When Newfoundland and Labrador became a province of Canada, its population was distributed among approximately 1200 communities spread like beads on a string along nearly 30 000 kilometres of coastline. A large proportion of these settled places were small inshore fishing communities of fewer than 250 people. Many were on islands, in locations without access to roads, or where future construction would be too expensive. Public services to these very small, scattered, and remote communities. Many people in such places found it difficult to secure a livelihood from the fishery and desired to move to larger, better-connected settlements, where they could find other employment and have access to modern amenities. Some, who wished to escape the fishery, find job security, and have access to better services, chose to move permanently to larger centres on the island and, in some cases, to mainland Canada. Resettlement of communities had been occurring naturally in many parts of the province for decades, but it was formalized as a social and economic plan during Smallwood’s tenure as Newfoundland’s first provincial premier.

Confederation eventually brought social welfare benefits such as family allowance, old age pensions, and unemployment insurance, which helped families survive. However, not even those benefits could alter the fact that the provincial government was hard pressed financially to maintain and improve education, health, and other

### Reasons to Move

Confederation eventually brought social welfare benefits such as family allowance, old age pensions, and unemployment insurance, which helped families survive. However, not even those benefits could alter the fact that the provincial government was hard pressed financially to maintain and improve education, health, and other

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**6.58 Angela Baker Ghost Town Reflections – Parsons Harbour**

Angela noted: Big collector boats used to come into this harbour to collect fish. There used to be a large wharf off to the far right, outside of this painting. The building on the left in the painting was the fish merchant’s. Stages used to be all along the harbour edge, and roads up to the houses. Today all is overgrown.

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**6.59 Mission of Mercy by Ed Roche**

Lack of medical services in isolated communities was one of the push factors for people to resettle. Artist Ed Roche explains the story behind the scene depicted in this painting: “In 1970, only three families still inhabited Ireland’s Eye. One night a young baby got seriously ill. While his mother holds him close for warmth and reassurance, the men row feverishly to get the infant to the closest hospital, which is in Trinity. They got him there safely and saved his life but on the way home, the men got lost in the stormy waters and all drowned.”
This painting entitled "We Filled 'Em To The Gunnells" by Sheila Hollander shows what life possibly may have been like in XXX circa XXX.

6.60 Leaving Fox Harbour

A house is moored to the shore awaiting high tide during the course of a resettlement from Fox Harbour to Flat Island in 1961.
First Official Resettlement Program

The first post-confederation government-sponsored resettlement began in the early 1950s. The residents of three islands in Bonavista Bay asked the government for assistance to move closer to their winter workplace in the logging industry. Whether this request was the catalyst or not, the provincial government introduced the **Centralization Program** in 1954, which offered voluntary resettlers between $300 and $600 per household to relocate. To receive these grants, 100 per cent of the residents had to agree to the relocation of an entire community. Short-haul moves were common in the early years of resettlement; some families even floated their houses to the new destination. The receiving communities were not isolated and offered better services; resettlers often chose communities based on family ties or religious affiliations. The provincial government helped a few thousand people move into larger service centres under centralization, but there was not enough employment to support those who relocated.

*By 1959, 29 communities had been resettled at a cost close to $150,000.*
The Second Phase of Resettlement

The province now sought federal government participation and in 1965 the second phase of resettlement, the Fisheries Household Resettlement Program, was established. Under this program, families were encouraged to settle in designated “growth centres.” These were larger settlements, which usually had a fish plant, roads, and infrastructure such as schools, hospitals, and water and sewer. Under this agreement, an outport could qualify for resettlement assistance if at least half of the householders in a public meeting passed a resolution in support of resettlement. An elected three-person committee then negotiated the terms of the move with the government. There had to be a petition signed by at least 90 per cent (80 per cent by 1967) of the community’s householders. The petition also included the name of the growth centre where the community intended to relocate.

After the request for relocation was approved, householders had to apply for government assistance. Each household received $1000 and an additional $200 for each family member. Moving expenses, up to $3000, were paid to cover the cost of moving homes, furniture, buildings, boats, and fishing gear. Receipts for the expenditures were submitted to government and monies were reimbursed to resettlers after the completion of the move. In the early years of resettlement, some people who could not find suitable employment in their new communities returned to their former homes in the summer to fish and thus maintained two dwellings. The provincial government attempted to discourage this, in some cases, by destroying buildings or seizing property left behind. Under the 1965 program, about 24 communities were resettled, although an additional 262 households were helped to relocate from various communities that had not been completely resettled.

After a review of the 1965 program, the second Newfoundland Resettlement Program was launched on July 17, 1970, again as a provincial/federal partnership. Many of the features of this program resembled those of the 1965 initiative, but the plan was more tightly tied to economic development. In order to qualify, resettlers had to reside in government-designated outports where 80 per cent of householders had agreed to move, and the relocation grant was increased to $1200.
Rencontre West was a large community in Rencontre Bay on the south coast, east of Francois. Parsons Harbour was another smaller community near the entrance to Rencontre Bay. In the 1960s some families began to move to Burgeo, Burnt Islands, and Port aux Basques. Rencontre West was closed in 1968.

“We hope my paintings show the beauty and poignancy of these lost communities, and provoke questions that may help preserve the heritage of Newfoundland’s unique south-west coast, known as ‘The Forgotten Coast’.”

– Angela Baker
This painting entitled *We Filled 'Em To The Gunnells* by Sheila Hollander shows what life possibly may have been like in XXXX circa XXXX.

**6.68 Collapsing house in Rencontre West by Angela Baker**

“Rencontre West was once a thriving fishing community on the southwest coast of Newfoundland. People in Francois have kept a few houses as cabins, but the church and most of the houses have collapsed. When I first visited there this kitchen was the only part still standing of one such home.”

**6.69 Collapsing house in Rencontre West – through the window by Angela Baker**

“I looked through the rotting kitchen window at an old stove, an old mattress, bits of wood and wondered how folks felt when they had to leave such a beautiful place. A year later I revisited Rencontre West and the kitchen had collapsed. Imagine how it must have felt to abandon your home.”

**6.70 Collapsed house Rencontre West by Angela Baker**

“When the foundation rotted, the kitchen collapsed exposing the brick chimney. One year later everything had fallen flat to the ground.”
6.71 Communities "Livyers" have left

Petites, North Bay
Bear & Deer Islands
Fox Island
Dog's Cove (Bay de Vieux)
Cul de Sac West
Cape La Hune
Deadman's Cove
Parsons' Harbour
Rencontre West
Bob Locke's Cove
Cul de Sac East
Richard's Harbour
Muddy Hole
Mosquito
Pushthrough
Great Jervois (Jervais or Jarvis)
Goblin
Grole
Stanley Cove
Stone Valley
Grand Brui (2010)
This painting entitled "We Filled 'Em To The Gunnells" by Sheila Hollander shows what life possibly may have been like in XXX circa XXX.

Fig. 3.4

1. What signs of resettlement can you see in the images?
2. Looking at the surroundings, what kind of lifestyle do you think the community residents lived?
3. Many people were distraught at having to leave their communities. What evidence is there in the images that leads you to realize how the people might have felt?
4. How is the art in this Dimension of Thinking evidence?

6.72 Pushthrough Church and School Ruins by Angela Baker

"Pushthrough lies between McCallum and Hermitage on the south coast. It was once a large, thriving fishing community with local businesses. Now ruins are all that remain ashore. The old government wharf is still there in poor condition. On the left are foundations of the church, and on the hill on the right are the foundations of the school. These had to be very strong to withstand fierce winds. Families from Pushthrough returned for a big reunion in 1991. It has been a privilege for me to be taken to all these communities by generous Newfoundlanders who love their ancestral homes."

Of more than 30 communities between Rose Blanche and Hermitage, only seven remain: La Poile, Burgeo, Ramea, Grey River, Francois, McCallum, and Gaultois.
Issues with Resettlement

Although the resettlement programs did not become a serious political challenge for the Smallwood government, academics found that many resettlers felt they were manipulated into leaving their communities. The required approval of 80 per cent of householders often created animosity among outport residents, pitting those who wanted to move against those who wished to stay. Further, some growth centres did not have enough jobs to employ all the resettlers. Fishers who had little formal education or training could not find work or did not feel capable of being retrained for work, and fishing grounds around the growth centres were usually reserved for long-time local fishers. For those who could not afford new homes, government assistance was inadequate. As a result, housing was a real challenge for large families, widows and single mothers, the ill and physically challenged, and the elderly. As resettled families poured into communities with better services, overcrowding became an issue. One community responded to the challenge by sending children to school in shifts.

Some academics argued that resettlement destroyed the identity of a whole group of outport dwellers whose way of life had roots in the early resident fishery. Others saw resettlement as an organized response to a migration that was bound to happen as the salt fishery declined and the fresh-frozen sector, with processing in larger centres, emerged. Ultimately, it was too expensive for the provincial government to provide the level of services that all Newfoundlanders and Labradorians deserved. Only in larger communities, the government argued, could residents have access to adequate schools, medical services, road connections, telecommunications, and frequent postal services.

The post-confederation government-sponsored resettlement was a phenomenon that cannot be completely rationalized in terms of dollars and cents. It was an emotional issue that sometimes divided families and friends. Resettlement fostered a sense of loss that not only affected the immediate generation who lived through it, but also played a large role in the mindset of the generations that followed. Some saw it as a catalyst of the cultural nationalism which took root in songs such as “The Government Game,” written by Pat Byrne and Al Pittman in 1983. This song describes a sense of shame felt by resettlers associated with accepting government’s money to relocate. There was a feeling that resettlers ‘sold out’ and robbed their children of the chance to know their outport heritage. Similarly, the song “Outport People,” written by Bud Davidge in 1986, discusses the sense of displacement and the memories of a better, less complicated way of life. The play *West Moon*, written by Al
A LETTER ON RESETTLEMENT

Dear Mrs. Stoodley:

I have read with very great interest your important letter to me on the subject of centralization of population. There is scarcely a word in your letter with which I disagree. That is to say, I agree with practically every word of it. ... You do seem, however, to be under one very grave misunderstanding. You seem to think that the Government has some plan or intention to force people to move. That is the last thing on this earth that we will do, or even think of doing. Whether we like it or not some people will move. They always did move, and they always will.

The Government would be willing to help people to move, provided certain conditions are met ... In the first place, we will help people to move only if their move is absolutely voluntary. In the second place, where the whole population of a place, after meeting and discussing the matter, agree practically unanimously that they want to move. Third, where the Government itself approves the place to which they will move. We certainly do not intend to spend public money to help people to jump from the frying pan into the fire ...

Letters such as yours, written by intelligent and thoughtful and patriotic people, will be of very, very great importance to us in shaping our ideas.

Very sincerely yours,
J. R. SMALLWOOD, Premier.

6.76 From a letter to Mrs. Walter Stoodley, Manfield's Point, G. B., Province of Newfoundland, Office of the Premier, St. John's, Jan. 9, 1958

Outport People
Bud Davidge

They're outport people with outport ways
But there's no where to use them and now it's too late
And they curse on the one who uttered the phrase
Resettlement now while resettlement pays
He sits on the deck and he looks cross the bay
And watches his memories as they pass on the waves
And he wonders what could fate might have dealt
If he told those officials to go straight to hell
Cause you can't take a man from the soil where he grew
Lest you know how to solace his mind when you do
And for God sake don't say how much greener's the grass
Cause those uprooted people start to wither too fast!
You can launch a house easy and tow it away
But the home doesn't move it continues to stay
And the dollars you make sure they'll keep you alive
But they won't soothe the heart and they can't ease the mind
He sits on the scene and the memories roll
The spring sun is shining there's a lop in the cove
And the shoreline is dotted with lobster pot buoys
But his boat's full of weeds and there's tears in his eyes
Don't take a man from the life that he knows
And tear up his roots and expect him to grow
Cause if he's unwillingly forced to decide
He'll move without leaving and never arrive
Don't take a man from the life that he knows
And tear up his roots and expect him to grow
And for God's sake don't say how much greener's the grass
Cause those uprooted people start to wither too fast!
Resettlement is one of the many issues explored in this film biography of Joey Smallwood. This is done through the use of interviews, photos, and historic film footage.

Excerpt from Joey Smallwood: Between Scoundrels And Saints, a documentary by Barbara Doran

EXT. OCEAN. DAY
FILM FOOTAGE OF FISHING SCHOONER ON THE WATER IN ROUGH SEAS.
FISHERMEN PULLING UP THEIR NETS

HAROLD HORWOOD (O.S)
Joey always thought that people went to sea because they had to. He always thought fishermen fished because they had nothing better to do or that they couldn’t do anything else.

FISHERMAN TYING DOWN LINES FROM THE BOAT.

(CONTINUED)
RICHARD GWYN INTERVIEW

RICHARD GWYN
One of his responses to that was to do nothing about the fishery. He never paid any attention to the fishery while he was premier except minimally every now and then. And the other one was resettlement. Moving people out of the outports into larger settlements, group settlements as they were called. Of course, they weren’t group settlements they were just settlements for the unemployed.

VARIOUS FILM FOOTAGE SHOTS OF A GROUP OF MEN HOISTING A HOUSE DOWN A ROAD IN A SMALL VILLAGE USING A ROPE. GUIDING THE HOUSE DOWN TO THE WHARF.

RICHARD GWYN (O.S.)
What was brutal about that, I mean, well part of it was naturally inevitable as many settlements simply couldn’t exist. They were too small or couldn’t be reached by roads so they couldn’t get teachers or they couldn’t get nurses and so on.

THE HOUSE FROM THE PREVIOUS PICTURES IS NOW ON THE WATER READY TO BE MOVED BY BOAT. FISHERMEN SECURE ROPES AROUND THE WOODEN FLOATING HOUSE.

A GROUP OF BOYS WATCH AS THE HOUSE IS TAKEN OUT TO SEA.

FILM FOOTAGE OF FISHERMEN PULLING A HOUSE ALONG THE WATER IN THEIR PUNTS.

(CONTINUED)

Experiencing The Arts

Now it’s time to complete the last stage of the production process and for the craft and creativity of the editor to shine through. Make effective use of the screenplay and storyboards, as well as the log that was recorded during the shooting of the film.

It is often a good idea to do a first round of edits to your film and then leave it for a couple of days before proceeding with the final edits. It might also help to have someone who is unfamiliar with the screenplay view your film to make sure that no essential storyline details are missing. Once you have a final cut, show your work to others and be proud of your art. Congratulations!
The late Al Pittman and I were both teaching in Montreal in the mid-1960s at a time when resettlement centralization was in full swing here in Newfoundland. The information we were receiving in letters from family and friends, and the odd clipping from local newspapers, provided the impetus for the song. We co-wrote it on scraps of paper and matchbook covers sitting in a tavern (the name of which escapes me), I put it to an old Irish air, that Dominic Behan also used for his song “The Patriot Game.” So there was a lot of borrowing and inspiration from various sources that went into the song.

The Government Game
Pat Byrne & Al Pittman

Come all ye young fellows and listen while I tell
On the terrible misfortune that upon me befell
Centralization they say was the name
But me I just calls it the government game

My name it don't matter, I'm not young anymore
But in all of my days I'd never been poor
I'd lived the right good life and not felt no shame
Til they made me take part in the government game

My home was St. Kyran's, a heavenly place
It thrived on the fishin' of a good hearty race
But now it will never again be the same
Since they made it a pawn in the government game

Sure, the government paid us for movin' away
And leaving our birth place for a better day's pay
They said that our poor lives would never be the same
Once we took part in the government game

It's not many years now since they all moved away
To places more prosperous way down the bay
There's not one soul left now, not one who remains
They've all become part of the government game

Now St. Kyran's lies there all empty as Hell
Except for the graveyard where our dear parents dwell
The lives of their children are buried in shame
They lost out while playing the government game

To a place called Placentia, well, some of them went
And in finding a new home their allowances spent
So for jobs they went lookin' but they looked all in vain
For the roof had caved in on the government game

It's surely a sad sight, their movin' around
A wishin' they still lived by the cod-fishin' ground
But there's no goin' back, now, there's nothing to gain
Now that they've played in the government game

They tell me our young ones the benefits will see
But I don't believe it - oh, how can it be?
They'll never know nothing but sorrow and shame
For their fathers were part of the government game

And when my soul leaves me for the heavens above
Take me back to St. Kyran's, the place that I love
And there on my gravestone right next to my name
Just say I died playin' the government game

Questions:
1) What were three main arguments for resettlement?
2) What were three main arguments against resettlement?
3) Should people be forced to resettle? If you lived in an isolated community, would you resettle? Support your answer.
4) What were three significant issues created by resettlement?
Deborah Jackman remembers leaving Grole...

“I remember the big men coming in with their suits on. And Dad talking to them. And they pulled out these papers I guess they were blueprints. And showing my father the land, how much land we were going to get and where we were going to be living, and that kind of thing. And my father saying, ‘Oh yes, oh yes’.”

“We were getting ready to leave. The time was coming near, and Mom had us packing up stuff. And we had one of those old stoves, you know the kind you burn wood in. And, of course, all of the pans were black with soot... I mean black: you’d never get it off. But Mom had us all out on the flake scrubbing those pots. And I was thinking, where are we going? To some friggin holy land or something? Because everything had to be perfect.”

“When we lived in Grole...we lived off the land. And when we moved to Harbour Breton, slowly Mom stopped all that. Stopped the vegetable garden. She had little ones, after a while she’d grow radishes and potatoes. But it was nothing like it was in Grole. In Grole, she had rhubarb, cabbage, carrots, turnips, potatoes, greens. She got more into flowers in Harbour Breton.”

Since Confederation in 1949, some Newfoundlanders and Labradorians have questioned if Confederation was the right choice.
FIFTEEN YEARS AFTER CONFEDERATION, THE SMALLWOOD government produced a book called *Newfoundland: Canada’s Happy Province*, which promoted the benefits of the union. What can we learn by reviewing some of this evidence?

By 1966, dramatic economic and social changes had occurred in Newfoundland and Labrador under the Smallwood government. While Smallwood was quick to point this out, he acknowledged that “…with all our pride in the miracles that have happened since Confederation, we know that so very much remains to be done!” The following material was printed in 1966 to highlight the government’s achievements since Confederation.
This painting entitled "We Filled 'Em To The Gunnells" by Sheila Hollander shows what life possibly may have been like in XXX circa XXX.

6.88 Education statistics, 1966

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Teachers’ salaries</th>
<th>Number of students</th>
<th>Money spent on education</th>
<th>Number of schools</th>
<th>Number of teachers</th>
<th>School buses</th>
<th>Class-rooms with ratios</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1949-44</td>
<td>1.2 million</td>
<td>1.949,75,000</td>
<td>1949-1950: 131,572,000</td>
<td>Before Confederation: 600</td>
<td>Before Confederation: 2,400</td>
<td>Since Confederation: 200</td>
<td>Before Confederation: Nil</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

6.89 Industry and commerce statistics, 1966

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Fish production</th>
<th>Mining production</th>
<th>Paper production</th>
<th>Other industrial production</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1949</td>
<td>328,328,000</td>
<td>1134,340,000</td>
<td>1949-1942: 457,706,165</td>
<td>1950-1961: 81,230,424,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1965</td>
<td>847,955,000</td>
<td>1940-1945: 1,386,070,000</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

6.88 Education statistics, 1966

6.89 Industry and commerce statistics, 1966
6.90 Communication statistics, 1966

- **Telephone subscribers**
  - Before Confederation: 18,668
  - Since Confederation: 82,148

- **Television sets**
  - Before Confederation: Nil
  - Since Confederation: 62,800

6.91 Housing and accommodation statistics, 1966

- **Homes built**
  - 1950-1954 inclusive: 22,063

- **Hotels built**
  - Before Confederation: 22
  - Since Confederation: 39

- **Motels built**
  - Before Confederation: Nil
  - Since Confederation: 37

- **Cabins built**
  - Before Confederation: 11
  - Since Confederation: 24

- **Guest accommodation**
  - Before Confederation: 1,237
  - Since Confederation: 4,328

6.92 Provincial and municipal works statistics, 1966

- **Population increase**
  - Before Confederation: 345,000
  - Since Confederation: 510,000

- **Total earnings**
  - Since Confederation: $3,353,000,000

- **Municipal improvements**
  - Since Confederation: $67,000,000

- **Public welfare**
  - Since Confederation: $229,152,775

* This figure includes the period from 1949 to 1964 inclusive.
The goose that lays the golden egg

It has cost us a vast sum of money to give our people the facilities they need for better education, health, roads, and a hundred other public services and conveniences. It is going to cost vastly more in the future, because our people demand vastly more of these services and conveniences. It is abundantly clear that we need far more money than will ever be forthcoming from the national Capital or the national Treasury. The Federal system in Canada is very good in that respect, for it does contrive to redistribute much of the national wealth. Our remarkable progress in the post-Confederation years would have been out of the question but for the help we have received from Ottawa. But the one thing we do not and will not tolerate is that we should become a sort of ward of Ottawa, still less a dependent. We are determined to be self-supporting. More even than that, we are determined to be one of the “have” Provinces. This means the ever-increasing effort to widen, broaden, deepen and strengthen our own Newfoundland economy. I think of the line that Billy Sunday’s singer used to utter: “Brighten the corner where you are.” It is a very good motto for any Canadian Province. The strength of Canada is the combined individual strengths of the ten Provinces.

In the pages that follow many of the fine industrial, commercial and financial concerns that are developing our economy are represented, and they share the Government’s pride in the developments of the post-Confederation era. It is a notable roster indeed, for it includes names of firms that are well known throughout the English-speaking world. Newfoundland is proud to have them here, and would be proud to have more like them. And we will!

Questions:

1. Based on this information, what arguments could you make about the benefits of Confederation?
2. What types of conclusions can be drawn from the information here?
3. What types of conclusions cannot be drawn from the information here? Why?
4. Why might it be important to know the source of the information shown here?