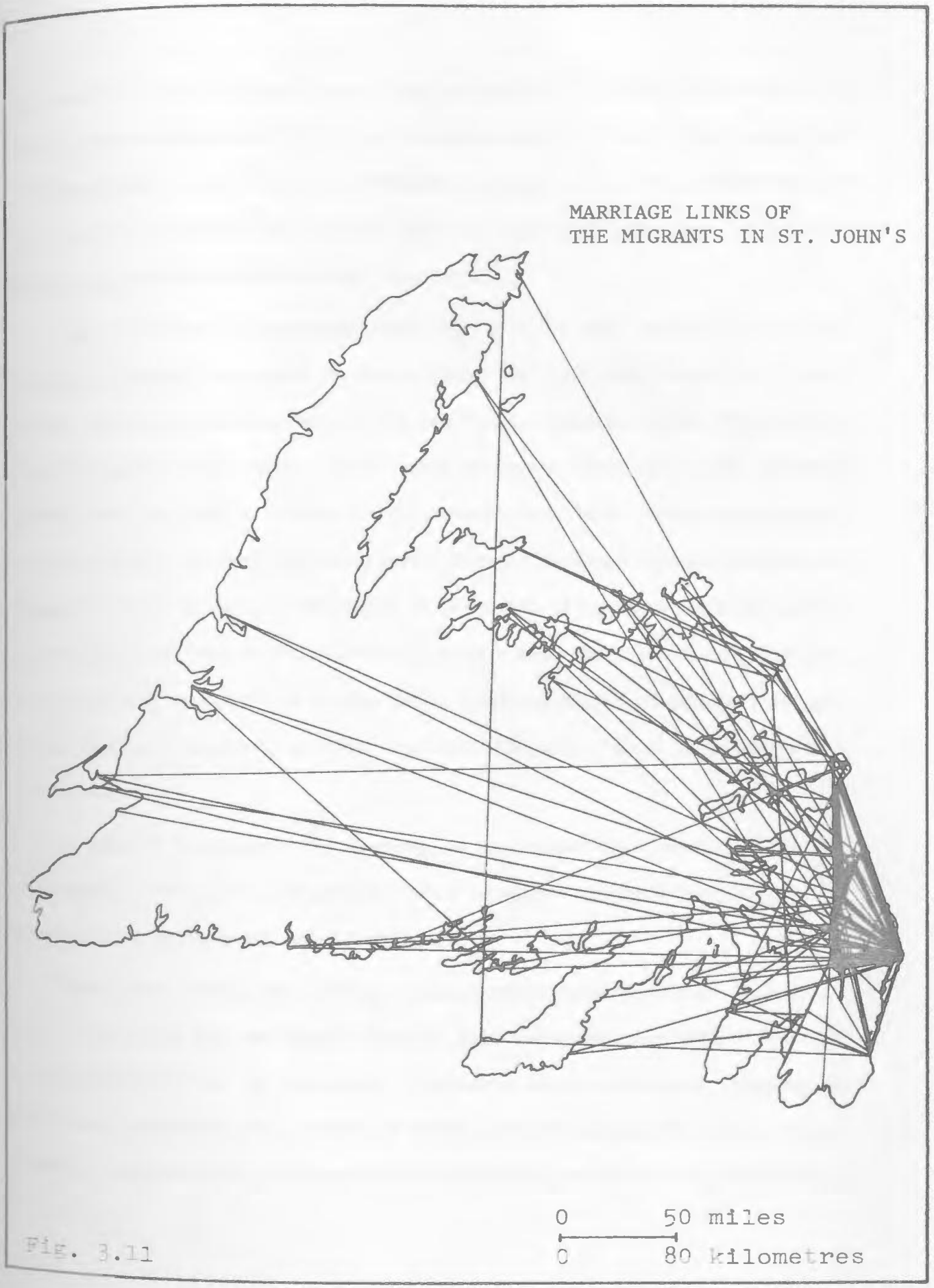
MARRIAGE LINKS OF
THE MIGRANTS IN ST. JOHN'S
0 50 miles
0 80 kilometres

Fig. 3.11

channelized from the tips of peninsula to the bays. In fact, this reflects the local transportation system. It may be suggested that both railway and coastal boats had a high degree of influence in shaping the links. Since most of the links criss-crossed the coastal areas, it is probably the sea routes that facilitated communication among the people.

One important observation from Fig. 3.11 is that relatively very few marriage linkages appeared in Notre Dame Bay, the West Coast and South Coast. From an examination of the marriage linkages of the Notre Dame Bay, it appears that most of the male migrants from that area married women from St. John's. Probably the people came to St. John's for employment and later married the local girls. A more detailed examination of the highest ranking links is summarized in Table 3.7. It appears from the calculation that marriage linkages with St. John's were the most numerous and accounted for nearly 21% of the total combination of marriage linkages. These findings, however, indirectly indicate the importance of St. John's in the island.

A general framework for looking at marriage links relates marriage migration to distance. The present study attempts to trace the distance of marriage migration in terms of travel-time.

Since the number of marriage linkage combinations was so high some sort of selection was necessary. Hence, only marriage links with 5 or more were considered for the analysis. Distances were calculated, keeping in mind the transportation network of Newfoundland during the study period. International marriage linkages were deliberately excluded from the tabula-

Table 3.7: Summary of the Marriage Linkages

Total Number of Marriage Linkages	1723
Number of Marriage Linkage Particularly With St. John's	361

Top 12 Marriage Linkages:

Husband's Birth Place	Wife's Birth Place	No. of Cases
St. John's	St. John's	311
England	St. John's	75
Harbour Grace	St. John's	72
Trinity	Trinity	61
St. John's	Harbour Grace	61
Harbour Grace	Harbour Grace	61
St. John's	Carbonear	46
St. John's	Brigus	42
Carbonear	Carbonear	41
Greenspond	Greenspond	41
Scotland	St. John's	41
St. John's	Trinity	41

tion as it is assumed that such linkages would distort the local interaction. The overall result is plotted in Fig. 3.12. It demonstrates a higher number of intra-community marriages. 31% of the migrant households in St. John's demonstrated local marriage - in other words, both husband and wife had been born in the same community. The graph, however, shows a general pattern which indicates that the number of marriage linkages drops sharply with increasing travel-time. Other than the intra-community marriage the graph indicates that the travel-time group 1 to 2.9 hours held the maximum number of marriage links. The figures thus clearly indicate that the large majority of marriage links among the people migrating to St. John's took place over a short distance.

The essence of this analysis is that like the total migration field the marriage links were highly canalized in selected flows which again indicates the degree of interactions among the people as well as the community. The interactions of the people of the island reflect the distribution of population, settlements as well as the transportation network of Newfoundland.

Summary

This chapter has dealt with the spatial aspects of the migration field. It appears that in general the migration field was continuous in Conception Bay but as it approached other areas it became relatively sparse. Other than Conception Bay, Trinity Bay was the most important field for migrants to St. John's. In terms of figures Trinity Bay accounted for the highest number of migrants, but compared to its geographic space it did not contribute as heavily as the communities or the regions of Conception Bay. Apart

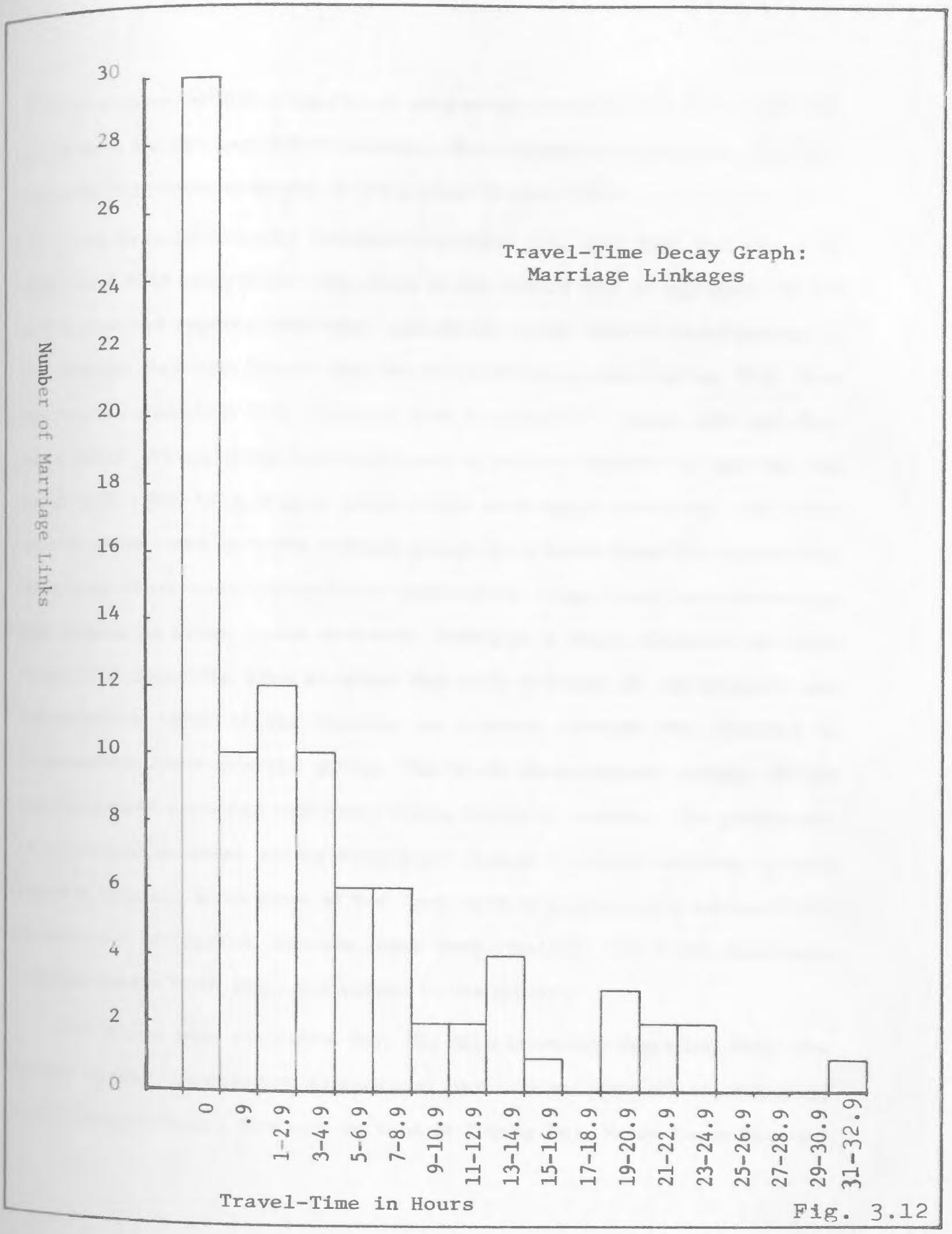
Travel-Time Decay Graph:
Marriage Linkages
Number of Marriage Links
30
28
26
24
22
20
18
16
14
12
10
8
6
4
2
0
0
.9
1-2.9
3-4.9
5-6.9
7-8.9
9-10.9
11-12.9
13-14.9
15-16.9
17-18.9
19-20.9
21-22.9
23-24.9
25-26.9
27-28.9
29-30.9
31-32.9
Travel-Time in Hours

Fig. 3.12

from the internal flow a significant proportion (nearly 15%) of people came from both Europe and North America. Most of these international migrants came to the island sometime in the period 1914 to 1921.

The present analysis however quantified the fact that the scattered migration field contributed very little to the overall flow of migrants. It was a few selected regions, and more specifically, some selected settlements, of Conception Bay and Trinity Bay which contributed most to the flow. The study also looked at the migration field by category - head, wife and first born child. Those fields also portrayed a pattern similar to that for the total field. But to a degree those fields were more restricted. In other words, these more narrowly defined groups were more from Conception Bay than any other area. Housewives particularly came from the Conception Bay region at large, which indirectly indicates a short distance marriage migration. Since the data, on which the study is based, do not indicate any intermediate move of the families, an indirect process was followed to demonstrate their inferred moves. The study thus suggests nearly 45% of the household recorded one move during family formation. The propensity to movement declined during subsequent stages of family building. It also appears that the birth place of first born child is substantially similar (30%) to mother's birthplace, whereas there were relatively few (19%) first born children whose birth place was similar to the father's.

The study also identified that the high-intensity migration field was widely spread throughout Conception Bay. Some isolated or relatively sparse high-intensity foci may be seen in Trinity Bay, Notre Dame Bay and

Placentia Bay. The high-intensity fields were examined in terms of travel-time and volume of migration. It appears that there was little migration from extremely close to the city. Few of the selected communities of high-intensity field came from within a travel-time period of 1 hour. The overall pattern indicates that the volume of migrants roughly declines as travel-time increases. A further analysis of the number of migrants coming from certain travel-time zones indicates that the volume of migrants sent to St. John's was roughly proportional to zone population size.

The examination of marriage migration indicates that these were confined within certain distance. It appears from the examination that 21% of the total combination of marriage linkages were connected with St. John's. This reflects, in the first place, the importance of St. John's as well as the propensity to intra-community marriage. It also appeared that over 31% of the marriages were intra-community marriages and the marriage linkages were highly localized in certain areas. The general pattern suggests that number of marriage linkages decreased as travel-time increased.

Chapter IV

PROFILES OF THE HOUSEHOLDS WITH MIGRANTS

One of the most valuable features of the data on which the present study is based is that it defines both ends of the peoples' movement. In other words both the point of origin of the people and their destinations in the city are recorded. This helps to examine the flows of migration. The present chapter will investigate aspects of spatial organization and socio-economic characteristics of both migrant and non-migrant population in the city. In order to emphasize some salient detail, the study will examine some selected roads and streets.

As noted earlier, the city of St. John's in 1921 was divided into two districts, St. John's West and St. John's East, together containing 10 wards. The present analysis included all 10 wards plus the South Side, which is just across St. John's harbour. Some critical figures basic to the analysis are listed in Table 4.1. The majority of the data (80%) for East Ward 2 are missing from the original records. The portion available for analysis is very small - only 159 persons of whom 71 were migrant. East Ward 2 aside, the remainder of City of St. John's in 1921 had a little over 31% of its population migrant.

The essence of Table 4.1 is that there appears to be a rough relationship between the total population of wards and their respective volume of migrants. Although West Ward 2 had the largest **number** of migrants, East Ward 5 registered the highest **percentage** of migrants. Nearly 48% of the people of that ward were migrant. The salience index also suggests that

Table 4.1: Number of Migrants in the City: by Ward 1921

Localities	Population		Migrants in the City	
	N	%	No. (N=10,787)	As % of the Localities
SS	1372	(4.0)	294	21.4
WW1	1512	(4.4)	530	35.0
WW2	3902	(11.2)	1617	41.4
WW3	3430	(9.9)	991	28.9
WW4	5185	(15.0)	1431	27.6
WW5	4984	(14.4)	1457	29.2
EW1	4383	(12.6)	1420	32.4
EW2	3396			
EW3	1355	(3.9)	500	36.9
EW4	5232	(15.2)	976	18.6
EW5	3291	(9.4)	1571	47.7

Localities	As % of Total Migrants	Salience Index
SS	2.7	.7
WW1	4.9	1.1
WW2	15.0	1.3
WW3	9.2	.9
WW4	13.3	.9
WW5	13.5	.9
EW1	13.2	1.0
EW2		
EW3	4.6	1.2
EW4	9.0	.6
EW5	14.6	1.5

East Ward 5 received many more migrants than it should (an index value of 1.0 indicates that the area received its expected proportion of the total). Thus migrants had a tendency to choose certain localities in the city. West Wards 1 and 2, and East Wards 1, 3 and 5 are the most favoured areas of the city. The South Side appears to be the recipient of least migrants.

In order to give a spatial view of the distribution of migrants, Fig. 4.1 was constructed. One important point should be noted here - the city expanded roughly in an East-West direction, while most of the ward boundaries ran North-South. This means that the main hub of the city, close to the harbour, is dissected by the ward boundaries and the main commercial area of the city is shared by the wards that mainly started from the harbour. However, the general pattern of the distribution of migrants indicates that the density of migrants roughly increases towards the western part of the city. Only a small number of migrants entered the South Side and East Ward 1. Generally East Ward 1 during that period was considered as the most dignified and prosperous area of the city, where migrants had little chance to settle except as boarders or by doing household work for the rich. A later section of the present chapter will analyse such compositions.

Socio-Economic Characteristics by Migration Status

Age-Sex Groupings

One important tool for the examination of population structure is the age-sex composition. For years demographers have tried to establish "universal" migration differentials which would apply in all countries and all times. But to date what seems to have been established is that migration

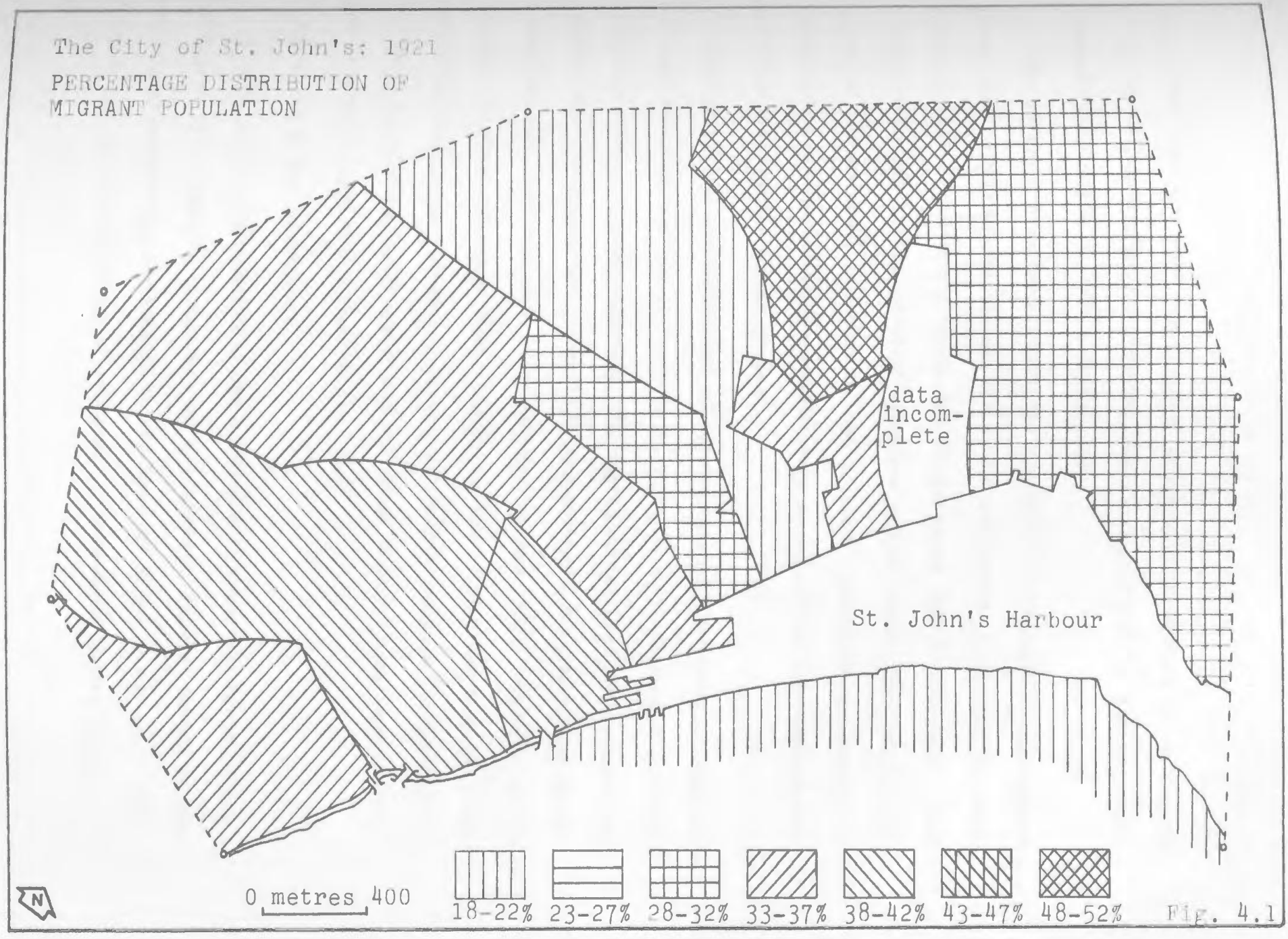
The City of St. John's: 1921
PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF
MIGRANT POPULATION
data
incom-
plete
St. John's Harbour
N
0 metres 400
18-22%
23-27%
28-32%
33-37%
38-42%
43-47%
48-52%

Fig. 4.1

varies with age and that the greatest propensity to migrate is in the age group 20-29 years. Fig. 4.2 provides some indication of the age-sex selectivity of migration to St. John's during 1921.

The pyramid, in general, shows the dominance of females in the migrant group particularly in the age-groups 15-19 and 20-24 years. But the most migratory age groups as a whole are 20-24 years and 25-29 years - this accords with the broad universal principle noted above. One noteworthy aspect of the pyramid, however, is that it has a substantial proportion of migrants in each age-group (except the very youngest) and this feature persists even through the oldest groups.

The graph has two additional categories by which population composition may be examined: people born in St. John's with both parents migrant, and those with one parent migrant. The aggregate totals of such people are considerable and show that a very high proportion of the city's 1921 population was not far removed from migrant status. This phenomenon is fortified by the inference that though in the upper age-groups these categories shrink (and ultimately disappear), this is because the parents of the older population would have died off, even though these parents may also have been migrants, in their day.

Composition of the Households

The nature of composition of the household is important for it reflects the degree of nucleation of families or households. "Family" refers to the grouping of people who are related to the head by blood - e.g. head, wife, children and any combination of relatives. "Household" refers largely to

AGE-SEX GROUPINGS AND
MIGRATION STRUCTURE
OF THE SAMPLE POPULATION*

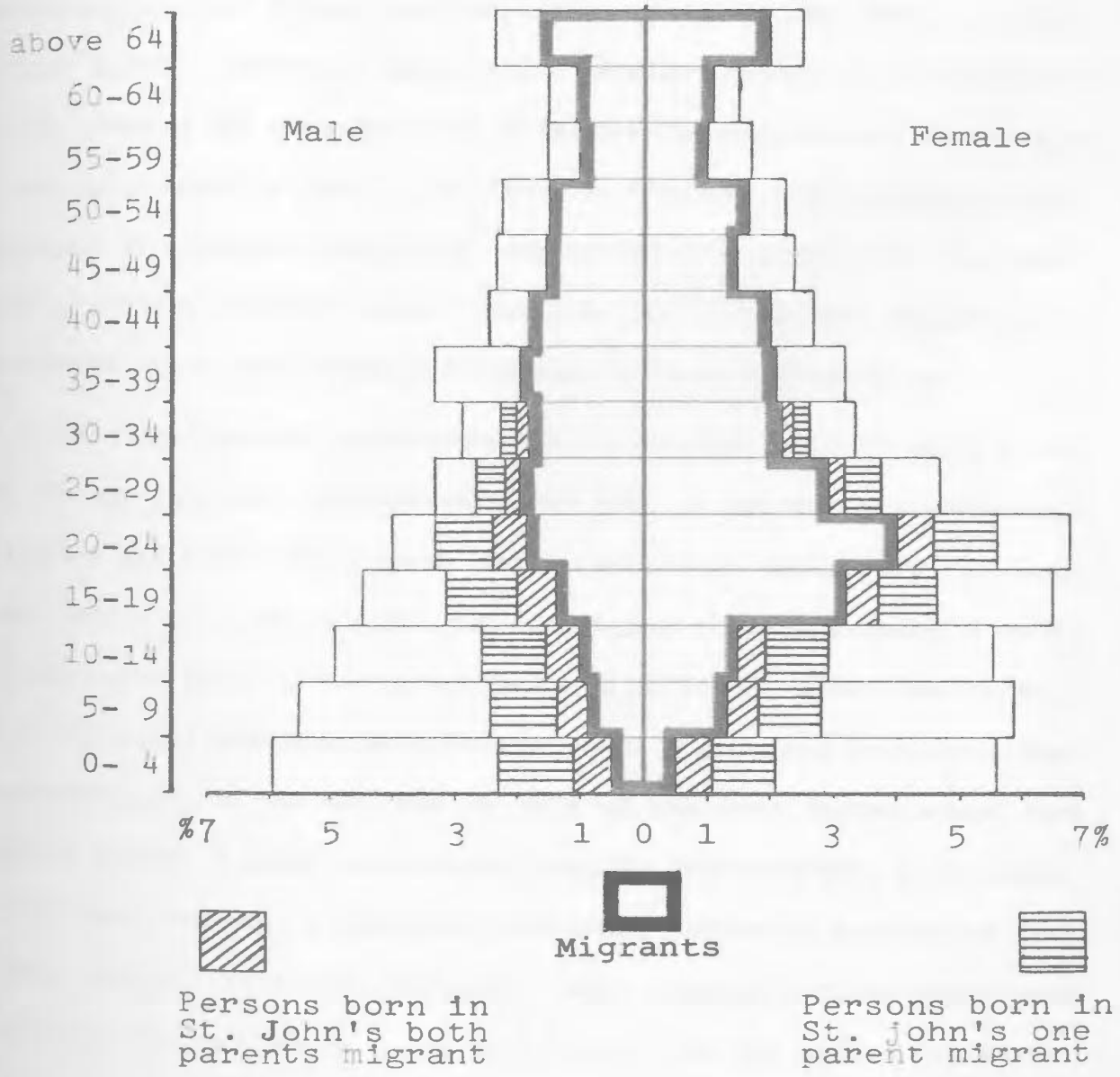

Fig. 4.2

*the sample population consists of all persons in households containing migrants

groupings which, along with the above, include those who are not related by blood or marriage to the head, e.g. maidservant, servant, boarder and so on. Table 4.2 summarizes the most frequently recorded categories. In 1921 the most frequently recorded members in a household in St. John's were a migrant male head of household, migrant wife, St. John's-born sons or daughters, and migrant boarders and maidservants. Other categories of relationship to head appear less frequently - generally less than a full percentage point - although again these smaller groups are dominantly migrant. One of the characteristics of the six major categories is that four of them are related by blood. The other two (boarder and maidservant) are important as economic indicators: one contributes money and the other implies a certain economic status. But in general the analysis suggests that the composition of households is dominated by those with blood ties.

Apart from the above generalizations, an attempt has been made to see how the migrants were distributed in the city. It appears from Table 4.3 that there are areas where particular categories of relationship are dominant. East Ward 1, for example, had the largest absolute number of maidservants - over 19% of the total were working in this ward. But East Wards 3 and 4 had higher saliences of maidservants. It is generally considered that the eastern part of the city was an area of relatively higher social and economic status. A closer examination suggests that over 90% of the maidservants were migrant. A somewhat contrasting pattern of distribution may be seen for the boarders. Relatively high numbers of boarders were recorded in the West Wards 4 and East Ward 5, but the salient concentra-

Table 4.2: Members in the Household by Migration Status: The Sample Population (percentage of population)

Relationship Categories	Total No. (N=22,711)	%	% Migrant	% Non-Migrant
Head	4386	19.3	72.4	27.6
Wife	3746	16.5	74.1	25.9
Son	5340	23.5	19.8	80.2
Daughter	5345	23.5	20.5	79.5
Stepson	94	.4	39.7	60.3
Stepdaughter	71	.3	47.1	52.9
Son-in-laws	81	.3	60.0	40.0
Daughter-in-laws	65	.3	65.6	34.4
Grand children	298	1.3	13.1	86.9
Father	40	.2	81.1	18.9
Mother	161	.7	81.9	18.1
Father-in-law	25	.1	72.0	28.0
Mother-in-law	94	.4	73.7	26.3
Adopted	116	.5	50.0	50.0
Boarder	684	3.0	74.2	25.8
Maidservant	957	4.2	90.2	9.8
Others	1208	5.3	66.4	33.6

Table 4.3: Distribution of Migrant Population By Relationship Categories (percentage of population)

Localities	Total Migrant population No.	%	Head (N=3184)	Wife (N=2783)	Sons/ Daughter (N=2162)
SS	294	27	3.3 (.8)*	3.2 (1.2)	2.3 (.8)
WW1	530	4.9	3.9 (.8)	4.6 (.9)	4.7 (.9)
WW2	1617	15.0	13.7	14.9 (.9)	16.2 (1.0)
WW3	991	9.2	9.7 (1.0)	8.5 (.9)	10.8 (1.2)
WW4	1431	13.3	14.8 (1.1)	14.2 (1.1)	12.8 (.9)
WW5	1457	13.5	15.3 (1.1)	15.4 (1.1)	14.2 (1.0)
EW1	1420	13.2	12.1 (.9)	12.6 (.9)	14.6 (1.1)
EW2					
EW3	500	4.6	4.3 (.9)	3.8 (.8)	3.2 (.7)
EW4	976	9.0	7.9 (.9)	8.0 (.9)	8.5 (.9)
EW5	1571	14.6	5.0 (1.0)	14.8 (1.0)	12.7 (.9)

* Figures in parenthesis are the index of salience.

Table 4.3a: Distribution of Migrant Population By Relationship Categories (continued) (percentage of population)

Localities	Total Migrant population		Father/ Mother	Father/ Mother in Law	Boarder
	No.	%	(N=165)	(N=86)	(N=504)
SS	294	27	3.0 (1.1)*	2.3 (.8)	.8 (.3)
WW1	530	4.9	3.0 (.6)	5.8 (1.2)	3.2 (.6)
WW2	1617	15.0	17.0 (1.1)	20.9 (1.4)	10.1 (.7)
WW3	991	9.2	9.1 (1.0)	9.3 (1.0)	13.3 (1.4)
WW4	1431	13.3	16.4 (1.2)	19.8 (1.5)	19.0 (1.4)
WW5	1457	13.5	15.8 (1.2)	9.3 (.7)	8.7 (.6)
EW1	1420	13.2	10.3 (.8)	10.5 (.8)	12.5 (.9)
EW2					
EW3	500	4.6	4.2 (.9)	3.5 (.8)	8.7 (1.9)
EW4	976	9.0	7.3 (.8)	4.6 (.5)	7.1 (.8)
EW5	1571	14.6	13.9 (.9)	14.0 (.9)	16.6 (1.1)

* Figures in parenthesis are the index of salience.

Table 4.3b: Distribution of Migrant Population By Relationship Categories (continued) (percentage of population)

Localities	Total Migrant population No.	%	Maid-servant (N=852)	Not Appl. (N=462)	Others (N=589)
SS	294	27	2.7 (1.0)*	-	2.5 (1.1)
WW1	530	4.9	7.3 (1.5)	13.4 (2.7)	4.4 (1.1)
WW2	1617	15.0	11.8 (.8)	26.2 (1.7)	16.5 (.9)
WW3	991	9.2	7.0 (.8)	3.0 (.3)	8.0 (1.1)
WW4	1431	13.3	5.9 (.4)	-	17.1 (.8)
WW5	1457	13.5	10.2 (.7)	-	11.6 (1.1)
EW1	1420	13.2	9.2 (1.4)	14.5 (1.1)	7.8 (1.7)
EW2					
EW3	500	4.6	10.1 (2.2)	-	7.8 (.6)
EW4	976	9.0	16.5 (1.8)	15.2 (1.7)	9.7 (.9)
EW5	1571	14.6	9.1 (.6)	27.7 (1.9)	14.6 (1.0)

* Figures in parenthesis are the index of salience.

tions were West Wards 2, 3 and 4. Like the maidservants, the boarders were largely migrant (74%) to the city.

A simple calculation was made to find out the variation in household size in the city. On an average the city had a household size of 5.1 (see Table 4.4). The range of size of households was not wide, but there was some variation. West Wards 1 and 2 had relatively large households. The smallest average households appeared on the South Side, the area of least migrant population. It is very difficult to explain why such spatial variations appeared in household sizes, but a simple generalization may be drawn. The outlying wards had larger than average sizes of household - for example, West Wards 1 and 2 and the East Ward 1 (see Fig. 4.3). On the other hand wards near the harbour had less than average sized households. The wards near to the harbour, in fact, were the most important business areas of the city and it may be postulated that commercial competition for space precluded larger households.

Denominational Affiliations

Table 4.5 demonstrates the denominational affiliation of the sample population (households with migrants) of St. John's in 1921. The largest group (nearly 38%) was affiliated to the Roman Catholic Church. The other major churches, the Methodist Church and the Church of England, each served almost equal numbers of people in the city (26%). In fact, these three churches accounted for 90% of the population of St. John's. This indicates that the city's population was not heavily fragmented in terms of denominations.

Table 4.4: Size of Households

Localities	Total Sample Population	Number of Household With Migrant Member	Average Size of Household
SS	757	163	4.6
WW1	1110	202	5.5
WW2	3283	604	5.4
WW3	1994	411	4.8
WW4	3040	609	5.0
WW5	3192	658	4.8
EW1	2916	559	5.2
EW2			
EW3	984	196	5.0
EW4	1974	383	5.1
EW5	3461	685	5.0
St. John's	22711	4470	5.1

THE CITY OF ST. JOHN'S: 1921
DISTRIBUTION OF HOUSEHOLD SIZE

Fig. 4.3

Table 4.5: Denominational Affiliation: The Sample Population (percentage of population)

Denominations	Data available from the Census: 1921 % distribution	Tabulated from the nominal census: for sample population (N=22,870) No.	%
Roman Catholic	48.7	8609	37.6
Church of England	23.0	5992	26.2
Methodists	20.9	6021	26.3
Salvation Army	2.7	865	3.8
Presbyterian	2.9	839	3.7
Congregationalist	.9	222	1.0
Others	.9	322	1.4

Table 4.5a: Denominational Affiliation: The Sample Population (continued)
(percentage of population)

Denominations	Migrational Status	
	% Migrants	% Non-Migrants
Roman Catholic	42.3	57.7
Church of England	51.2	48.8
Methodists	44.2	55.8
Salvation Army	56.5	43.5
Presbyterian	45.4	54.5
Congregationalist	31.5	68.5
Others	56.1	43.9

When the sample data are compared with the statistics for St. John's as a whole, however, some differences appear. It appears that the migrant population in the city had varying degrees of influence on the overall religious affiliation. Major differences appeared in the most populous groups - for example Roman Catholics recorded a negative difference of over ten points. The Protestant groups however were all "over represented" amongst the population of the migrant households - undoubtedly this may be explained in part by the field or area of origin of most migrants. But it is clear that the migrant population substantially reshaped the denominational distribution and balance in the city.

A close examination of published census data indicates that Conception Bay - from where St. John's sucked the majority of her migrants - is mainly a non-Catholic region. The other important field from which the migrants came, the North-East Coast, is again dominantly non-Catholic. In situations such as this, where religious fission is a marked feature of the social geography, it may be assumed that the religious minority would be more prone to migrate. This was not always the case. In some cases the principal flow of migrants came from a community's religious majority (Table 4.6). But the situation in Port de Grave and Placentia is somewhat different. In Port de Grave the population was wholly non-Catholic - while the nominal census count indicated that there were at least 6.3% migrants with Port de Grave origins who were Catholic. A similar situation is found at Placentia - there was an almost exclusively Catholic population (99.2%) back at the community but there were at least 13.8% non-Catholic migrants from that commun-

Table 4.6: Major Denominational Groupings of Selected Origin Communities and Migrant Population at Destination (percentage of population)

Selected Communities	At origin Communities		Migrant Population at Destination	
	Catholic	Non-Catholic	Catholic	Non-Catholic
Port de Grave	-	100.0	6.3	93.7
Brigus	38.2	61.8	36.7	63.3
Trinity	10.1	89.9	11.9	88.1
Greenspond	.2	99.8	5.9	94.1
Placentia	99.2	.8	86.2	13.8

ity recorded in St. John's. This suggests that religious minorities may be more footloose and more prone to social change than the groups from which they emerge.

However, the figures available are too slight to afford more than the broadest analysis - the essence of this section is that the migration status of the city's population may be considered as a modifying factor which reshaped the total distribution of religious denominations in the city in 1921.

Occupation of the Sample Population

Occupation is perhaps one of the most important tools for the examination of the socio-economic standing of society. The occupation of an individual refers to the means by which he or she survives. Classifications and groupings of occupations however are very difficult. There were as many as 122 different kinds of occupation by which the people of St. John's made their livings in 1921 (see Appendix B). For the purpose of this analysis, an attempt was made to classify people into major groupings as follows;

(1) Business
(2) Professional
(3) Service Personnel A
(4) Service Personnel B
(5) Service Personnel C
(6) Skilled Labour A
(7) Skilled Labour B
(8) Unskilled Labour
(9) Governmental Officials
(10) Fishing and Related Jobs
(11) Household Worker
(12) Farmer
(13) Student
(14) Others

Groups such as Business and Professional are self explanatory. A group such as Service Personnel however requires some elaboration. Service Personnel A refers to the group of people related to public or corporate agencies like hospitals and banks, serving both at managerial and clerical levels. Service Personnel B includes the people who serve society more or less in daily life - such people, for example, are salesman/lady, grocer, laundryman/woman and so on. Service Personnel C are those engaged in the transportation sector. Like Service Personnel B, the Skilled Labour A, is somehow related to the daily needs of the people, such as barber, butcher or butler. Skilled Labour B is the group taking in manufacturing occupations such as the blacksmith, factory worker, mechanic and so on. Another group, Unskilled Labour, includes the people who were recorded in the census as "Labour" without specifying what type of labour. The Governmental Officials refers to the group of people such as Fire Officer, Police, etc. One other group which needs little introduction is that of Household Worker - housewives and maidservants are the people who fall under this category.

Table 4.7 shows the major groupings with their frequency distribution. Three major groups dominated the total distribution. Household Workers, Students and Children under 5 years accounted for over 55% of the total sample population. This portion of the population who may be be considered as dependent population. Other than these, Labour in general appears to be the largest individual category. But considered by groups it appears that Service Personnel is the largest group (9.5%) - Skilled Labour is also equally important (8.9%)). In brief Service Personnel and Skilled

Table 4.7: Occupation by Migration Status
(percentage of sample population)

Occupation Categories	No. (N=22,711)	%	Migration Status % Migrant	% Non-Migrant
Business	318	1.4	68.2	31.8
Professional	296	1.3	49.9	50.1
Service Personnel A	904	4.0	46.0	54.0
Service Personnel B	1021	4.5	38.0	62.0
Service Personnel C	210	1.0	37.6	62.4
Skilled Labour A	976	4.3	40.1	59.9
Skilled Labour B	1049	4.6	60.2	39.8
Labour	1134	5.0	59.2	40.8
Farmer	162	.7	12.3	87.7
Fishing and Related Jobs	548	2.4	69.7	30.3
Government Officials	234	1.0	67.5	32.5
Household Workers	5687	25.0	70.6	29.4
Students	4080	18.0	38.6	61.4
Children not at School	701	3.1	41.9	58.1
Not * Applicable	2838	12.5	18.9	81.1
Not Reported	1850	8.1	34.1	65.9
Others	703	3.1	32.4	67.6

* children under 5 years.

Labour appeared prominent among the occupation categories They accounted for over 18% of the total sample population. The people engaged in the primary sector in general appeared to be less important (Farmer - 0.7%, Fishing and related jobs - 2.4%). The categories Business and Professional were not numerous (2.7%), but their presence in the overall economic activities of the city was probably very important.

One other important aspect of Table 4.7 is that it provides the breakdown of population by migration status. It appears from the table that a very large proportion of migrant population was recorded in the group household worker (25%), of which nearly 71% were migrant. In fact, this is not unusual because in the earlier part of the present chapter it has been demonstrated that most of the adult women were migrant. Other than this category businessmen as a group appeared to be one of the largest migratory groups (68.2%). Similarly the group Fishing and Related Jobs (69.7%) and Governmental Officials (67.5%) shows that these were largely migrant in the city. Non-migrants were mainly concentrated in the occupational groups Service Personnel B and C and Skilled Labour A. Interestingly farmers were the most dominantly non-migrant group. The reason may be that agricultural land close to the city was relatively expensive and thus the migrant, in general economically less solvent, could not afford it. On the other hand it is that there were simply few people who could be classified as farmers living in St. John's.

Occupational structure of migrants by wards is more difficult to generalize (Table 4.8). Broadly West Ward 2 stands out for some uncommon

4.8: Occupation of the Migrants by Localities*

Localities	Total Migrant Population No.	%	Business	Professionals	Service Personnel A	B	C
SS	294	2.7	1.0 (.4)	.7 (.2)	2.2 (.8)	2.5 (.9)	-
WW1	530	4.9	8.3 (1.7)	14.2 (2.9)	4.1 (.8)	6.2 (1.3)	16.5 (3.4)
WW2	1617	15.0	14.7 (1.0)	12.2 (.8)	15.0 (1.0)	16.0 (1.1)	17.7 (1.2)
WW3	991	9.2	6.9 (.7)	5.4 (.6)	13.7 (1.5)	11.5 (1.2)	7.6 (.8)
WW4	1431	13.3	6.9 (.5)	1.3 (.1)	10.1 (.7)	20.6 (1.5)	15.2 (1.1)
WW5	1457	13.5	11.5 (.8)	2.7 (.2)	13.2 (1.0)	17.0 (1.2)	5.0 (.4)
EW1	1420	13.2	13.8 (1.0)	34.5 (2.6)	11.8 (.9)	6.0 (.4)	7.6 (.6)
EW2	-						
EW3	500	4.6	12.0 (2.6)	7.0 (1.5)	7.4 (1.6)	2.3 (.5)	7.6 (1.6)
EW4	976	9.0	10.6 (1.2)	12.2 (1.3)	12.7 (1.4)	5.0 (.5)	11.4 (1.3)
EW5	1571	14.6	14.3 (1.0)	9.5 (.6)	9.8 (.7)	13.0 (.9)	11.4 (.8)
Total	10,787	100.0	2.0	1.4	3.8	3.6	1.2

* In parenthesis indicated the index of salience.

4.8a: Occupation of the Migrants by Localities*
(continued)

Localities	Total Migrant Population		Skilled Labour		Unskilled Labour	Fishing & Farming
	No.	%	A	B		
SS	294	2.7	3.3 (1.2)	3.9 (1.4)	4.8 (1.8)	4.0 (1.4)
WW1	530	4.9	5.4 (1.1)	10.3 (2.1)	3.1 (.6)	18.0 (3.6)
WW2	1617	15.0	12.5 (.8)	18.3 (1.2)	11.2 (.7)	7.0 (.5)
WW3	991	9.2	9.2 (1.0)	12.2 (1.3)	10.5 (1.1)	3.0 (.3)
WW4	1431	13.3	13.0 (1.0)	14.9 (1.1)	18.8 (1.4)	13.0 (.9)
WW5	1457	13.5	15.1 (1.1)	14.1 (1.0)	19.8 (1.5)	8.0 (.6)
EW1	1420	13.2	7.4 (.6)	8.4 (.6)	11.6 (.9)	18.0 (1.4)
EW2	-					
EW3	500	4.6	6.1 (1.3)	2.4 (.5)	1.5 (.3)	1.0 (.2)
EW4	976	9.0	11.7 (1.3)	6.5 (.7)	5.4 (.6)	9.0 (1.0)
EW5	1571	14.6	16.3 (1.1)	9.0 (.6)	13.3 (.9)	19.0 (1.7)
Total	10,787	100.0	3.6	5.8	6.2	3.7

in parenthesis indicated the index of salience.

4.8b: Occupation of the Migrants by Localities* (continued)

Localities	Total Migrant Population No.	%	Govt. Officials	Household Workers	Student
SS	294	2.7	1.3 (.5)	2.9 (1.1)	1.6 (.6)
WW1	530	4.9	4.4 (.9)	4.5 (.9)	4.6 (.9)
WW2	1617	15.0	16.4 (1.1)	12.9 (.9)	17.4 (1.2)
WW3	991	9.2	10.1 (1.1)	7.3 (.8)	12.2 (1.3)
WW4	1431	13.3	8.9 (.7)	15.4 (1.1)	13.2 (1.0)
WW5	1457	13.5	13.3 (1.0)	13.7 (1.0)	6.0 (.4)
EW1	1420	13.2	8.9 (.7)	13.7 (1.0)	12.7 (.9)
EW2	-				
EW3	500	4.6	12.0 (2.6)	4.7 (1.0)	4.7 (1.0)
EW4	976	9.0	8.2 (.9)	10.9 (1.2)	10.3 (1.1)
EW5	1571	14.6	16.5 (1.1)	14.0 (.9)	17.3 (1.2)
Total	10,787	100.0	1.5	37.0	14.6

* Figures in parenthesis indicated the index of salience.

4.8c: Occupation of the Migrants by Localities*
(continued)

Localities	Total Migrant Population No.	%	Children Not at School	Not + Applicable	Others
SS	294	2.7	1.7 (.6)	4.9 (1.8)	.4 (.1)
WW1	530	4.9	6.8 (1.4)	3.2 (.6)	2.6 (.5)
WW2	1617	15.0	30.6 (2.0)	18.4 (1.2)	8.0 (.5)
WW3	991	9.2	7.8 (.8)	11.3 (1.2)	3.9 (.4)
WW4	1431	13.3	7.6 (.6)	6.1 (.4)	11.4 (.8)
WW5	1457	13.5	6.8 (.5)	11.7 (.9)	14.5 (1.1)
EW1	1420	13.2	10.7 (.7)	15.8 (1.2)	21.5 (1.6)
EW2	-				
EW3	500	4.6	3.4 (.7)	3.7 (.8)	10.5 (2.3)
EW4	976	9.0	10.5 (1.2)	6.3 (.7)	10.1 (1.1)
EW5	1571	14.6	14.6 (1.0)	18.6 (1.3)	17. (1.2)
Total	10,787	100.0	2.7	5.0	7.9

* Figures in parenthesis indicated the index of salience.
+ Children under 5 years.

qualities. Out of seventeen different occupation categories, it recorded the highest proportions of migrants in eight categories. Those occupation categories are quite important. For example, of all migrant businessman, this ward received 14.7% of Service Personnel in three categories, 15%, 16% and 17.7%, respectively; Skilled Labour B (18.3%) and Governmental Officials (16.4%) were also heavily represented. West Ward 2 also had the largest proportion of both students (17.4%) and children who were not at school (30.6%). In addition it had one of the highest proportions of children under 5 years of age (18.4%). East Ward 1 had the highest proportion of professionals (34.5%) - the group of people usually considered to be of a higher social order. This was also the highest proportion of any of the categories observed in the table. One other characteristic of this ward is that it had substantially higher proportions of both farmers and fisherman and related jobs (18.0% combined). This probably reflects the location of people residing near the harbour and at the eastern edge of the city where much of the agricultural land was located.

East Ward 5 also demonstrated some degree of uniqueness by receiving a higher proportion of migrants in certain occupation categories. It received the highest proportions of Skilled Labour A (16.3%), farmer (25%) and governmental officials (16.5%). This ward had also the largest proportion of children under 5 years (18.6%).

The table suggests that in general the attractiveness of West Ward 2 was comparatively greater than the others - this is reflected in the salience index value which indicate that the ward received more people than the

expected proportions in most categories. The ward, in fact, had the highest proportions of migrants in many different occupations. On the other end of the scale, South Side, with least migrants, recorded very few people in the important occupation categories skilled labour, service personnel and so on. Similarly, the salience indices are very low.

Socio-Economic Characteristics of the Selected Roads/Streets

In order to examine the data in more detail, an attempt has been made to identify patterns of migrant distribution at the micro-level. The central question of this section is whether the socio-demographic indices appear to be different or similar to that of the overall distribution of the city in general.

Five roads/streets were selected for more detailed study. Selection was made keeping in mind that the streets selected represent and reflect the importance and characteristics of their surrounding area. The chosen streets are Water Street, LeMarchant Road, Brazil Square, Rennies Mill Road and King's Bridge Road (see Fig. 4.4). Water Street was chosen because it was and still is the main commercial core of the city. It is to be expected that the socio-economic characteristics of this area would be different from other areas and would give a profile of the people living in the city's hub during the period in study. LeMarchant Road is one of the oldest settled residential areas of the city and in 1921 did not have the commercial importance it later acquired. Brazil Square was selected in order to provide a profile of lower class areas. It represents the characteristics of residential neighbourhoods from the western parts of the city. Rennies Mill Road and

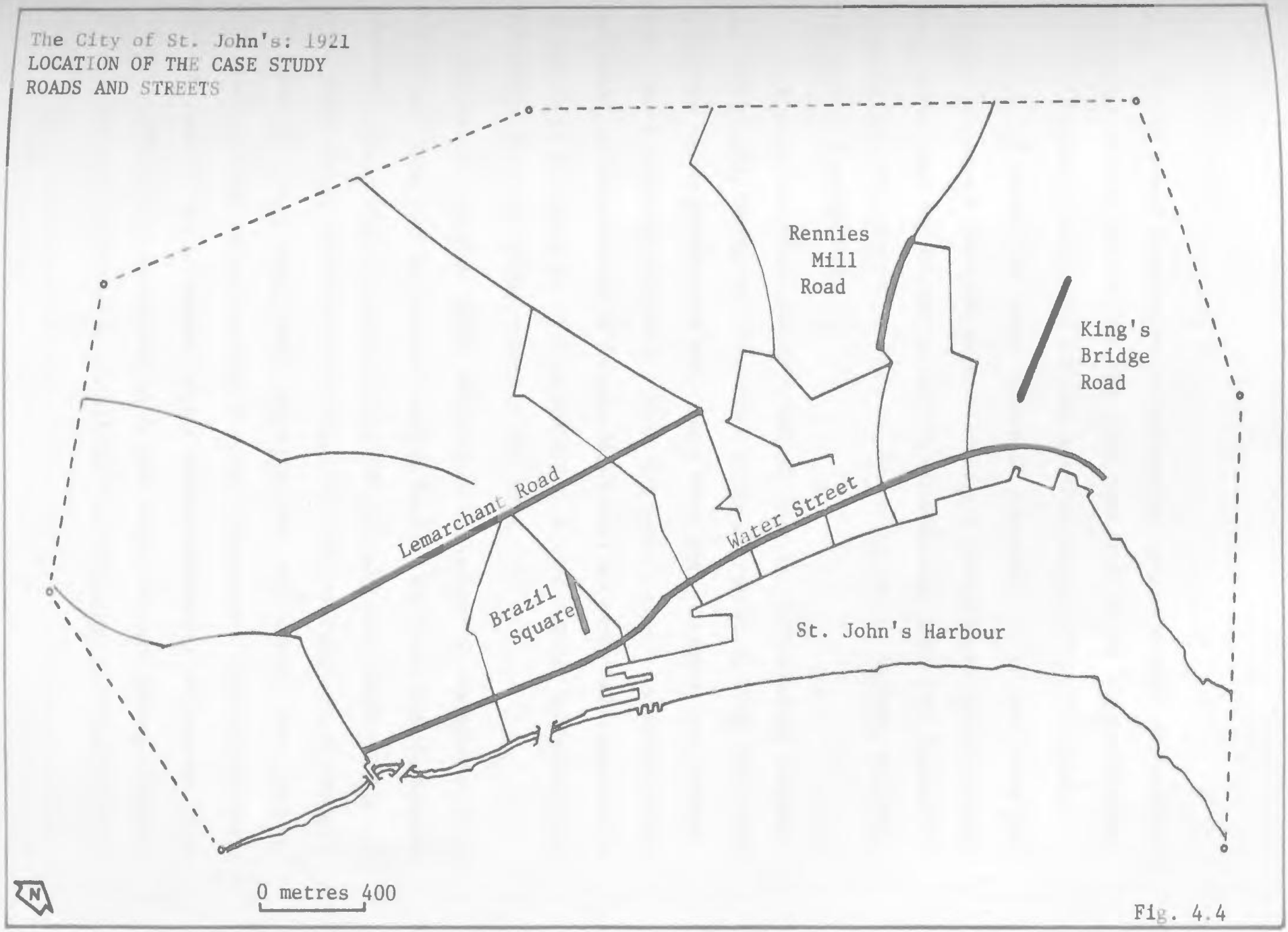
The City of St. John's: 1921
LOCATION OF THE CASE STUDY
ROADS AND STREETS
Rennies Mill Road
King's Bridge Road
Lemarchant Road
Water Street
Brazil Square
St. John's Harbour
N
0 metres 400

Fig. 4.4

King's Bridge Roads were chosen to portray the neighbourhood characteristics of the eastern part of the city. The present analysis is based on 241 households consisting of 1191 persons of whom nearly 50% were migrant.

Table 4.9 shows the major household groupings of the five roads and streets. It appears from the count of variety of relationship categories that Water Street had the largest variety of combinations (20). The figures for other streets are LeMarchant Road 18, Brazil Square 16, Rennies Mill Road 12, and King's Bridge Road 10.

In general the table indicates that the pattern of household membership was roughly similar to the pattern of the overall study area. The most frequently recorded members are - head, wife, son, daughter, and maidservant. One anomalous observation from the table is that a surprisingly low proportion of sons is found in Rennies Mill Road (9%), while there were 22.5% daughters in the same set of households. It is very difficult to explain why such imbalanced sex ratios existed in that area.

In absolute figures, there were higher numbers of maidservants in LeMarchant Road (48) but proportionately Rennies Mill Road had the largest share of maidservants - 111 people over 22% of whom were maidservants. In other words, there was one maidservant for every four persons in Rennies Mill Road. In King's Bridge Road the figure was one in every five persons. The ratio on Water Street was one in every 14 persons - the ratio becomes more extreme for Brazil Square, where it was one in every 48 persons. This indirectly reflects the social status of the roads because having maidservants in the household to some extent indicates economic stability and high

Table 4.9: Household Composition: Both Migrant and Non-Migrant Population in Selected Areas (percentage of population)

Relationship Categories	Water Street (N=224)	LeMarchant Road (N=519)	Brazil Square (N=194)	Rennies Mill Road (N=111)	King's Bridge Road (N=143)
Head	23.6	18.7	20.6	18.0	20.2
Wife	17.8	16.1	18.0	13.5	16.1
Son	21.0	25.2	21.1	9.0	21.6
Daughter	15.6	23.5	22.7	22.5	17.5
Grand Children	-	.7	1.5	4.5	-
Son-In-Law	1.8	.1	-	-	-
Daughter-In-Law	.4	-	-	-	-
Father	.4	-	-	-	-
Mother	.8	-	1.0	1.8	-
Mother-In-Law	1.8	-	.5	-	-
Brothers/ Sisters	.8	.7	1.5	3.6	-
Nephew/ Neice	1.8	1.1	2.6	.9	.7
Other In-Laws	1.3	1.1	-	-	-
Boarder	3.1	.1	5.9	2.7	2.1
Maid-servant	7.1	9.2	2.1	22.5	18.2
Others	2.2	2.8	2.5	.9	2.1

status.

An attempt has been made to examine the migration status of certain relationship categories in the selected areas (Table 4.10). The most frequently stated category of migrants was that of "maidservant" which is similar to the pattern for the whole study area. The proportion of migrants varies from one area to the other. In general 61% of the people in Water Street were migrants. Comparative figures for LeMarchant Road are 44%, Brazil Square 43%, Rennies Mill Road 55% and King's Bridge Road 52%.

However, the above table suggests that household heads in Water Street and Brazil Square were more migratory than those of the other areas. Similarly, the wives of Water Street were more migratory than the other streets. Brazil Square recorded 100% migrant maidservants. However the general pattern suggests that the people in Water Street, in general, were more migratory than the others.

In order to understand the household composition in more detail more facts and figures are needed. On average the household size in all five localities was 4.9, which is a little smaller than the average of the total study area (5.1). The largest household size recorded was in Rennies Mill Road, i.e. 5.5. LeMarchant Road had an average of 5.3, Brazil Square 4.7, King's Bridge Road recorded 4.7 and the smallest size was found in Water Street 4.2.

The first interesting observation is that although Water Street had the smallest size of households (4.2) it had the largest variety of relationship categories (20), while the figures for King's Bridge Road were 4.7 and 10

Table 4.10: Migrational Status of the Selected Relationship Categories in Selected Areas (percentage of population)

Selected Relationship Categories	Total		Water Street		LeMarchant Road		Brazil Square	
	M	N	M	N	M	N	M	N
Head	64.0	36.0	75.4	24.6	61.8	38.2	75.0	25.0
Wife	68.7	31.3	80.0	20.0	65.5	34.5	68.6	31.4
Son	18.3	81.7	19.1	80.9	17.5	82.5	12.2	87.8
Daughter	19.0	81.0	19.9	80.1	14.7	85.3	11.4	88.6
Maid Servant	86.0	14.0	87.5	12.5	85.4	14.6	100.0	-

M = Migrant, N = Non-Migrant

Table 4.10[a] Migrational Status of the Selected Relationship Categories in Selected Areas (continued) (percentage of population)

Selected Relationship Categories	Total		Rennies Mill Road		King's Bridge Road	
	M	N	M	N	M	N
Head	64.0	36.0	50.0	50.0	58.6	41.4
Wife	68.7	31.4	60.0	40.0	65.2	34.8
Son	18.3	81.7	20.0	80.0	29.0	71.0
Daughter	19.0	81.0	28.0	72.0	32.0	68.0
Maid Servant	86.0	14.0	76.0	24.0	81.0	19.0

M = Migrant, N = Non-Migrant

respectively. This reflects the fact that the composition of households of King's Bridge Road was relatively limited. In other words, the household was more compact in the sense that it was composed of very closely related members, which may be a characteristic of high class residential areas. The neighbourhood of Rennies Mill Road had comparatively larger size households (5.5) which indicates perhaps a more extended type of family, but on the other hand the variety of relationships is still relatively few (12). In general, Rennies Mill Road had the same restricted pattern of relationships, as King's Bridge Road and was of the same social and economic class.

On the other hand Water Street, LeMarchant Road and Brazil Square had a wide array of relationship categories, but were characterized by smaller sizes of household. Water Street was particularly important owing to its location and the nature of activities performed there. Since it was the most important business area, competition for space was keen but it also offered maximum opportunity for employment. Brazil Square, on the other hand, showed a large proportion of the people as boarders (5.9%), a higher figure than the others. Like Water Street it had quite a variety of relationship categories but the households averaged 4.7 persons. It suggests characteristics rather similar to Water Street. It seems probable that incoming migrants chose the main commercial area where most of the labour demand was concentrated. The typical migrant, presumably, initially moved to relatives, or to a boarding house inside the commercial area and looked for work and later moved on and out to the other zones of the city. This changing, shifting household membership limited the number of

members in the household. LeMarchant Road, though not purely of this type may demonstrate the same trend.

To supplement the analysis of household structure, Table 4.11 summarizes the pattern of varying household size. The table clearly demonstrates that Water Street, LeMarchant Road and Brazil Square had similar household size structures but Rennies Mill Road and King's Bridge Road were in a different category. Smaller size households were the dominant pattern in Water Street, LeMarchant Road and Brazil Square. It has already been mentioned that the households in these three streets had widely varying membership patterns but were limited in absolute size. The two other roads had a relatively larger household size. In other words Water Street, LeMarchant Road and Brazil Square had their highest number of households with 2-3 members while Rennies Mill Road and King's Bridge Road had the largest number in the 4-5 members group. Other than this pattern it is interesting to note that Water Street, LeMarchant Road and Brazil Square had also the largest size category of household (10 to 12 members) which was absent in the other two streets. These were probably the households with extended families, i.e. composed of head, his/her children and grandchildren, or having a number of boarders. A detailed look at the larger households indicates that the number of boarders was high in Water Street and Brazil Square, while the extended household was the reason for such larger units in LeMarchant Road.

The age-sex structure of households provides a more detailed view of the case study area. In Table 4.12 age categories have been lumped

Table 4.11: Household Size: Selected Areas
(Figures in percent)

Household Categories	Water Street (N=53)	LeMarchant Road (N=97)	Brazil Square (N=41)	Rennies Mill Road (N=20)	King's Bridge Road (N=30)
2-3 members	41.5	35.0	39.3	10.0	16.6
4-5 members	35.8	31.9	35.2	45.0	49.9
6-7 members	17.0	20.6	18.3	30.0	23.3
8-9 members	3.8	7.2	2.4	15.0	9.9
10-12 members	1.8	5.1	4.8	-	-

Table 4.12: Age-Sex Groupings by Migration Status: Selected Areas (percentage of population)

	Water Street (N=224)	LeMarchant Road (N=519)	Brazil Square (N=194)
Adolescent (0-15 years)	25.4	34.1	23.4
% migrant	18.0	18.1	14.8
% non-migrant	82.0	81.9	85.2
% male	52.6	47.4	51.2
% female	47.4	52.6	48.8
Young (16-30 years)	27.2	29.7	33.3
% migrant	70.5	55.2	57.3
% non-migrant	29.5	44.8	42.7
% male	36.0	39.0	35.9
% female	64.0	61.0	64.1
Adult (31-60 years)	37.1	30.2	33.9
% migrant	77.1	59.2	61.9
% non-migrant	22.9	40.8	38.1
% male	47.0	48.4	45.0
% female	53.0	51.6	55.0
Aged (above 60 years)	10.3	6.0	9.4
% migrant	78.3	64.5	75.1
% non-migrant	21.7	35.5	24.9
% male	47.8	54.8	47.3
% female	52.2	45.2	52.7

Table 4.12: Age-Sex Groupings by Migration Status: Selected Areas (continued)
(percentage of population)

	Rennies Mill Road (N=111)	King's Bridge Road (N=143)
Adolescent		
(0-15 years)	19.8	23.1
% migrant	22.7	30.3
% non-migrant	77.3	69.7
% male	27.3	57.6
% female	72.7	42.4
Young		
(16-30 years)	37.0	34.9
% migrant	67.5	56.0
% non-migrant	32.5	44.0
% male	52.5	28.0
% female	47.5	72.0
Adult		
(31-60 years)	35.0	30.7
% migrant	52.5	56.1
% non-migrant	47.5	43.9
% male	45.0	56.1
% female	55.0	43.9
Aged		
(above 60 years)	8.2	11.3
% migrant	88.9	68.4
% non-migrant	11.1	31.6
% male	44.4	42.1
% female	55.6	57.9

together to show propensity for migration by age and sex.

A preliminary look at the table shows that, as in the previous pattern, Water Street and LeMarchant Road had similarities in groupings. Brazil Square, Rennies Mill Road and King's Bridge Road had larger proportions of people in the prime working age groups. However, the largest single group of people for Water Street, LeMarchant Road and Brazil Square fell in the group 31-60 years. The largest single group for Rennies Mill Road and King's Bridge Road was recorded in the age group 16 to 30 years. Classified by sex, the total distribution is dominated by the females. In nearly all cases female dominance is more apparent in the prime working age group.

Classifying the population of the five study streets by migrant and non-migrant status, it appears that on average only Water Street had above 60% of migrant population. LeMarchant Road had a lower than expected level of migrant population (44%) although in most other respects the figures for LeMarchant Road were similar to those of Water Street. The figure for Brazil Square was nearly equal to that of LeMarchant Road at 43%. As usual the percentage of migrant population increased with the increasing age group. This pattern did not obtain however in King's Bridge Road and Rennies Mill Road. It also appears that the percentage of migrant population in the oldest age group was significantly higher in Rennies Mill Road than other streets. It may be, however, that the values for this road are influenced by the fact that the sample size is smaller than any other. But, in general, it appears that the potential working force was migrant with newer, younger generations or residents born in St. John's.

This study attempted also to look at the denominational affiliations of the people in the case study area. Individual streets had different indices of denominational adherence. Table 4.13 shows the denominations with their proportions of followers. In the case study areas (in five streets) Roman Catholics appeared to be the most populous and widely distributed denomination. Roman Catholic people, however, were the largest individual group only in Water Street. Methodists were relatively larger as an individual group in LeMarchant Road and Brazil Square. Church of England adherents were the most populous in King's Bridge and Rennies Mill Roads. The most important observation is that the Church of England was relatively dominant and concentrated in the high class residential areas. The Methodists were concentrated in the lower and middle class residential and commercial areas (Brazil Square, Water Street and LeMarchant Road). The Catholics were fairly evenly distributed.

Occupation of the people was again considered to be an important aspect of socio-economic geography worthy of examination. Since the variety of occupations was so big some sort of grouping was necessary. The categories and groupings used previously were employed and are summarized in Table 4.14.

The aggregate totals indicate that a significant portion of labour in the sample area was in the category Skilled Labour B, which included the people involved with manufacturing. Service Personnel A was also important in the overall distribution of the work force. Other groups like household worker, student, had large numbers of people which, along with some other groups

Table 4.13: Denominational Affiliations: Selected Roads and Streets (percentage of population)

Denominations	Water Street (N=224)	LeMarchant Road (N=519)	Brazil Square (N=194)	Rennies Road (N=111)	King's Bridge Road (N=143)
Roman Catholic	39.3	34.9	31.3	26.2	40.0
Methodist	31.3	39.5	37.9	12.6	7.0
Church of England	13.8	18.1	16.5	50.4	50.3
Presbyterian	3.6	2.9	4.7	3.6	2.0
Others	12.0	4.6	9.6	7.2	.7

Table 4.14: Occupation of the People: Selected Roads and Streets (percentage of population)

Occupation Categories	Total (N=1191) No.	%	Water Street (N=224)	LeMarchant Road (N=519)	Brazil Square (N=194)
Business	38	3.2	3.1	3.4	1.0
Professionals	21	1.8	.4	1.7	2.6
Service Personnel A	71	6.0	4.5	7.1	6.7
Service Personnel B	48	4.0	1.7	4.6	2.1
Service Personnel C	13	1.1	1.7	.5	1.0
Skilled Labour A	18	1.5	1.7	1.1	4.1
Skilled Labour B	81	6.8	11.2	7.1	3.6
Unskilled Labour	32	2.7	2.2	1.1	11.4
Fishing & Farming	4	.3	.4	.3	.5
Sailor & Related Jobs	16	1.3	3.1	.8	2.6
Government Officials	12	1.0	.9	.5	1.0
Household Workers	373	31.3	39.3	26.8	26.3
Student	149	12.5	13.4	11.9	10.3
Not at School	44	3.7	3.6	1.3	10.3
Not Applicable	134	11.2	8.9	11.7	10.9
Not Reported	137	11.6	3.6	19.3	5.6

Table 4.14a: Occupation of the People: Selected Areas (continued)
(percentage of population)

Occupation Categories	Total (N=1191) No.	%	Rennies Mill Road (N=111)	King's Bridge Road (N=143)
Business	38	3.2	7.2	2.0
Professionals	21	1.8	1.8	2.0
Service Personnel A	71	6.0	6.4	2.7
Service Personnel B	48	4.0	2.3	9.0
Service Personnel C	13	1.1	.9	2.0
Skilled Labour A	18	1.5	-	-
Skilled Labour B	81	6.8	4.6	4.8
Unskilled Labour	32	2.7	.9	2.0
Fishing & Farming	4	.3	-	-
Sailor & Related Jobs	16	1.3	-	-
Government Officials	12	1.0	.9	2.0
Household Workers	373	31.3	41.5	34.2
Student	149	12.5	17.2	9.0
Not at School	44	3.7	-	1.4
Not Applicable	134	11.2	9.9	16.7
Not Reported	137	11.6	4.6	4.7

accounted for nearly 58% of the total population of the streets. These were the dependent population. A number of people did not give an occupation (11.6%).

Looking at the table at the level of individual streets it appears that Water Street and LeMarchant Road had similarities in their occupation structure. In both areas Skilled Labour B and Service Personnel A were the most numerous elements of the work force. The group Skilled Labour B included the people involved with manufacturing (for detail see Appendix B), while Service Personnel A refers to the people who supported the daily needs of the people (baker, barber, butcher and so on). Brazil Square had the largest proportion of Unskilled Labour. A closer scrutiny of the data suggests that it had quite a large number of unemployed people, a category less evident on the other streets. Rennies Mill Road had the largest proportion of population involved with business, although in absolute terms LeMarchant Road had the highest number of businessmen. At Rennies Mill Road a significant number of people were involved in occupations like barber, baker, cook and so on. King's Bridge Road had a significant portion of her labour force which were involved in sales and service. The overall distribution suggests that the occupations of Water Street and LeMarchant Road showed an inclination towards administration in the sense that people were involved with banks, accounting and so on, and manufacturing. Brazil Square was heavily dominated by unskilled labour indicating an area of lower working class. Rennies Mill Road was characterized by business executives and administrators. In King's Bridge Road manufacturing manpower

and sales and service personnel were the majority.

If the dependent population (household workers, students, not at school, not applicable) is calculated then it appears that Rennies Mill Road had the highest percentage of such population (68.6%), the comparable figures being 65.2% for Water Street, 51.7% for LeMarchant Road, 63.4% for Brazil Square and 61.3% for King's Bridge Road. The pattern is not markedly differentiated but it is a little unusual for Water Street - generally the people of such areas exploit every opportunity to secure employment. It is also interesting to note that Brazil Square had a higher percentage of children who were not attending school.

Summary

This chapter has dealt with the socio-economic aspects of the city's population distribution, particularly the migrant population. The enumerator's list indicated that there were 10,787 migrants in the city during the 1921 census period. This migrant population accounted for a little over 31% of her total population in 1921. The localities (wards) of the city received migrants roughly according to the size of the population of the respective area. The salience index suggested that West Wards 1 and 2, and East Wards 3 and 5 received more people than expected.

The age-sex groupings indicated that, as usual, females dominated the total pattern particularly in the age-groups 15-19 years and 20-24 years, and the greatest propensity for migration appeared in the age groups 20-24 years and 25-29 years. In terms of household composition, the nuclear family (head, wife, sons, daughters) with attached resident maidservant was the

most frequently recorded relationship category. But in certain localities, particularly western wards, there were significantly large numbers of boarders. Interestingly, the size of household varied markedly. The average size of household was 5.1, while the western wards had both larger and smaller than the city's average size. The size of the households in the eastern wards was relatively homogenous and consistent.

The denominational groupings indicated that most of the population was Roman Catholic and the Anglicans were the second highest majority in the city. The analysis also hinted that back at the origin points, the religious minority migrated more readily to the city, and this fact, contributed largely to shaping the city's denominational groupings.

The occupation structure indicated that significantly large numbers of people were categorized as labour (both skilled and unskilled). Service Personnel were equally important. By migration status, it appeared that most of the higher social order jobs were held by migrants - this was especially true of the business categories (68.2% migrant). It was also clear that more than half of the population (55%) were not in the working force and predominantly these were females. It also appeared that Protestants dominated in the eastern wards and held the higher-order jobs, for example, business and professional, while the working classes were concentrated in the western wards.

The socio-economic profile of selected roads and streets indicated that they had rather similar household compositions. But some streets, exemplified by Rennies Mill Road and King's Bridge Road, the high class

residential areas, had a relatively higher proportion of maidservants added to larger nuclear families. Similarly, boarders were highly concentrated in Brazil Square (5.9%) a value nearly double the comparison streets. The migration status indicated that in all streets the elderly members were largely migrant. But the highest proportion of migrants appeared amongst the maidservants.

There was a strong relationship between the size of the household and the socio-economic status of the roads and streets. The high-class residential areas had larger households while middle class residential and commercial areas had smaller households. But the extremely large size categories (10-12), were significantly higher in the commercial and residential areas of both middle and lower class (Water Street, LeMarchant Road and Brazil Square).

The population of the selected roads and streets indicated that Water Street, LeMarchant Road and Brazil Square had more people in the prime working age group and females, in fact, dominated in almost all age categories. The present study also identified that the commercial areas (Water Street) attracted more migrants (60%) than the others.

The denominational groupings indicated that the Anglicans were dominant in the high class residential areas. The Methodists were concentrated in the lower and middle class residential areas. Catholics on the other hand were widely dispersed but most heavily concentrated in the commercial areas. The occupational groupings indicated that skilled labourers were the largest group in Water Street and LeMarchant Road, whereas unskilled

labour appeared to be dominant in Brazil Square, the low class residential area. Professionals and businessmen, the higher order occupations, were important in Rennies Mill Road and King's Bridge Road. King's Bridge Road also showed significantly higher proportions of technical tradesmen.

In summary, this small, early 20th century seaport city was marked in its human distributions by clearly contrasting zones, or sectors of socio-economic types. But it is probable that given the relatively small size of the city, boundaries between types and junctions of socio-economic zones were blurred, or easily crossed. And this, no doubt, was in part a function of the pervasive migrant population which permeated the whole city - more numerous in some zones and sectors than others, but everywhere present to bring outport experience to the city.

Chapter V

PROFILES OF THE SELECTED COMMUNITIES

The present chapter attempts to examine more closely some of the important points of migrant origins. Since the present set of data gives an opportunity to trace the people in the city, a corresponding attempt has been made to identify and analyze the characteristics of representative communities of origin. The selected communities should represent the characteristics of their local settings as well as of the migration field.

Table 5.1 lists the twelve top ranking communities that shaped the migration field. The present analysis, however, looked at the five places with the highest index for transmission of migrants. Fortunately those selected communities came up from the most high-intensity field. The selected communities are; Port de Grave (62.1), Brigus (31.3), Trinity (40 0), Greenspond (26.5) and Placentia (31.4). (See Fig. 5.1).

Brigus and Port de Grave are from same general region. The selection of these two settlements poses some problems. An examination of the adjacent areas demonstrates that there were a number of neighbouring communities which did not contribute to the migration flow to St. John's at any substantial level (see Fig. 5.2). But in a sharp discontinuity of pattern Port de Grave and Brigus sent a high number of migrants to St. John's. Brigus with an index of 31%, raises few questions, since it was a relatively large and discrete settlement. Its neighbour, Cupids, also had a significant representative index (9.7%). This apart, it is important to note that the neighbouring settlements had lower index values which helped to isolate the Brigus migra-

Table 5.1: Top Ranking Origin Points

Origin Point	Migration Index
Port de Grave	62.1
Trinity	40.0
Placentia	31.4
Brigus	31.3
Greenspond	26.5
Kelligrews	25.0
Manuels	24.3
Upper Island Cove	23.4
Herring Neck	23.2
Flat Island (P.B.)	23.0
Bay Roberts	20.3
Lower Island Cove	20.3

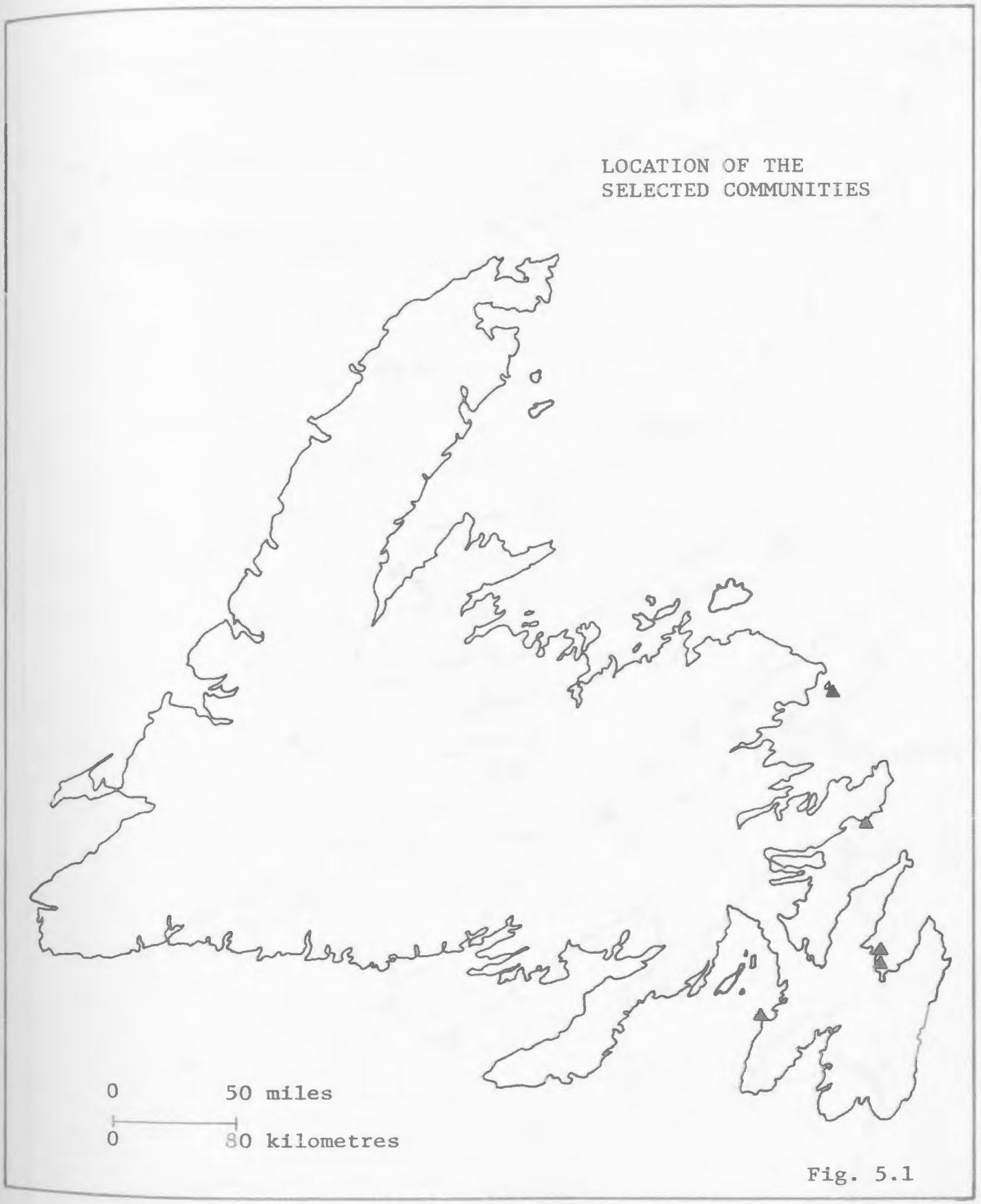
LOCATION OF THE
SELECTED COMMUNITIES
0
50 miles
0
80 kilometres

Fig. 5.1

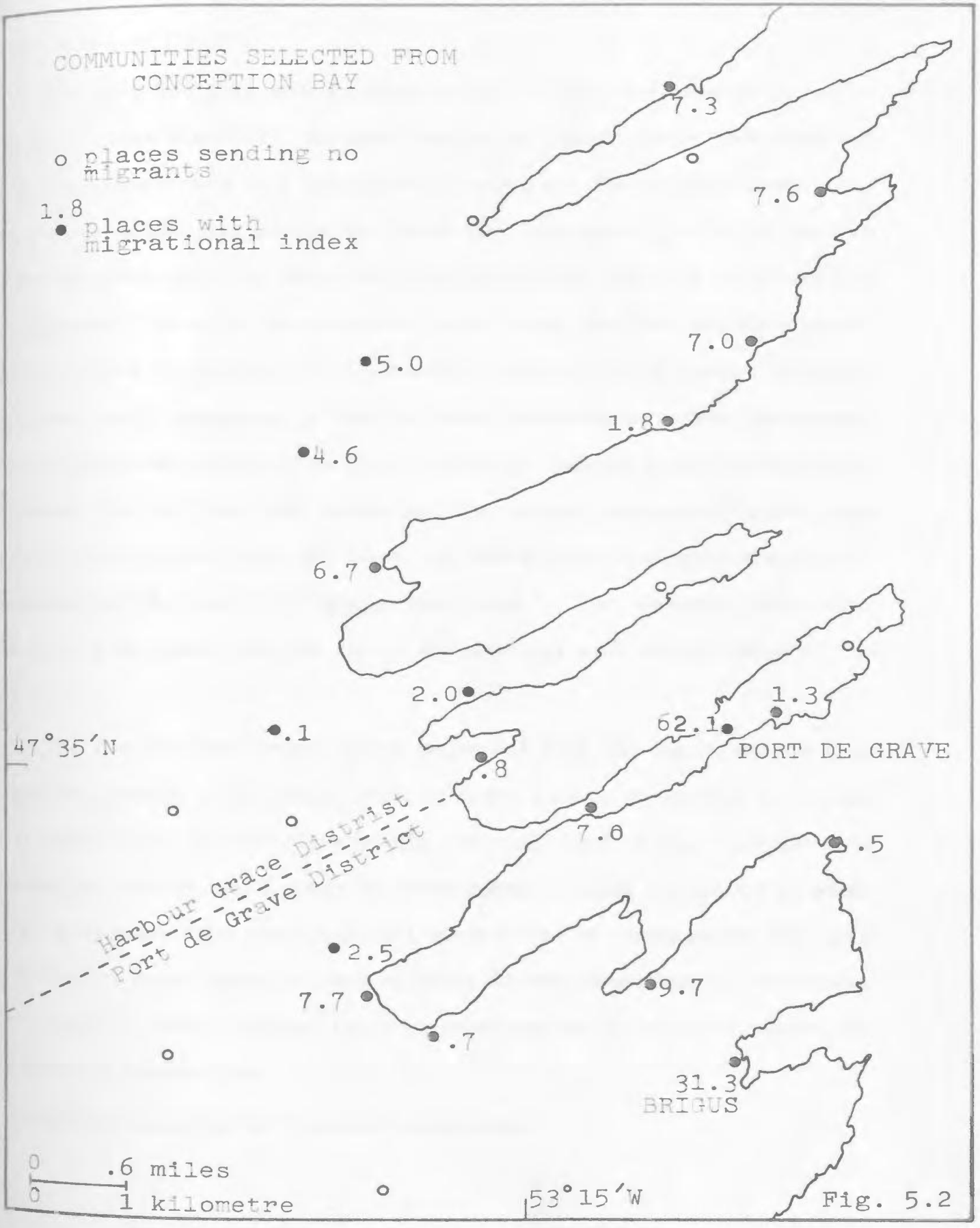
COMMUNITIES SELECTED FROM CONCEPTION BAY
o places sending no migrants
1.8 places with migrational index
7.3
7.6
7.0
5.0
1.8
4.6
6.7
2.0
1.3
62.1
PORT DE GRAVE
.1
47°35′N
.8
7.0
.5
Harbour Grace District
Port de Grave District
2.5
9.7
7.7
.7
31.3
BRIGUS
0 .6 miles
0 1 kilometre
53°15′W

Fig. 5.2

tion focus (see Fig. 5.2).

But Port de Grave with an index of 62% is relatively hard to accept at face value (see Table 5.2). Its index may be so high primarily because it was a small community with a population of only 243. The nearest community, Ship Cove, which was nearly the same size and similar in nature had an index value of only 1.3%. Blow-me-down (population 189) and two other tiny communities less than two kilometers away along the Port de Grave peninsula recorded no migrants at all. It seems probable that a number of people recorded their birthplace as Port de Grave intending to record the district or the peninsula rather than the community. Despite these qualifications however, Port de Grave was included in the analysis because its index value was so much higher than any other. It seems likely that even allowing for mistaken attribution of birthplaces, the index for Port de Grave community would still have been as high as, for example, the next highest place - Trinity.

The five selected origin points represent both the small and medium sized settlements of the island. Port de Grave may be considered as a small settlement while Trinity, Greenspond, Placentia and Brigus may be considered as medium sized towns of Newfoundland during the period in question. It appears from the count that there were 610 communities that contributed the total migration flow of which 23 were described by the census as "towns" in 1921. However these towns altogether account for nearly 36% of the total migrant flow.

Population Change in the Selected Communities

Table 5.2: Change of Population in Selected Communities: 1891-1921

Period	Port de Grave		Brigus		Trinity		Greenspond		Placentia	
	No.	% Change	No.	% Change	No.	% Change	No.	% Change	No.	% Change
1891	347	-12.0	1541	21.0	1401	-4.3	1317	-4.1	1303	7.9
1901	257	-25.9	1162	-24.6	1459	4.1	1357	2.7	1315	.9
1911	258	.4	1034	-11.0	1332	-8.7	1304	-3.6	1327	.9
1921	243	-5.8	935	-9.6	1356	1.8	1211	-7.1	1383	4.2

Source: *Census of Newfoundland:* 1891-1921.

Probably the best way to initiate the examination of the selected communities is to trace the pattern of population changes over the period leading up to 1921. It can be seen from Table 5.2 that over a thirty year period the population of most of the communities diminished, in some cases substantially. Only one of them, Placentia, increased its size slightly.

Among the selected communities Brigus recorded the steepest decline. Over the thirty year period it lost over 39% of its population, i.e. 1.3% per annum. The figures suggest that the decline of population was much more severe at the turn of the present century and in the later two census years (1911 and 1921) the decline shrank. The situation of Port de Grave is roughly the same. The population declined substantially to 1901 (26%) and over the thirty year period the decline was 35% or 1.2% per annum. The table indicates that decline of population is substantially higher in these two settlements from Conception Bay. The situation of Trinity is somewhat different. It recorded both up-and-down population but generally maintained its population size. Greenspond, in Bonavista Bay, showed a similar pattern of population change. In 1891 the population was 1317 and by the period in study, the figure came down to 1211 an apparent fall of 8% over a thirty year period. Placentia on the other hand maintained her modest growth over the period even when most settlements from eastern Newfoundland were shrinking.

Socio-Economic Characteristics: Origin Points

The structure of population needs special attention in order to understand the selected origin points. Since it is not known precisely when partic-

ular migrations took place, it is necessary to determine the best time period to draw profiles of the communities selected for the present analysis. Probably one of the most appropriate procedures is to calculate the average of the figures for the generation preceding the date of the record (1921) - thus averages of all socio-economic and demographic indices were taken for the periods 1891, 1901, 1911 and 1921.

Age-Sex Groupings

Table 5.3 shows the average figures for the communities concerned. In general it appears from the table that all the communities had roughly equal numbers of males and females. But still some degree of difference may be seen in Port de Grave. It appears that Port de Grave had a slight excess of males while other communities especially Brigus had a little more than 50% female population. When these figures are compared to St. John's, it is clear that the capital city had the largest section of female population at 53%. By age groups, it appears that female dominance is relatively higher in the age groups "15 to 60 years" and "above 60 years". But the excess of females for the majority of places is highest in the prime working group, i.e. 15 to 60 years. And again St. John's in comparison to the other communities appears to have had the largest proportion of females. It is however doubtful whether anything in this elementary analysis gives much insight into spatial variation in migration.

Denominational Affiliations

The denominational affiliations of the communities were also important to an understanding of the social geography of the various regions. Table

Table 5.3: Age-Sex Groupings:
Selected Communities: 1891-1921
(percentage of mean population)

Communities	Mean popu-lation	Less than 15 years		15-60 years		Above 60 years	
		M	F	M	F	M	F
Port de Grave	276	16.3	14.3	29.3	28.5	5.6	6.0
Brigus	1168	16.5	16.4	26.6	29.2	4.9	6.4
Trinity	1387	18.2	17.3	26.5	28.4	5.0	4.6
Greenspond	1296	18.9	18.8	27.0	26.3	4.0	5.0
Placentia	1332	18.1	16.7	26.9	28.6	4.4	5.3
St. John's	32780	18.2	18.4	25.4	31.5	3.1	3.0

Source: *Census of Newfoundland:* 1891-1921.

5.4 demonstrates the groupings of people in the communities. The table suggests that Port de Grave and Greenspond had roughly similar patterns of denominational groupings. The people of these two communities were wholly Protestant (Port de Grave 100%, Greenspond 99%) and divided between two major churches, i.e. Anglican and Methodist. Brigus on the other hand demonstrates a Protestant (67%) majority but it had also a very strong Roman Catholic minority. Trinity, however, appears to be substantially Protestant with a small Roman Catholic minority (9.4%). Placentia alone demonstrated a community of largely Catholic people (97.6%).

The denominational groupings may also be seen in comparison to their respective district patterns. For example, the population of Port de Grave was relatively evenly divided between two denominations. The district's pattern (Port de Grave district) is somewhat similar. Although Brigus fell under the same district (Port de Grave) it reflected a different pattern of distribution, more comparable to her neighbouring district (Harbour Main). Trinity stands out of the pattern that appeared for the district as a whole. The district demonstrates that nearly equal number of people were Anglican and Methodist, but Trinity, the community itself, shows that the overwhelming majority were associated with the Anglican Church. Greenspond, however, in Bonavista Bay, accords to a greater degree with the district's pattern. One important observation is that this is one of the two communities where the Salvation Army is a visible minority (5.8%). Placentia demonstrated a pattern similar to its district as a whole.

When these patterns are compared with St. John's, it appears that the

Table 5.4: Denominational Affiliations in Selected Communities: 1891-1921
(percentage of population)

Communities	Roman Catholic	Church of England	Methodist	Salvation Army	Presby-terian	Others
Port de Grave	-	38.8	55.2	5.6	-	.4
Brigus	32.7	21.0	46.0	-	-	.3
Trinity	9.4	83.2	7.4	-	-	-
Greenspond	1.2	49.5	42.9	5.8	.6	-
Placentia	97.6	2.5	.5	-	.3	-
St. John's	49.6	22.4	20.4	2.6	3.0	2.0

Source: *Census of Newfoundland:* 1891-1921.

city had groupings with varying proportions. The table suggests that the city population was roughly divided into two groupings - 50% Roman Catholic and 50% Protestants. Roman Catholics as an individual group had the majority (49.6%) and the Protestants were divided into two major groups like Church of England (22.4%) and Methodists (20.4%). This indicates that the selected communities were in general less fragmented than St. John's.

Level of Literacy

An attempt has also been made to look at the level of literacy to see if there were any basic difference among the communities. Table 5.5 summarizes the facts. Greenspond with the highest percentage of school going recorded 62.1% literacy - an index of population who can both read and write. But while Placentia had 17% of school going children it had nearly 70% considered as literate. Brigus recorded the lowest level (60.8%) of literacy among the communities concerned, and had the largest portion of illiterates, over 13%. Corresponding figures for other communities appear somewhere between 6 to 10%.

Occupational Structure

The occupational structure of the people has also been examined to read the nature of the communities concerned. Table 5.6 demonstrates the figures. One general observation from the table is that all the communities showed a majority of the people related to fishing. But the proportion is higher for Port de Grave (84.6%) and Greenspond (82.4%). On the other hand, Brigus, Trinity and Placentia demonstrated that a sizable number of people were involved in the service sector. Trinity also demonstrated that it

Table 5.5: Level of Literacy in Selected Communities: 1891-1921
(percentage of population)

Literacy Categories	Port de Grave	Brigus	Trinity	Greens-pond	Placentia	St. John's
Literate	67.4	60.8	66.8	62.1	69.7	71.4
Children at School	19.0	18.3	14.1	19.6	17.5	19.4
Children not at school	3.6	5.6	9.2	8.1	5.3	2.9
Illiterate	10.0	13.6	8.4	10.2	7.5	6.1
Others	-	1.7	1.5	-	-	.3

Source: *Census of Newfoundland:* 1891-1921.

Table 5.6: Occupations in Selected Communities: 1891-1921
(percentage of population)

Occupation Categories	Port de Grave (N=190)	Brigus (N=510)	Trinity (N=577)	Greens-pond (N=360)	Placentia (N=755)
Professionals	1.3	2.3	1.4	1.6	2.5
Business	.6	.7	1.6	.9	1.9
Service Personnel	.9	7.5	6.7	3.0	6.7
Govt. Personnel	.8	.9	.2	1.1	3.5
Fishing & Farming	30.4	26.6	37.6	27.6	31.1
Fishing	54.2	31.5	34.4	54.8	30.0
Technical Tradesman	.8	3.0	6.5	2.3	3.0
Others	2.9	27.5	11.6	8.7	21.3

Source: *Census of Newfoundland:* 1891-1921.

had a significant proportion of people (6.5%) classified as "technical tradesman", - the figures for other communities are much lower. Brigus and Placentia however, also demonstrated that they had a good proportion of people who were professionals (2.3% and 2.5% respectively).

One other point should be emphasized - Brigus and Placentia had a substantially higher proportion of people in the categories "Otherwise Employed". Almost one-quarter of the people of these two communities were classified in that sector. Such figures for other communities were 2.9% to 11.6%.

In general, all five communities may broadly be classified as heavily involved with fishing and partly engaged with farming. This dual role is highly visible particularly in Port de Grave. Interestingly, Port de Grave had nearly 19% of its female population who were directly involved with fishing but such figures for other communities ranged between 5 to 11%.

Procedure Followed to Calculate the Period of Migration

The present chapter attempts to understand the people who came to St. John's. The data source for this section is the nominal information available with the census. As noted earlier one of the limitations of the nominal data is that they fail to indicate when the migration took place. But there are some indirect ways in which migration dates may be calculated. Such calculations are far from realizing absolute figures for a large proportion of the data set, but they do give an impression of the period when much of the migration took place. However, Table 5.7 demonstrates some examples of how the figures are derived.

Table 5.7: Selected Census Data to Demonstrate
Date of Migration: 1921 Census

Example 1

Name of Persons (Fictional)	Sex	Relationship To Head	Age	Birth Place
John Jones	Male	Head	37	Port de Grave
Mary Jones	Female	Wife	34	Port de Grave
Paul Jones	Male	Son	13	Port de Grave
Susan Jones	Female	Daughter	11	St. John's

- first child of this family born in Port de Grave in 1908
- second child was born in St. John's in 1910
- it would be a reasonable assumption from the above entry that the family probably moved to St. John's sometime between 1908 to 1910.

Example 2

Name of Persons (Fictional)	Sex	Relationship to Head	Age	Birth Place
Richard Brown	Male	Head	42	St. John's
Sarah Brown	Female	Wife	40	Brigus
Howard Brown	Male	Son	18	St. John's
Mary Brown	Female	Daughter	15	St. John's

- in this case, it is likely that the woman moved to St. John's either on, or before marriage. The move was made at least before the birth of the child. The first child was born sometime in 1903 and probably the housewife moved to St. John's sometime before 1903.

The above cases are examples of some of the more simple calculations of migration period. In many cases it becomes much more complicated to judge the period of migration. The aim can thus be only to make a best estimate of the period of move rather than portraying absolute truth. The whole analysis based on these data has therefore been used with caution. However, given these constraints, Table 5.8 presents the facts. The table suggests that most migrants probably moved to the city at the beginning of the present century and the migrant volumes, in general, diminish down to the study period. This pattern holds for four of the communities but the situation is somewhat different for Greenspond. It appears that there the greatest number of people probably moved to St. John's a little later, between 1910-1915 and the movement was sustained at a higher rate through 1916-1921. In other words, among the five communities, the people from Greenspond were relatively late comers to the city.

The essence of the above table is that the peak period of migration to St. John's was sometime at the beginning of 20th century. Interestingly the peak came relatively fast but declined gently down to the study period. This again may be particularly explained by the fact that many of the earlier, 19th century, migrants who came from those communities to St. John's had died off by 1921 - this must have affected the counts for the earlier period. But the apparent decline in migrant flow towards the study period is interesting.

Distribution of Migrants in the City From the Selected Communities

Was there any definite pattern of particular community groups from

Table 5.8: Period of Migration to St. John's: An Estimate (percentage of population)

Period	Total (N=858) No.	%	Port de Grave (N=110)	Brigus (N=193)	Trinity (N=242)	Greens-pond (N=157)	Placentia (N=156)
1880-1885	30	3.5	5.0	3.6	4.5	-	3.8
1886-1891	38	4.4	5.0	4.7	5.1	3.2	3.8
1892-1897	130	15.2	14.5	16.6	19.0	9.7	13.5
1898-1903	216	25.2	25.5	30.6	28.9	14.6	23.8
1904-1909	159	18.5	17.3	15.0	18.6	21.6	20.5
1910-1915	146	17.0	14.5	14.0	12.8	29.3	16.7
1916-1921	139	16.2	18.2	15.5	11.1	21.6	17.9

the selected settlements choosing certain parts of the city? Table 5.9 has been prepared with this question in mind. It appears that there was a tendency for people to choose certain areas of the city for their destinations. West Ward 5 appeared to be the most frequently chosen area: over 19% of the people of those communities chose West Ward 5, which was close to the main commercial hub of the city (see Fig. 5.3). East Ward 5 was also attractive to the people of the five communities. While West Ward 2 received the highest proportion (14.9%) of migrants overall, migrants from the selected communities ended largely in West Ward 5. And in general the western part of the city was much more favoured by the selected community migrants.

One interesting observation of the distribution of migrants is that although East Ward 3 was located close to the main commercial area still 3.6% of the migrants made this their destination. This area also received one of the lowest proportions (4.6%) of migrants from the overall migrant count. Other little attractive areas lay in the western and southern part of the city, i.e. West Ward 1 and South Side.

In order to see the distribution of migrants more logically the degree of salience is calculated. The calculation suggests that the proportions of migrants moving into the South Side, particularly from the selected communities, are higher from Port de Grave and Brigus - the others were generally low. However, West Ward 5 again appeared to be the area that received migrants roughly in the expected ratio. Similarly East Ward 1 had, comparably, a higher level of salience index values.

Socio-Economic Characteristics: At Destination

Table 5.9: Number of People from Selected Communities: By Wards

Wards	Migrants from the Selected Communities (N=1685)	Port de Grave (N=156)	Brigus (N=324)	Trinity (N=515)	Greens-pond (N=341)	Placentia (N=349)
			(percentage)			
SS	2.7	3.2 (1.2)*	4.9 (1.8)	2.2 (.8)	2.6 (1.0)	1.1 (.4)
WW1	3.1	3.2 (1.0)	5.6 (1.8)	1.9 (.6)	2.3 (.7)	3.1 (1.0)
WW2	12.9	12.2 (.9)	15.7 (1.2)	6.9 (.5)	19.1 (1.4)	13.7 (1.0)
WW3	10.0	6.5 (.6)	10.2 (.9)	8.7 (.8)	10.8 (1.0)	16.5 (1.5)
WW4	12.6	21.8 (1.7)	10.8 (.8)	11.6 (.9)	13.8 (1.1)	10.6 (.8)
WW5	19.1	16.0 (.8)	22.5 (1.2)	19.6 (1.0)	17.7 (.9)	17.8 (.9)
EW1	9.8	12.8 (1.3)	9.6 (1.0)	13.6 (1.4)	6.7 (.7)	6.0 (.6)
EW2						
EW3	3.6	3.2 (.9)	5.6 (1.5)	3.3 (.9)	4.2 (1.1)	2.0 (.5)
EW4	7.5	3.2 (.4)	9.2 (1.2)	5.6 (.7)	10.5 (1.4)	7.7 (1.0)
EW5	17.9	17.9 (1.0)	5.9 (.3)	26.6 (1.5)	12.3 (.7)	21.5 (1.2)

Figures within parenthesis indicate the degree of salience of migrant population from selected communities.

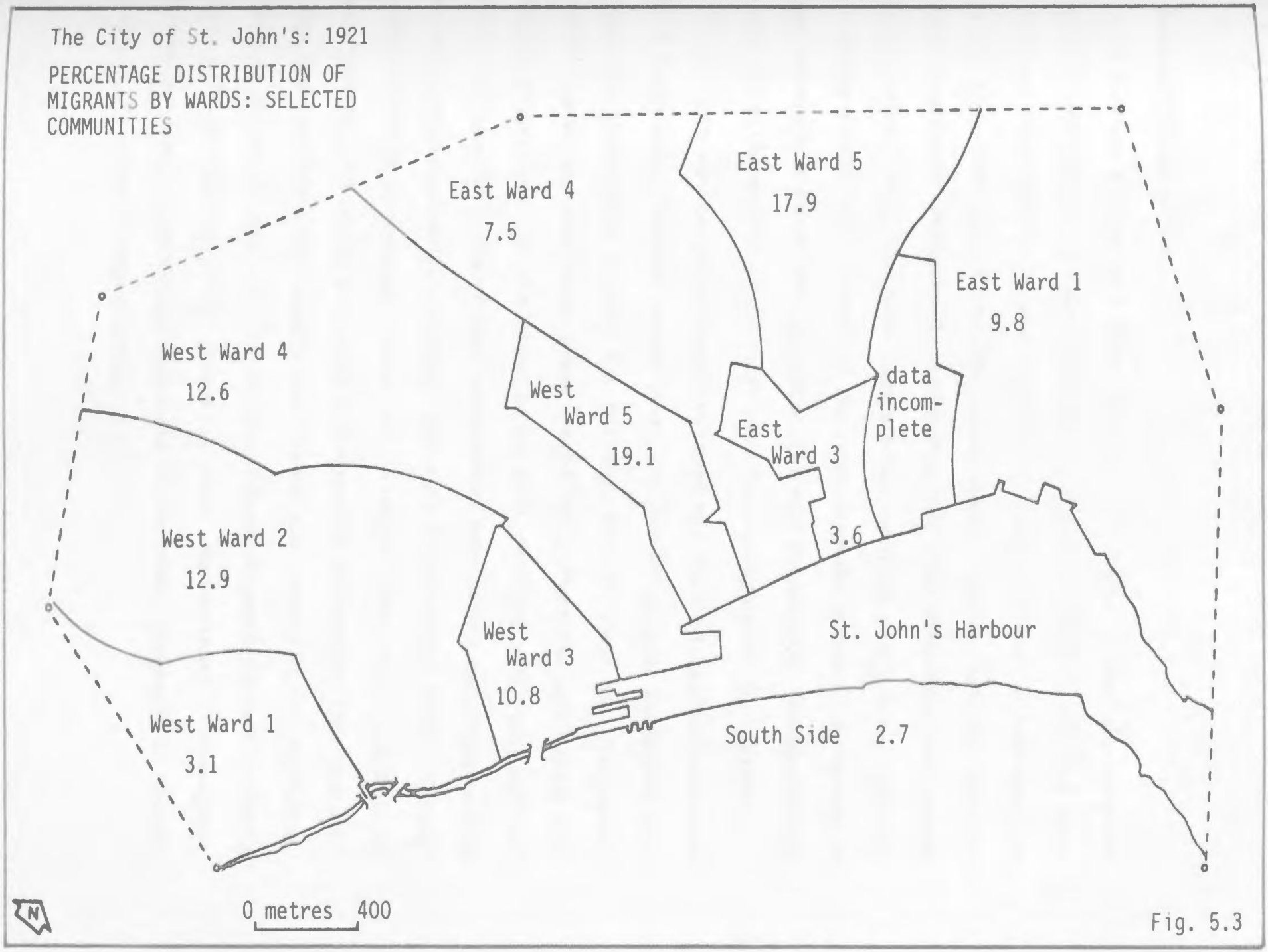
The City of St. John's: 1921
PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF MIGRANTS BY WARDS: SELECTED COMMUNITIES
East Ward 4
7.5
East Ward 5
17.9
East Ward 1
9.8
West Ward 4
12.6
West
Ward 5
19.1
East
Ward 3
3.6
data
incom-
plete
West Ward 2
12.9
West
Ward 3
10.8
St. John's Harbour
West Ward 1
3.1
South Side 2.7
N
0 metres 400

Fig. 5.3

Household Composition

A further analysis was made through these data to trace the relationship in households from the migrant communities (Table 5.10). The table indicates that there is a wide variety of relationship status amongst the people who came out of the five communities. Trinity, however, had the largest number of varieties of relationship (19), while Brigus had the second largest variety (16). The other communities recorded nearly equal numbers of variety (11 or 12). In general the most common status of a migrant in the household is Head, Wife, Daughter, Son and Maidservant. Except for the latter, all of these refer to the most immediate groupings of the families.

This can also be generalized that these are the most common members of a household. However, apart from the overall pattern there are also some variations worth noting. For example, Port de Grave has the highest proportion of migrant Heads, (nearly 41%), while Placentia sent barely half of that proportion. On the other hand, Port de Grave sent relatively few wives compared to heads. Other communities show nearly equal numbers of heads and wives, although a greater difference (7.3%) may be seen in Trinity. A relatively high percentage of sons and daughters came out of Greenspond and Placentia, - it should be noted, in the case of Greenspond that this corroborates the inferences made earlier about the recency of the migration. Similarly Placentia sent the highest percentage of "maidservants", - more than 11% of migrants from Placentia were maidservants. Comparable figures for other communities appeared to be lower, especially in Greenspond (4.7%) - others ranged between 5 to 7%.

Table 5.10: Relationship Status of the People of Selected Communities

	Total (N=1695)		Port de Grave (N=159)	Brigus (N=327)	Trinity (N=521)	Greens-pond (N=341)	Placentia (N=349)
Variety of Relationship Categories			11	16	19	12	11
Relationship Categories	No.	%	Percentage of population				
Head	531	31.3	40.8 (1.3)	33.9 (1.1)	35.3 (1.1)	28.2 (.9)	21.7 (.7)
Wife	467	27.5	28.8 (1.0)	33.3 (1.2)	28.0 (1.0)	25.5 (.9)	22.1 (.8)
Son	166	9.8	10.2 (1.0)	7.9 (.8)	7.6 (.7)	12.9 (1.3)	11.5 (1.1)
Daughter	170	10.0	5.1 (.5)	6.2 (.6)	7.1 (.7)	15.5 (1.5)	15.2 (1.5)
Father/ Mother	40	2.3	3.8 (1.6)	3.0 (1.3)	2.1 (.9)	2.4 (1.0)	1.4 (.6)
In-Laws	38	2.1	1.9 (1.0)	3.1 (1.2)	2.4 (1.1)	2.7 (1.3)	.9 (.4)
Boarder	45	2.6	.6 (.2)	2.1 (.8)	3.3 (1.2)	2.3 (.8)	3.4 (1.3)
Maid-Servant	127	7.5	5.7 (.7)	7.4 (1.0)	7.5 (1.0)	4.7 (.6)	11.2 (1.5)
Others	111	6.5	3.8 (.5)	3.0 (.4)	5.7 (.8)	6.1 (.9)	12.6 (1.9)

igures in parenthesis indicate the salience index value.

The salience index suggests that only two relationship categories, head and wife, accord with the overall proportion of categories in all communities. However, in general, Port de Grave, Brigus and Placentia had higher levels of salience indices in five different relationship categories.

This is, however, an overall picture from the point of origin. An attempt has been made to see how particular relationship categories settled in different parts of the city, i.e. at the point of destinations. This examination was carried out only for heads, wives, and maidservants. These three categories were examined closely, because they represent individuals who may be assumed to have some degree of choice selecting their destinations. Others like son, daughter, and so on, have little influence in choosing destinations. Table 5.11 summarized the figures. The table indicates West Ward 5 recorded maximum proportions of both heads and wives, as in the previous Table 5.9. It would be expected that these two categories of person should seek the same destination. And as usual East Ward 1 appeared to be the most frequently chosen area amongst the maidservants. It has been noted in an earlier chapter that traditionally East Ward 1 was an area of higher social status where most of the people had the ability to maintain maidservants. Apart from this pattern, East Ward 5 in all categories recorded a higher percentage of the migrants - 19% of heads, 17% of both housewives and maids, found their destinations in the localities of East Ward 5, which is relatively distant from the hub of economic affairs of the city.

However, it is important to note that the present study also attempts to trace the migrants in their destinations at a much more micro level. For

Table 5.11: Distribution of Migrants in the City: Selected Members (percentage of population)

Localities	Head (N=531)	Wife (N=467)	Maidservant (N=127)
SS	3.6	2.6	3.1
WW1	2.4	2.6	5.5
WW2	11.8	10.1	12.6
WW3	11.0	8.6	7.9
WW4	12.8	15.4	4.7
WW5	20.8	21.6	14.2
EW1	8.7	8.1	20.5
EW2			
EW3	3.0	3.8	6.3
EW4	6.3	9.6	7.9
EW5	19.5	17.5	17.3

example, 20% of heads from all 5 communities ended in West Ward 5. An attempt was made to trace any sort of groupings by point of origin, by occupation and so on, but unfortunately no pattern emerged at this level. The people distributed themselves in the locality in a sporadic fashion and it was not possible to generalize a pattern.

Examination of Links among the Migrants from the Selected Communities

Tracing migrants to their destinations is important and it is equally important and interesting to know whether migration streams are interrelated at their point of origin; in terms of family bondage, occupational homogeneity and so on. In this line of inquiry a first attempt was made to identify any similarities in the surnames of heads of the five selected communities. The facts of the investigation have been summarized in Table 5.12. One of the observations of this exercise is that there is not a single surname which is common in all five communities. Trinity had the largest variety of surnames but the number of similar surnames is quite high in Greenspond. This in a very simplistic way indicates that the people who came from Greenspond were more likely related - compared to other communities if it is accepted that similar surnames are more likely to indicate some form of family tie. The highest frequency of any single name is six, recorded for Port de Grave, Brigus and Greenspond. It is very difficult at this stage to know whether those 6 family groups were related by blood or not. An attempt was made to trace these households at their destinations in the city. If they were recorded in sequence in the enumerator's lists it would be a reasonable presumption that they were related. But most such

Table 5.12: Surnames at the Point of Origin

Categories	Port de Grave	Brigus	Trinity	Greens-pond	Placentia
Variety of surnames	29	49	84	41	34
No. of similar surnames (recorded more than once)	5	7	18	20	3
No. of highest recorded similar surnames	6	6	4	6	3

cases were recorded in different localities and place of residence does not appear to suggest possible relationships. However, it is interesting to note that the six persons sharing the same name from Greenspond had one thing in common - their occupation. The census recorded their occupation as carpenter. Their surname was "Osmond". Similar investigations were carried out for other surnames but unfortunately no identifiable pattern emerged from the exercise.

The essence of the table is that in a very loose way migration streams tend to form links which may be based on family, locality and so on. In the present case some form of occupational link may exist, and in a more extended view - since these people had similar surname and were from the same locality - it is relatively likely they shared information like job opportunities, housing facilities, etc., about St. John's.

Age-Sex Groupings

It is also important to examine the age-sex groupings of the people who were recorded in St. John's, particularly those who came from the selected communities. The age-sex pyramids of the five communities indicate that there was a tendency for a higher proportion of female migrants (on an average 57%). As expected there were fewer people in the lower stratum (see Fig. 5.4), because in the earlier chapters the study indicated that most of the migrants were above 20 years. But surprisingly the pyramids for Placentia indicated that nearly 32% of the people who came from Placentia were less than 20 years Comparable figures for other communities range from 15 to 22%. One other common factor is that the females dominated

AGE-SEX GROUPINGS
OF THE SELECTED
COMMUNITIES

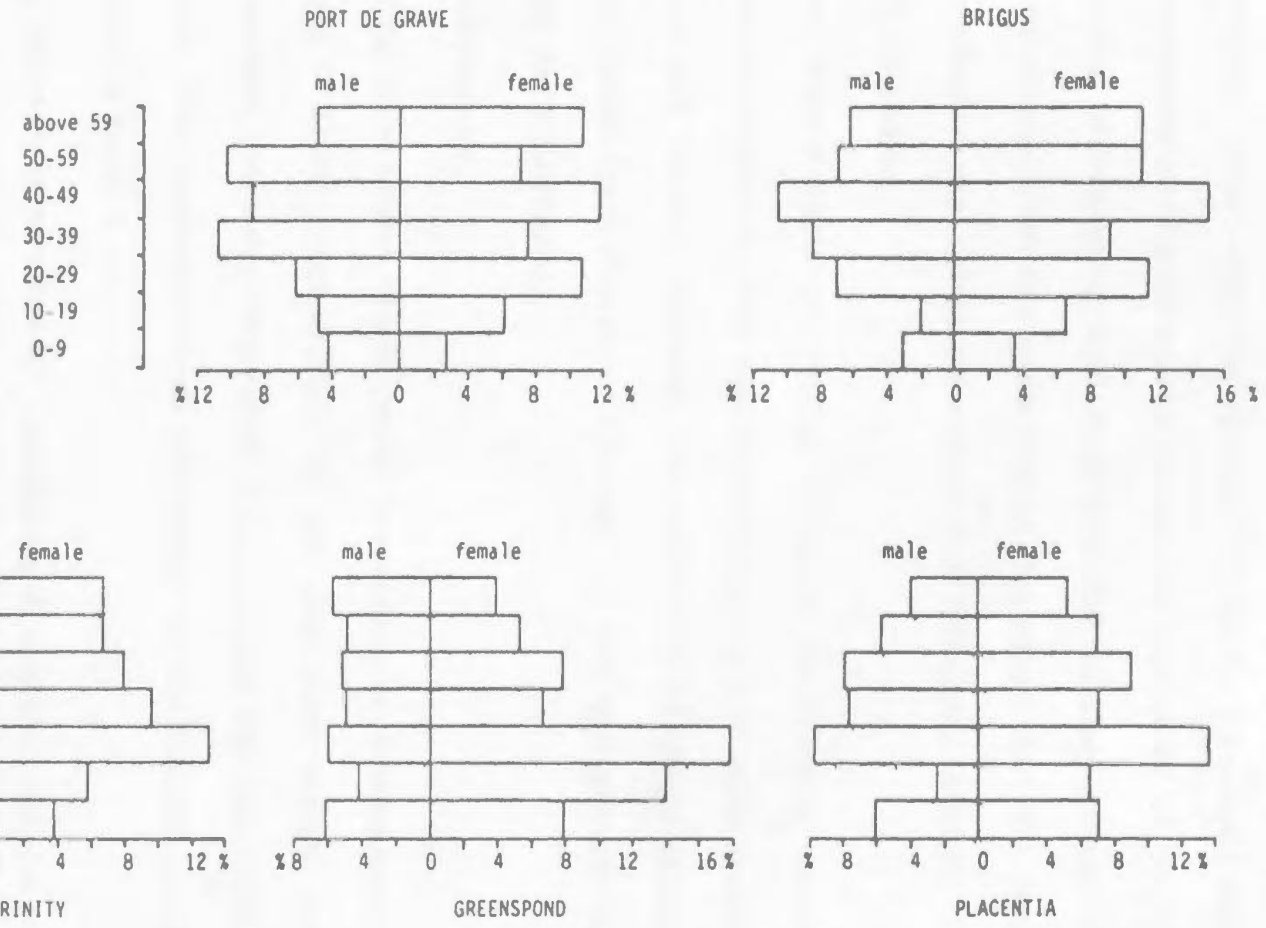

Fig. 5.4

the lower age stratum. Some other similarities among the pyramids may be seen. Female dominance appeared mostly in the age group 21 to 30 years. Females from Trinity, Greenspond and Placentia fall in that group, while Brigus and Port de Grave, from the same region, indicated that the females from these communities are relatively older; the dominant groups, from these places 41 to 50 years.

In the case of male dominance the age group 31 to 40 years recorded higher proportions of migrants. This was particularly true of male migrants from Port de Grave and Trinity. However, the most unusual shape appeared for the people who came from Placentia. Except for two age groups, in all age groups females were dominant.

Denominational Affiliations

It is interesting to examine which group (according to denominations) of people came out of those communities. It may give some insight about the migrants if volumes from the respective origin points and the destinations are compared. The denominational groupings of the sample population are summarized in Table 5.13.

In examining the denominations by community it appears that there is some indication that the minorities in those communities were more migratory. For example, Placentia was almost 98% Roman Catholic but the people from that community recorded at St. John's indicates that there were about 14% Protestant. This may indicate that the religious minority moved in disproportionate numbers to the city or that conversion of religion on marriage was common. Such a situation appeared also for the Roman Catholics

Table 5.13: Comparison of Denominational Affiliations of the People of Selected Communities with St. John's at the Origin Points (percentage of population)

	Proportional distribution; denominations of people from selected communities	Port de Grave	
		Community at origin	Mig. to St. John's
Roman Catholic	30.3	16.3	32.7 (-)
Church of England	32.1	38.8	54.1 (1.4)

Table 5.13: Comparison of Denominational Affiliations of the People of Selected Communities with St. John's at the Origin Points (percentage of population)

	Proportional distribution; denominations of people from selected communities	Brigus	
		Community at origin	Mig. to St. John's
Roman Catholic	30.3	36.7	19.4 (1.1)
Church of England	32.1	21.0	22.9 (1.1)

Table 5.13: Comparison of Denominational Affiliations of the People of Selected Communities with St. John's at the Origin Points (percentage of population)

	Proportional distribution; denominations of people from selected communities	Greenspond	
		Community at origin	Mig. to St. John's
Roman Catholic	30.3	1.2	5.9 (1.1)
Church of England	22.9	49.5	30.2 (1.1)

Table 5.13: Comparison of Denominational Affiliations of the People of Selected Communities with St. John's at the Origin Points (percentage of population)

	Proportional distribution; denominations of people from selected communities	Placentia	
		Community at origin	Mig. to St. John's
Roman Catholic	30.3	97.6	86.2 (1.3)
Church of England	22.9	2.5	5.5 (.6)

Table 5.13: Comparison of Denominational Affiliations of the People of Selected Communities with St. John's at the Origin Points (percentage of population)

	Proportional distribution; denominations of people from selected communities	Trinity	
		Community at origin	Mig. to St. John's
Roman Catholic	30.3	-	11.9 (-)
Church of England	22.9	83.2	50.2 (1.4)

from Port de Grave. The Salvationists from Greenspond and particularly the Methodists from Trinity demonstrated a similar situation. Other than this pattern it appears that in a general way the larger the proportion of people in any denomination, the larger the number of out-migrants. Trinity, however, demonstrated a different state of affairs. From an examination of the people from Trinity at destination it appears that 50% were Anglican. But back at the community Anglicans were the majority (83%) of the people. This suggests that the migration was not always weighted towards the majority and this indirectly indicates that the propensity to migrate may have been greater among the religious minorities.

The table also suggests that the two communities from Conception Bay demonstrated certain groups of people who were more migratory than the others. In each the majority Methodists were less migratory than their overall numbers would suggest. The people from Port de Grave affiliated to the Church of England were more migratory. Similarly the Roman Catholics of Brigus migrated comparatively in greater number. Trinity and Greenspond, largely from the same region, demonstrated a similar trend. Placentia was a community of one denomination and this was reflected in the city as well, but it also demonstrated important minority transitions. The salience indices supplement the findings that the index values appear higher (1 or more) among the religious minority. For example, the Roman Catholics of Greenspond (4.9), and the Methodists of Placentia (11.4) had unusually higher salience values.

The present study also looked at how denominational groups of the

selected communities were distributed in the city during the period in question (Fig. 5.14). By and large West Ward 5 received most of the migrants of all denominations. West Ward 4 and East Ward 5 are also important. But the South Side received fewer people. However, among the migrants of selected communities, the Adventists, although few in number, were largely confined to West Wards 4 and 5. Out of 27 Adventists, 24 of them settled in the two areas. Accordingly an attempt was made to identify if they were grouped in certain neighbourhoods. Surprisingly no such pattern could be identified from their household distribution. In fact, they were scattered throughout the neighbourhoods of West Wards 4 and 5. A similar attempt was made for all denominations but no clear grouping was found. Thus, though certain localities (wards) may have received a large number of people of a definite denomination, this does not necessarily mean that such groupings could be found at the neighbourhood level.

Salience indices, again, were calculated to identify if there was any pattern of choosing destinations. Salience indices suggest that the Methodists were highest in West Ward 5. Anglicans were heavily represented in East Ward 1 and 3, while Catholics were highly visible in West Ward 1 and 3. The salience indices also suggest that the people of denominations were highly confined in certain localities.

Occupational Groupings

Other than the denominational groupings of the people of selected communities, an attempt has been made to see what the people were doing in the city for their living. Table 5.15 recorded the major groupings of occu-

Table 5.14: People at Destinations: By Denominations (percentage of population)

Localities	Total (N=1695)	Roman Catholic (N=513)	Church of England (N=544)	Methodists (N=436)
SS	2.7	2.1	2.3 (.8)	3.2 (.8)
WW1	3.1	4.5 (1.4)	1.6 (.5)	2.7 (.9)
WW2	12.9	13.8 (1.1)	11.0 (.8)	13.6 (1.0)
WW3	10.8	15.6 (1.4)	9.2 (.8)	8.0 (.7)
WW4	12.6	13.4 (1.0)	11.0 (.9)	11.7 (.9)
WW5	19.1	17.1 (.9)	17.3 (.9)	22.5 (1.2)
EW1	9.8	7.4 (.7)	13.5 (1.4)	8.3 (.8)
EW2				
EW3	3.6	2.1 (.6)	5.6 (1.5)	2.5 (.7)
EW4	7.5	6.6 (.9)	8.2 (1.1)	8.0 (1.0)
EW5	17.9	16.5 (.9)	20.3 (1.1)	19.5 1.0

Figures in parenthesis indicate the salience index.

Table 5.14a: People at Destinations: By Denominations (continued)
(percentage of population)

Localities	Salvation Army (N=61)	Adventist (N=27)	Presby-terian (N=25)	Others (N=89)
SS	-	-	-	7.9 (2.9)
WW1	-	-	4.0 (1.3)	7.9 (2.5)
WW2	14.7 (1.1)	3.7 (.3)	32.0 (2.5)	13.5
WW3	8.3 (.7)	- (.8)	8.0 (1.0)	11.2
WW4	19.7 (1.6)	44.4 (3.5)	4.0 (.3)	9.0
WW5	19.7 (1.0)	44.4 (2.3)	8.0 (.4)	16.8
EW1	14.7 (1.5)	-	12.0 (1.2)	12.3
EW2				
EW3	3.3 (.9)	-	12.0 (3.3)	4.5
EW4	1.6 (.2)	7.4 (1.0)	12.0 (1.6)	7.9
EW5	18.0	- (.4)	8.0	9.0

Figures in parenthesis indicate the salience index.

Table 5.15: Occupation of the People of Selected Communities: At Destinations (percentage of population)

Occupation Categories	Port de Grave (N=159)	Brigus (N=327)	Trinity (N=521)	Greens-pond (N=341)	Placentia (N=349)
Business	.6	4.3	.8	1.8	1.4
Professional	1.4	3.1	2.1	.2	2.3
Service Persons	8.4	10.3	10.7	9.5	7.9
Skilled Labour	10.4	12.5	18.9	12.9	7.1
Labour	6.3	7.0	5.7	6.2	7.4
Fishing/ Sailor	12.8	3.3	7.2	12.2	1.3
Household Worker	40.3	41.0	37.2	35.0	39.5
Student	3.1	1.8	5.7	8.5	17.2
Not at School	1.2	1.2	.6	1.1	-
Not Applicable	6.9	5.0	3.8	5.6	5.1
Not Reported	6.3	6.0	6.1	5.0	8.0
Others	2.1	4.5	1.2	2.0	2.8

pation of the sample. The table demonstrates that in all five communities housewives as a group accounted for nearly 39% of the total migrant count. Apart from this dominant and, in many ways dependent group the people who may be categorized as skilled labour were the most important migrant group. The group "skilled labour" is distinguished from the group "labour" by examining the nature of the occupation (see Appendix B). However, almost equally important were the service personnel.

Though Table 5.15 gives a rather generalized view of the sample, the occupational groups from individual communities did demonstrate some significant variations. For example, of the people from Port de Grave, nearly 13% were fishermen or sailors and 10% were skilled labour. Greenspond sent an even larger proportion of migrants involved in fishing and skilled labour. But although Brigus and Port de Grave are from the same region they demonstrated their differences in terms of the nature of occupation of their migrants. Table 5.15 shows that the people from Brigus were largely either service personnel (19.3%) or skilled labour (12.5%). The settlement of Brigus by nature was not purely a fishing community - it was rather one of the important mercantile and service centres in the Conception Bay region, while Port de Grave with her smaller and more scattered population was largely a fishing community. Thus it is not surprising that the people from Port de Grave were concentrated in occupations related to fishing and the people from Brigus in skilled labour or service. The people from Trinity on the other hand demonstrated a pattern like Brigus. Back in the community, Trinity did not have a large proportion of people involved with fishing and

related sectors, as compared to other settlements. Table 5.15 indicates that among the five communities under study Trinity had the largest proportion of people who were classified as service personnel. The same general finding may be seen among the people who came to St. John's from that community. Nearly 11% of the Trinity people recorded their occupation as service personnel and 19% were categorized as skilled labour. Among the five communities however, Placentia, appeared to be a little different from the others. Nearly equal proportions of her migrants (about 7%) were either service personnel, skilled labour or labour. This is also the community that sent the lowest proportion of fishermen.

In general the table indicates that fishermen are more migratory from Port de Grave and Greenspond, skilled labour from Trinity and Brigus. Placentia on the other hand showed no single group as more migratory than the others. The prevalence of businessmen and professionals from Brigus may also be noted from the table. This is, in fact, another index of relatively high status migration.

An attempt has been made to trace how those people distributed in city, particularly to discern any occupational groupings in the city. Thus the populations of the selected communities were classified according to their occupation and by wards. Table 5.16 summarizes the figures. The table suggests there is no one area that attracted all types of people - rather certain areas attracted certain groups of people. For example, businessmen mostly appeared in West Wards 2 and 4. By and large the professionals settled in East Ward 5, which is a little away from the city hub. Both

Table 5.16: Occupation of the People of Selected Communities: By Wards (continued)
(percentage of population)

Localities in the City	Labour	Fishing & Related Job	Household Worker	Student
SS	3.6	4.2	2.5	1.7
WW1	.9	-	2.0	5.9
WW2	10.0	6.2	8.8	29.7
WW3	13.7	13.5	9.3	14.4
WW4	13.7	14.6	14.0	10.2
WW5	32.7	14.6	8.3	-
EW1	6.3	20.8	18.7	11.9
EW2	1.8	-	1.4	-
EW3	.9	5.2	8.4	3.4
EW4	1.8	2.1	11.6	-
EW5	14.5	18.8	15.0	22.8

Table 5.16: Occupation of the People of Selected Communities: By Wards (percentage of population)

Localities in the City	Business	Professionals	Service Personnel	Skilled Labour
SS	-	-	3.0	5.6
WW1	-	20.0	4.2	4.1
WW2	23.3	10.0	25.3	12.8
WW3	10.1	3.3	12.0	10.1
WW4	23.3	-	9.0	15.1
WW5	16.6	10.0	18.1	19.7
EW1	13.3	3.3	4.4	6.4
EW2	-	-	-	.9
EW3	6.7	10.0	7.8	2.7
EW4	6.7	20.0	6.6	5.6
EW5	-	23.3	9.6	17.0

Table 5.16: Occupation of the People of Selected Communities: By Wards (continued)
(percentage of population)

Localities in the City	Not at School	Not Applicable	Not Reported	Other
SS	7.7	-	1.0	-
WW1	7.7	1.3	6.1	-
WW2	15.4	6.5	14.8	13.0
WW3	30.7	23.4	7.8	-
WW4	7.7	5.2	4.3	21.0
WW5	7.7	11.7	39.1	18.1
EW1	7.7	19.5	8.7	13.0
EW2	-	-	1.0	-
EW3	-	6.5	3.5	6.5
EW4	-	3.9	2.0	15.4
EW5	15.4	22.1	11.3	13.0

skilled labour and labour chose the neighbourhoods of West Ward 5. This may be associated with the fact that this locality is very close to the main commercial area of the city. It is quite likely that the skilled worker group would choose residence close to their working place. As noted in an earlier chapter East Ward 1 received the largest proportion of people engaged with fishing and related jobs. The same pattern was indicated in the present inquiry. Nearly 21% of the people related to fishing settled in East Ward 1. It is also important to note here that although East Ward 5 was located relatively distant from St. John's Harbour, it received nearly 19% of the fishing population. The group household workers includes housewife and maidservants. It was noted in an earlier chapter that East Ward 1 received higher proportions of maidservants and this pattern is again reflected in the present inquiry. Approximately 19% of the household workers ended in East Ward 1. As previously indicated, since this ward was considered as a place of higher social standing, it is highly likely, considering the social groupings of the period in question, that most of the maidservants would be settled in the households of that locality. The migrants recorded as students mostly (29.7%) located in West Ward 2 while the next Ward 3 appeared to be the area with the highest proportion (30.7%) of children who were not at school. A closer look at this group of children indicated that in nearly 72% of the cases their father was either a labourer or his occupation was not reported - a reasonable indication of a concentration of low-status occupations.

The present study also made an attempt to see if there were any micro-groupings in terms of occupational homogeneity. It appears from the

examination that there were no such groupings at the community level. Thus modest concentrations of people of same occupation may be seen at ward level, but at the neighbourhood level there was no clear grouping.

Summary

This chapter attempted to look at some selected communities, largely from the north-eastern part of the island with high rates of Migration Index. xamination of the communities was made from both ends - at origin point and at destinations (by wards). It appears from the data that the two settlements (Port de Grave and Brigus) from Conception Bay were shrinking in population size. On the other hand Trinity maintained her population though with several fluctuations. Greenspond grew fast in the later half of the 19th century but declined at the turn of the present century. One of the important aspects of the population structure of the selected communities is that roughly all settlements had nearly equal number of male-female population. The denominational affiliation of the communities appeared to be a reflection of their respective regions. Placentia alone indicated that it was a community of one denomination, while the people of other communities were divided amongst two or three churches. The literacy level however appeared to be highest in Placentia, but Brigus with the most denominationally divided population recorded the lowest level. It would be interesting to enquire whether levels of literacy were associated with the fragmentation of the educational system which was organized on denominational lines in Newfoundland.

The occupations of the people of selected communities indicate that

there are some characteristics which are common but there are also some differences of degree. For example, in all communities fishing and related jobs appeared to be quite high in comparison to other occupation categories. But technical population is relatively large only in Trinity and Brigus. It is interesting to note that Brigus appeared to have higher proportion of technical manpower, while it had the lowest level of literacy.

The attempt to give an impression of the period of migration from the selected communities suggests that most of the migration took place during the period 1898-1903. Examining the destinations of the people from the five selected communities it appeared that East Ward 5 and West Ward 5 received the largest proportion of the migrant population. The location of these two wards indicates that one (West Ward 5) is very close to the main hub of the city and the other one (East Ward 5) was a little away from the commercial area. In terms of absolute numbers, people from Trinity dominated these areas.

The relationship status indicates that largest proportion of the migrants were either head of the household or the housewife. The category "maidservant" ended mostly in East Ward 1, which is traditionally an area of higher social order. The attempt to trace relationship in terms of similar surnames failed to identify any strong evidence of relationship. But at least a few people from Greenspond indicated that similar surnames had similar occupations, although at their destination they are distributed in different localities.

The age-sex groupings of the migrants from those selected communities

showed, as is often the case, female dominance and few migrants in the lower age-stratum. It has also been suggested that the religious minority back at the communities tended to be more mobile. Looking at those people at the destinations, it appears that except the people who are associated with the Church of England and Presbyterian Church, the largest proportion of them settled in the West Ward 5, which is close to the city's hub.

It appears then that propensity to migrate is relatively high among the skilled and technical population. The migrant flows from different communities reflected the occupational structure. For example, migrants from Port de Grave were significantly related with fishing and fishing related jobs. The people from Brigus and Trinity were relatively expert in technical areas or engaged in the service sector. Again looking at how those people were distributed at destination, particularly whether they form any grouping, it appears certain occupation groups settled in certain wards, but they did not settle in perceptible neighbourhood agglomerations. East Ward 5 as usual attracted most of the professionals. East Ward 1 attracted the largest proportion of fishermen and household workers. West Ward 5 located close to the city's hub, attracted the most skilled manpower.

Chapter VI

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

This study has examined aspects of the social geography of a small, early 20th century, North American city and its hinterland. Through the analysis of a set of data unique for this continent, it has been possible to delineate the origins and timing of migrational flows to the city. A close examination of migrant characteristics at both origin and destination has permitted a more detailed analysis and commentary on some general theories and concepts of migration.

St. John's was a somewhat isolated early North American regional capital. Through the 19th century, it increasingly concentrated the administrative, commercial and industrial functions of its region. In the early 20th century, regional developments in other parts of the colony checked, but did not halt, a steady if unspectacular growth of population in the capital city.

The population of St. John's by 1921 had certain salient characteristics which differentiated it from other Canadian cities of similar size and/or functions. It had a markedly smaller proportion of its population in the productive age-groups. It appeared less diversified both in terms of occupational structure and in terms of social groupings as measured by denominational and ethnic affiliations. Added to this, whether as cause or effect, the city's population appeared markedly less literate than the more heterogeneous populations of the comparison cities.

For all the comparative homogeneity of the population of St. John's however - homogeneous when measured against external scales - there was a degree of heterogeneity in socio-economic distributions within the city. A basic distinction lay between the characteristics of the eastern and western portions of the city. The eastern wards had a markedly higher proportion of females, particularly in the working age groups. This difference was replicated in intra-urban variations in other socio-economic indicators with the East End having higher concentrations of literacy, persons occupied in the professions, commerce and government service, and Church of England adherents. By comparison the western wards were more strongly characterised by lower levels of literacy, higher proportions of Roman Catholic and Nonconformist groups, and high proportions of technical tradesmen. But these differences must not be overemphasised - they represent shadings rather than cleavages in social grouping. For example, Roman Catholics were the largest single grouping in every ward but one, and levels of literacy were never lower than 64% nor higher than 80%. So if socio-economic variations did exist in this small, isolated city, they were relatively muted.

One pervasive feature of the population geography which did tend to add to the homogenity of the city lay in the migrant population. Although it was demonstrated that population in St. John's had grown slowly in the decades before 1921, and that the bulk of the growth was due to natural increase, the nominal census data indicated that this picture of slow net increase by natural means was not the whole story. Superimposed on it, and a vital mechanism in the city's social geography, was a very large

migrant population. In 1921, 31% of the population of St. John's had been born outside the city.

The major thrust of the present study has been to investigate the characteristics of this migrant population. Where did it come from? How was it selected? How was it distributed? In asking these and similar questions, the basic organising concept employed was that of the migration field as developed by Hagerstrand.

One of Hagerstrand's initial suggestions was that "it seems reasonable to study the spatial structure of the migration field as a separate question in geography leaving out migration differentials" (1957,111). It is perhaps at this stage difficult to accept such a mode of analysis in its pure form. Since migration streams are the result of factors acting at both origin and destination, it seems reasonable, once the migration field has been established, to examine as many differentials as appear relevant to the migration process. The current study has utilised the most common theoretical perspectives on migration to examine the St. John's 1921 data. By adding the fact of differentials to the delineation of the migration field, an attempt has been made to enlarge our understanding of the place, the period and the concept. It is hoped that the morphological concept of the migration field has been widened to include the idea of process.

The migration field of St. John's was widely distributed, scattered over 600 settlements. But nearly 40% of all migrants came from only 25 centres showing that a marked streaming of migrants was in effect. And, regionally, 60% of all migrants came from the North-East Coast. Distance and travel-

time appeared to be the major spatial factors influencing the size and provenance of migration streams.

In an attempt to examine structure and process of the migration field, the field was subdivided by category. Migrant household heads, generally married males, were found to be more concentrated in their origins than the general migrant population. In the core of the migration field, this was also true for wives, but there appeared to be a slight preponderance of married female migrants from some of the outer reaches of the field. This is noted as a slight qualification to the conventional Ravenstinian "law" that females appear to predominate among short-distance migrants. They may also be equally represented, or over represented, amongst long distance movers. But the figures are too small to be definitive on this.

Much of the migration of household heads and wives appears however to be complementary. The large patterns of similarity are greater than those of difference. The pattern of migration of first-born children however shows more concentration and appears to demonstrate that family movement, as distinct from single or childless couple movement, was more streamed between the city and a few old-established merchant centres. An interesting ancillary analysis suggests that a very large number of migrant families made their critical move following the birth of a first child. Relatively few moved after this time. And, in the study area, relatively few families made more than one move.

A small sector of this part of the analysis examined the relationship of birthplace of migrant children compared with the birthplace of migrant

parents. An unusual tendency towards matrilocal birth places may suggest that the migrant population was more than simply a different sector of society defined by the fact of its movement. It was possibly different in type as well as in behavior, and represented a sort of marginal minority in society.

Although the above analyses are suggestive rather than definitive, enough has been said to demonstrate that there are methods of examining the wider migration field by different categories of migrant to give some qualifying observations on both the general theories and concepts of migration and on the empirical patterns in the particular place and period. Deviations in the local empirical patterns may be used to throw light on mechanisms particularly important in the social geography.

Equally interesting is the examination of the migration region. In this study the migration region was defined as the high intensity migration field, or the area in which originating settlements transmitted $\leq 10\%$ of the mean population. A detailed examination of this area permits some interesting observations on the nature and organization of migration.

In the first place, there is no simple relationship between size of originating settlement and rate of transmission of migrants. The two largest settlements in Eastern Newfoundland outside St. John's, for example, were Harbour Grace and Carbonear, two long-established merchant towns. Neither of these was amongst the largest transmitters of migrants as measured against population. They did come into the high intensity migration field but only at its lower levels. The heaviest transmitters of migrants in terms

of rate were the second order district towns such as Brigus, Trinity, Placentia and Greenspond.

On the other hand, if size or originating settlement did not show a direct correlation with migrant rate, neither was distance a simple relationship. At the local scale, many small settlements very close to St. John's sent relatively few migrants. But in a band of settlements about an hour from St. John's, the number of migrants increased to disproportionate levels. A second heavily disproportionate zone for migrant transmission lay 6-10 hours from St. John's. Furthermore, an analysis of marriage links in migrant families strengthened the impression of intense family migrational activity in the inner zones. This was consistent with the earlier analysis of the migration field of the first-born migrant child, as was the rather regular distance decay of marriage-linked migrant families.

Perhaps the most basic contribution made by this section of the analysis lies in the suggestion of migration through a hierarchy of centres. We saw from the high intensity migration field that the two biggest regional towns in this area did not have the greatest migrant flow. This tendency is generally confirmed by the examinations of rather large settlements: Bonavista (population 4052), in 1921 the largest settlement on the island after St. John's, and Twillingate (3217), the main northern town, for example recorded steady but not high level migration to the capital. The higher levels of intensity were to be found in the small regional towns such as Trinity, Greenspond, Placentia, Brigus and Port de Grave.

This finding suggests that the migration field is affected by settlement

hierarchy as much as, and perhaps more than, simple distance. For example Greenspond was much farther from St. John's than Bonavista; Trinity was much farther than Carbonear or Harbour Grace. The form and strength of the migration field therefore might be as much structurally determined as spatially.

The above analysis summarises the nature of the migration field. We now have to interpret and generalise the more detailed investigations made of the nature of the migrant population at both destination and origin. A principal aim of these sections of the study was to examine the degree to which migrants in general, and migrants from particular defined source areas or socio-economic groups were similarly grouped in the city.

One general finding underlies the widespread nature of the migrant experience in St. John's. While the simple statistics on migration clearly show that nearly one-third of the 1921 population was migrant, further analysis showed that perhaps a further one-third, born in St. John's, had one or both parents migrant. In other words, approximately two-thirds of the city was either migrant or within one generation of migration. This suggests a rather more mobile population than is usually assumed for such an old-established city.

This fact may help explain some other features of migrational geography. Though migrants to the city did concentrate to a degree, they were in general moderately evenly distribional throughout the city. Onle one ward (EW5) had marked salience in migrant presence (1.5); two others (WW2 and EW3) had 1.3 and 1.2. In western St. John's, WW2 apart, there was little

deviation from the norm. The distributed differences in migration volume were usually of degree rather than kind. This is perhaps not too surprising given the large scale of migration and its generally long-run nature. In these circumstances, it might be unusual to expect any extreme segmentation or ghettoisation. But it is worth recording that there was not much evidence of such tendencies at the neighbourhood level. Perhaps St. John's was too small for this to be necessary.

More differences can be observed in the distinguishing of migrants defined by occupation and socio-religious group. Specific occupational groups such as maid servants were concentrated in higher class wards (especially EW1) which did not have high general concentrations of migrants. By the same token, boarders congregated in lower class wards which mostly had below average numbers of migrants overall. And in terms of denominational grouping, an all-important feature of Newfoundland's social geography, it seems that a heavier Protestant migration - in large part a reflection of the denominational structure of the migration field - evened out the balance of Catholic and non-Catholic in a formerly heavily Catholic city. But, in doing so, it tended to reinforce pre-existing divisions with the Catholic migrants moving in greater numbers in to the western wards, and Protestants moving more frequently to eastern and central locations.

In general, however, the ward boundaries did not easily represent the character of the areas they covered. The wards were vastly different in size and population, some covering sprawling, heterogeneous areas. For this reason, small sample areas of known and contrasting character were chosen

for closer examination: residential/commercial, middle class, lower class and upper class areas were selected.

From this range of areas, a pattern or continuum of characteristic migration destinations can be developed. It ranges from lower class Brazil Square with small migrant households, dominantly nonconformist populations, occupied in unskilled labour or unemployed. Rennies Mill Road, on the other extreme, demonstrated large migrant households Anglican affiliations, and large numbers of professional and service groups complemented by numerous householod servants.

Again, there is not much in the foregoing picture that is surprising, but the analysis gives the opportunity to ask the basic question of how much the areas or zones of St. John's were shaped by the migrant populations, or whether the migrants were "selected" by pre-existing zones. Although this question cannot be directly answered, some inferences can be made. The selected sample areas, which were all parts of a well-established urban landscape by 1921, tended to attract from the extremes of the migrant population: business peoples and professionals on the one extreme, unskilled labour and unemployed at the other. In this, we might tentatively see the repeat of a pattern suggested by Brox (1966) who found that Norwegian rural-urban migration was drawn disproportionately from the higher and lower levels of rural society. If this is true, it is a reasonable inference that migrants to the established areas of the city were responding to the opportunities afforded by pre-existing development. But, when this is said, it remains true that in the small sample areas, nearly half (48%) of the

inhabitants were migrants and they must have had a considerable influence in shaping the developing city.

A complement to this point is found by returning to the wider analysis by wards. The two wards worth particular attention are EW5 and WW2. These wards were peripheral to the core of the old-fashioned city. Of eleven municipal wards or areas, only three did not touch the harbour, the focus of commercial activity - two of these were EW5 and WW2. In essence, these wards in 1921 were newer areas of the slowly expanding city. Not surprisingly, they supported the largest migrant counts both in numbers and in proportions of their population. They were, in a way, open, unencumbered space into which a migrant population could more easily move. Most important from the point of view of the present analysis, their occupational structure was the most balanced with few marked deviations from salience except perhaps in the unusually large numbers of children, itself an index of family development. These newer areas were the dominant locus of the largest numbers of the migrant population of the city, and it is a reasonable assumption that this is where the new groups had a strong formative influence.

Finally, to further test the properties of the migrant streams, the areas of heaviest migrant flow were singled out for special examination. Despite some operational difficulties of definition, five origin points were selected which had the highest rates of migrant transmission to the city. As previously noted, these were mostly old-established, second order merchant centres, but with stagnant or declining populations.

A tentative reconstruction of the time of migration from these centres indicated that much of the migration took place early in the first decade of the century. In one centre, Greenspond, the main currents of migration appeared to have begun a decade later. Greenspond was an island settlement, the farthest distant of all the major centres selected and was the only one not on the railway (though it did have good steamer links with the capital). It may be that this slight time lag in the onset of migration reflects the impact of distance on access, the diffusion of information and the establishment of rural-urban networks.

There were, in addition, certain ways in which the migrants from the high intensity origin points resembled the larger migrant population, and ways in which the smaller group differed. In the matter of occupational structure for example the smaller group was broadly similar to the larger. There were, of course, individual deviations, but if any generalisation can be made it would be that the high intensity migration points sent higher proportions into the service and skilled labour sectors. One other general difference was in the very small number of students from the five selected points (except Placentia). This resulted in a higher proportion of the selected population in the workforce and working in sectors with above average skills. It might be supposed that this above average occupational grouping from the selected centres reflected the better informational networks available through the high intensity flows. And it might reflect the generally higher literacy rates in the selected communities: although these rates were lower than St. John's, they were not much lower, and they were

markedly higher than most of rural outport Newfoundland.

Not all of the centres interacted with the capital through migration flow in the same way. Just as Greenspond differed in the timing of migrant transmission, so Placentia had a markedly different occupational grouping in St. John's. It had an unusually high proportion of students amongst its migrants. This fact depressed the proportions of all the other sectors of migrant workers. Placentia was denominationally distinct from all the other centres, and education and denominationalism have traditionally been strongly causally linked in Newfoundland. But, in the absence of any corroborative evidence, any causal relationship could be only conjectural. What can be said, at least, is that Placentia's functional relationship with the capital, as seen in migrant occupations, seemed to be of a rather different type from that of the other centres in the high intensity field. There was, in fact, no single dynamic characterising the relationship, though the northern, largely Protestant, settlements did appear to have similar structures.

In the distribution of the selected (high intensity) migrants within the city, there were more marked differences. In brief, the selected migrants, as measured by salience values, were more concentrated than the overall migrant population. There were two levels of concentration. In the first level, the selected migrants were disproportionately concentrated by ward - in WW1, general migrants were overrepresented slightly with a salience of 1.1. But high intensity migrants had a salience of 0.6 - approximately half as many as might have been expected. Usually, where general migrants were overrepresented, selected migrants were underrepresented and vice versa.

At the second level, the migrants from each sample centre tended to concentrate in particular wards. Each point of origin tended to have one or two wards with high salience, and conversely, a number of wards with low salience. Port de Grave, for example, was heavily overrepresented in WW4 (1.7), Brigus in S5 (1.8) and WW1 (1.8), Trinity in EW5 (1.7), Placentia in WW3 (1.5). This tendency towards district or ward concentration constitutes an additional element in the conjecture that migrants from the high intensity migration field were tied, both by numbers and location, into an integrated network.

Two cautionary notes should be made however. Though there is evidence for concentration, this evidence is not overwhelming. Concentration was relative, not absolute - a salience of 1.8 is not extreme in terms of concentration values. The figures indicate rather that migrants from particular points of origin had a moderate tendency towards district grouping. But this pattern could not be found at neighbourhood or street level. Empirical investigation of occupational, denominational and surname groupings demonstrated no widespread localisation or migrant population at this lower level. Secondly, it should be observed that because the selected population demonstrated moderate grouping tendencies, this does not mean that migrants from other origin points, who collectively made up the migrant population, did not have the same tendency. Indeed, it is probable that similar levels of grouping could be found. All that can be said is that it is likely that the grouping and networking amongst the selected migrant population, in terms of numbers alone, was stronger.

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Rich and rare data on population movement have been deployed to delineate certain aspects of the social geograhy of Newfoundland in the early part of the 20th century. In doing this, it has been possible to comment on, and qualify, a number of constructs by which migration is commonly understood and examined. But caution should be exercised in carrying these qualifications too far. It may be that Newfoundland in the early 20th century was not typical of many migration fields surrounding boom towns - such as for example those of 19th century Europe or North America, or much of today's underdeveloped world. Urban growth in Newfoundland was slow and halting by comparison with these other areas; the scale of the economy was small and characterised by large sectors of self-sufficiency; the society was relatively isolated and homogeneous. Perhaps for these reasons, many of the phenomena associated with migration were muted and do not appear with the same clarity as in other times and places. But the processes of population movement and rural-urban migration were persistent and pervasive and in them are seen important aspects of the social geography of the place and period.

APPENDIX A

Nominal Information Available with the 1921 census

1. Number of Dwelling House
2. Name of each person in the family
3. Name of Town/Settlement
4. Sex
5. Relationship to Head of Household
6. Marital Status
7. Date of Birth
8. Age at last birthday
9. Place of birth (by settlement)
10. Year of immigration to Newfoundland (if not born here)
11. Nationality
12. Religion
13. Occupation
14. Secondary occupation (if any)

APPENDIX B

Occupational Classifications in the 1921 Census

BUSINESS

Business
Merchant
Contractor

PROFESSIONALS

Architect
Barrister/Lawyer
Doctor/Dentist
Drugist
Editor/Journalist/Reporter/Photographer
Mining Expert
Pilot
Judge
Teacher
Politician
Musician
Clergyman/Priest/Minister

SERVICE PERSONNEL A

Accountant
Auditor
Baker
Manager
Matron/Sister
Secretary
Stenographer
Typist
Surveyor
Post Master

SERVICE PERSONNEL B

Bookkeeper
Checker
Laundryman/woman
Expressman/messenger
Salesman/lady
Shop Assistant

SERVICE PERSONNEL C

Chauffeur
Cabman
Carman
Coachman
Driver
Teamster

SKILLED LABOUR A

Baker
Barber/Hair Dresser
Book Binder
Butcher
Butler/Cook/Steward
Cleaner
Gardener

SKILLED LABOUR C

Blacksmith
Cooper
Carpenter
Tailor
Electrician
Foreman
Mason
Lumberman
Mechanic
Sailmaker
Milliner
Moulder
Plumber
Stove Cutter

Shipwright
Wheelwright
Shoe Maker
Technician
Trapmaker
Welder
Factory Worker

UNSKILLED LABOUR

Labourer
Porter

FISHING AND FARMING

Fisherman
Farmer

SAILOR AND RELATED JOBS

Sailor
Captain
Seaman
Tide Master
Mariner

GOVERNMENTAL OFFICIALS

Policeman
Inspector
Government Officials
Governor
Foreman

HOUSEHOLD WORKER

Housewife
Domestic Worker
Housekeeper
Maidservant

STUDENT

Student

NOT AT SCHOOL

Children not at school

NOT APPLICABLE

Children under 5 years

NOT REPORTED

Occupation not reported

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