SETTLEMENT and ABANDONMENT
Newfoundland patterns

by

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There is probably no word as reviled by some Newfoundlanders as re-settlement. It pops up in every social and economic development meeting, every arts grant application, radio and television documentary, in fact, in just about every Newfoundland artistic, historic and geographic work of the past half century. It is precedent and cause for lists of social ills and benefits.

Lifting off veils of emotion, what lies below is plainly seen, a form of de-settlement, or abandonment, caused by economic failure resulting from resource depletion, technological change, market variability, pandemics, gradual climatic change or extreme weather events, the list goes on without limit. In essence a settlement ceases to operate as a settlement when events and changes make it inoperable and when no further development or growth is possible.

Re-settlement and de-settlement can only be understood by studying how communities came to be settled in the first place. The Newfoundland natural resource exploitation settlement process has abandonment (entropic and/or circumstantial) built right into it, to be is to die, eventually and inexorably.

The main argument of this essay revolves around entropic inevitability as a real issue for all Newfoundland communities, ever since the early 1600s. An inevitability that is not often recognized until it is too late, usually as the end of a community draws ever nearer. It is always obfuscated by nostalgia and memory, evinced in defeat and platitudes, and survives in a false hope of return.

This essay is based on nearly fifty years of socialist awareness and training backed by a life mostly spent in rural Newfoundland. The only real benefit of Newfoundland's urban life is a lack of nippers, it is said, but there are no stories of places being abandoned because of nippers. The three Newfoundland cities and its largest towns are only a hair's breadth away from rural. Grand Falls, as an example, survives due to its being a rural regional support centre.

Small places often turn to tourism to survive; tourism was a concerted government development goal since the Trans-Canada Highway went through in 1965, but, being isolated, the province can only realize about 10% of the touring traffic that motors through the Maritime provinces. And of course there is the weather.

Inns, B and B's, restaurants, boat tours, and museums proliferate, saving some communities; survival depends necessarily on adapting to new models, Fogo and towns of the Bonavista Peninsula are good examples.

Where Once They Stood: a gazetteer of abandonment (Mobilewords 2006 and online at mobilewords.pro) lists over 600 abandoned Newfoundland communities giving their settlement and abandonment dates, populations over time, and their geographic location (latitude and longitude).

Settlement and Migration

The word *settlement* forms three nouns, it is a financial agreement, a subsidence of earth, and place of human occupation (this latter the one of interest here).

The Oxford English Dictionary (https://en.oxforddictionaries.com/definition/settlement) gives one noun and two verbs for discussion:

> A place, typically one which has previously been uninhabited, where people establish a community (n).
> The process of establishing a settlement or settlements (v).
> The action of allowing or helping people to establish settlements (v).

All definitions of settlement come down to one fact; people gather in a convenient place to exploit a natural resource, certainly so in North America. Regardless of sponsorship or vision, whether random or planned, utopia or practical, a settlement can only survive as long as the resource on which is based continues. When a resource is depleted, continuation is possible by switching to a new resource and/or the use of new technologies to glean the remainder of the existing resources. But once the resource is gone, usually so is the settlement. A successful settlement is always described by and recognized by its economic and social parameters, population, product, trade, wealth and markers such as school, church, and medical aid.

> N.B. See Appendix A for a number of *settlement* definitions.

Wikipedia (https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Exploitation_of_natural_resources), on natural resource exploitation (you can read in fishery and forestry in the Island of Newfoundland case fairly quickly):

> The exploitation of natural resources is the use of natural resources for economic growth, sometimes with a negative connotation of accompanying environmental degradation. It started to emerge on an industrial scale in the 19th century as the extraction and processing of raw materials (such as in mining, steam power, and machinery) developed much further than it had in preindustrial eras.

Given a single natural resource focus for a settlement, and given the cyclical nature of natural resources, or, worse their eventual depletion, or

reduction in demand for the product of a settlement, through out-migration of significant portions of the young, most resource-based settled communities will eventually face abandonment. Whether through attrition, de-settlement or re-settlement, abandoned is the best word, a word that lies outside emotion, regret and nostalgia.

The word *migration* means the movement of people from one place to another; it can be individuals, groups, or mass migrations of races or nations. The original inhabitants are settlers but once a community is settled anyone else who arrives is not a settler but an immigrant; the period between an original settler and the immigrant is almost instantaneous, certainly within a year.

Early European fishing was migratory and based offshore. They came in the spring, fished and went away in the fall. Some shore facilities, water supply, hunting and gathering operations, rendering plants, facilities for shore leave, were used but were usually abandoned during winter. Later, French use of *le petite Nord* involved over-wintering, usually by Catholic Irish employees, and of course, the French Capital of *Plaisance* was continuously settled for nearly 50 years up to 1713.

The concurrent English fishery was a shore or settled fishery, set up on the beaches using temporary facilities. From the start some stations were populated by keepers for by-boats and rooms but once the settlement ban was lifted, English and Irish immigration became more routine.

Mannion (2001) had about 4000 inhabitants in fifty coves and harbours, with about 300 planters and families and the remainder servants, artisans, and agents, overwintering in 1700. He and others suggest the ban, while promulgated, was not truly effective and that there was continuous, although hampered, settlement throughout the 17th century. Certainly this was true for St. John's and the English Shore between Cape Race and Cape Bonavista.

This was substantiated by Pope in a number of papers and books.

Pope maintained that Newfoundland reversed the usual pattern in the early history of North America. Where mainland colonies were shaped by an abundance of land and a shortage of labour, the Newfoundland fisheries had no shortage of labour but did experience strong competition for limited beach space needed to "make" or cure fish. This led to strategies that encouraged over-wintering and concentration by Europeans from the same home districts.

… Finally, in "The English and the Irish in Newfoundland: Historical Archaeology and the Myth of Illegal Settlement," in Audrey Horning and Nick Brannon (eds.), Ireland and Britain in the Atlantic World (Dublin: Wordwell Books, 2009), pp. 217-234, Pope makes a compelling case which explains how substantial archaeological evidence compiled in recent decades supports the conclusion that in Newfoundland, a European presence can be detected as far back as the temporary cabins installed by the sixteenth-century migratory fishery, followed by the establishment of a number of permanent communities at various moments in the seventeenth century. Though considerable attention continues to be given to proprietary, corporate, and state colonies such as Ferryland, Cupid's, and Placentia, the fact is that much of the population growth of the seventeenth-century Newfoundland was a consequence of informal settlement. By 1677, there were close to 2,000 people living on the English Shore alone, with many more in French parts of the island. In short, the notion that settlement was always held to be illegal, or that the fishery was a determined foe of settlement, has been thoroughly discredited, although the power of those myths remains persistent, so that our emerging understanding of Newfoundland's Early Modern settlement history still seems to come as something of a surprise to many Newfoundlanders today.

Pope brings many of his ideas and arguments on the early settlement of Newfoundland together in **Fish Into Wine: The Newfoundland Plantation in the Seventeenth Century** *(Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2004). Here he shows that the proprietary and corporate colonies of the early seventeenth century were more successful than hitherto suspected at establishing permanent settlement in Newfoundland (see below), and that the rate of growth was in fact not significantly worse than it was for other European colonies in the region, such as Acadia. Indeed, it has been argued that if we limit our assessment of settlement just to that coastal strip known as "the English Shore," then the density of occupation of usable land by the early*

eighteenth century may in fact have been very high, and quite compa-rable or even greater than elsewhere in English North America; see Andrew Rolfson, Land Tenure, Landowners, and Servitude on the Early-Eighteenth Century English Shore (M.A. research paper, Memorial University of Newfoundland, 2004).

Colonization and Settlement: 1600-1630. Online material found at http://www2.swgc.mun.ca/nfld_history/nfld_history_colonization.htm. Corner Brook, n.d.

John Guy and Richard Whitbourne complained of the desperation of early arrivals each year, stealing or destroying boats, flakes, oil vats left behind by others and usurping beach space used by others the previous year. At Cupids, permanent settlement meant these items could be looked after and Whitbourne also claimed settlement would alleviate this problem and the unnecessary costs associated with building anew. Obviously leaving stuff behind was an old practice; leaving people behind wasn't a practice but it seems it would have been practical or necessary.

Basque whalers and fishermen used temporary shore quarters and works in the Straits of Belle Isle and along the south coast and there are indications they might have left people behind for the winter as protection from pilfering.

Proprietary colonies spread across coastlines, so Ferryland had associated fishing enterprises in just about every harbour along the southern Avalon peninsula. The 1650's Calvert-Kirke inquiry interviewed Calvert's settlers still settled in various places north and south of Ferryland.

Recent archaeological work at Ferryland, reported in the Colony of Avalon's blog (*http://colonyofavalon.ca/changing-settlement-patterns-identity-late-18thearly-19th-century-ferryland-summer-2017-fieldwork-plans/*) reiterates this continuity:

> *While much of the archaeological research at Ferryland has focussed on the substantial and incredibly well-preserved remains of the 17th-century colony, evidence over the years has demonstrated continuity in occupation in the centuries following this critical fledgling period. In*

fact, the Pool has remained permanently occupied right up until the present day. After the French raid of 1696, settlement increasingly expanded to include other parts of Ferryland Harbour as well. As the population and town expanded, the Pool remained an important centre of activity. Excavations over the past five years have yielded evidence of two intriguing domestic occupations in the Pool dating to the second half of the 18th century and into the 19th century.

Similar work at Cupids (https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Cuper%27s_Cove) posits a continuous occupation of the area since 1610.

Abandonment

https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Ghost_town gives the following reasons for abandonment:

> Factors leading to abandonment of towns include depleted natural resources, economic activity shifting elsewhere, railroads and roads bypassing or no longer accessing the town, human intervention, disasters, massacres, wars, and the shifting of politics or fall of empires. A town can also be abandoned when it is part of an exclusion zone due to natural or man-made causes.

On the same page a ghost town is defined:

> The definition of a ghost town varies between individuals, and between cultures. Some writers discount settlements that were abandoned as a result of a natural or human-made disaster or other causes using the term only to describe settlements that were deserted because they were no longer economically viable; T. Lindsey Baker, author of *Ghost Towns of Texas*, defines a ghost town as "a town for which the reason for being no longer exists". Some believe that any settlement with visible tangible remains should not be called a ghost town; others say, conversely, that a ghost town should contain the tangible remains of buildings. Whether or not the settlement must be completely deserted, or may contain a small population, is also a matter for debate. Generally, though, the term is used in a looser sense, encompassing any and all of these definitions. The American author Lambert Florin's preferred definition of a ghost town was simply "a shadowy semblance of a former self".

Other reasons for abandonment are listed as: *Economic activity shifting elsewhere , Human intervention, Flooding by dams, Massacres, and Disasters, actual and anticipated*.

Emigration

Once a settlement starts, more immigrants arrive, the population grows, and business flourishes; in effect, shortly after a settlement starts it become a community. Once resources and markets are maximized, people *excess* to the exploitation pattern *e*migrate (out-migrate was coined in 1953).

Those wanting to leave or who leave by necessity move to other places and opportunities. Perhaps, in days past, they settled new places, extending their family networks, but normally they emigrated to other already established communities. Every succeeding generation loses some portion of its young on an ongoing basis.

Economic refugees is a late 20th century term for people who simply follow the money while maintaining their links to home, their stays away not permanent although perhaps of long duration. True refugees, escaping from mayhem become immigrants and eventually citizens, but while they often maintain strong links to their origin homes, usually their children lose this link.

North America is a continent of immigration, *a melting pot* of all ethnicities and cultures, all grown on original settlement patterns started in the 1600s. Newfoundland no less so, but here the geography and economics limited the growth potential found in New England or the Canadas [go west young man]. Many Newfoundlanders moved to the continent, immigrants to a new place, but not usually as settlers. Their ties to home were usually mostly evaporated in the first or second generations born at their new home. Modern out-migrants can use many communications methods to keep contact with Newfoundland and Labrador but only so in the past half century has this been easy.

For 300 years Newfoundland settlements lost part of each succeeding generation to outmigration. Uncle Charlie and Uncle Edward left Smith

Sound in 1910 to go to Australia but instead, following a gold rush, ended up dead of typhus in Anchorage in 1912.

A girl from Conception Bay went to Boston in service to a Sicilian family in 1904, married and never came back; her grandson came here as a student 60 years later, knowing only a little of the place and his historical connection to it, and ended up staying for 50 years.

A man built a wooden travel trailer on a one-ton truck body and took the family on an extended vacation throughout the USA in the summer of 1960. Camping park to camping park; in the back country of Kentucky he pulled in to a drive-through registration kiosk, the owner-clerk was a long-lost, distant cousin who had been in Kentucky since the end of WWI.

In some quarters, in some ways, Newfoundlanders are a migratory people, for sure, we excel at out-migration. We bring our Newfoundland ways to strange places, the Newfoundland store with salt beef, hard bread, salt fish, dried capelin, and salt pork pop up wherever there are more than a handful of Newfoundland immigrants. These identifiers also dwindle with each succeeding generation.

Urban migration is a form of out-migration now evident within 21st century Newfoundland. When local, rural economies falter, and as people get older, they migrate to nearby towns where they can find new economic opportunities as well as enjoy nearby amenities and services; this is de-settlement by attrition.

Globally, migration from rural to urban is expected to soon reach nearly a billion people in the past half century; in developing and developed countries this rural deficit results in a transfer of poverty to cities, while decreased agriculture output strains GDP and requires trade imbalances, especially in food. The trend is worrisome for governments and seems to not have any immediate solution.

The out-migration from coastal Newfoundland to the industrial centers of Ontario and western Canada throughout the 20th century, and particularly so after Confederation, was urban migration.

Between 2001 to 2007 the total provincial population dropped to 509,000 and then climbed steadily to 530,000 in 2016 when 280,000 (53%) lived on the Avalon Peninsula with 217,000 (41%) in the St. John's area. In comparison the numbers for 2001 were steady at 53% on the Avalon with 34% in the city, indicating a continuing urban migration from rural Avalon Peninsula towns to the city over the past decade and a half.

What is Home?

That settlements are purely economic is easily said but not so easily lived, humans quickly attribute their place as their *home*. A person's home can be where they live, where they grew up, or the place where loved ones live. For some people, home is a variable concept and some consider their body as their only home.

People who move away rarely call their new location their home. No, home is always back in Newfoundland, even after decades. Their children call where they were born and raised home, and, Newfoundland is where Nan and Pop and Uncles and Aunts and cousins live, but it is not home.

Life is change and impermanence, Gautama taught us, but most of us still can't seem to get away from our home very easily or for very long; we leave willingly or unwillingly yet we always yearn to go back. Of those who leave there are always a few who revisit but nostalgia about *home* grows exponentially with the length of separation and fading memories.

A headline that says, "jet landed normally at airport yesterday", is of little notice; nor is much shrift given to those who say, "Thank the Lord, I managed to get away and I am never going back". Grievance lists and disruptive lifestyle changes of those who leave for whatever reason are

nowhere near matched by lists of benefits, yet everybody knows that improved accessibility to education, health, services and economic opportunities (if nothing else) directly resulted from the oft-reviled official resettlement programs; of those that abandoned their homes for other reasons (always economic, mind), the reasons for moving were plainly understood and accepted as a necessary part of life; the nostalgia portion is always present in displaced people. It is human nature.

Hans Rosling in *FACTFULNESS* (us.macmillian.com 2018) describes how rural, impoverished societies have many children because, with high child mortality, replacements are required more often and many hands make light work of the day to day efforts to support the family or social unit. So Newfoundland child birth rates, higher even than Mexico mid-20th century, have fallen. This is a direct consequence of technology change in modern exploitation practices, resettlement, and modern transport and communications networks.

There is and was much ado about the resettled elderly and how change didn't come so easily to them, so they suffered. Perhaps the greatest part of post-resettlement suffering is the separation of family and friends; that maybe people don't miss the geographic setting from which they came nearly as much as they miss the people. The *come home year* concept is about *who* not so much *where*, but often the venue embodies the nostalgic aspect of the gathering.

The province had a Come Home Year in 1966, after the Trans-Canada Highway was completed across the Island. A great chance for out-migrants to come back and celebrate their roots and see families left behind in their scurry to the mainland. It was a roaring success and many changes wrought then persist, for example, self-serve liquor stores and the still recognized orange automobile license plate. Canada's Happy Province plates followed in 1968, a direct result of the euphoric 1966 campaign.

The highway completion was the incentive for the 1966 Come Home Year, but just 17 years after Confederation, the numbers who came

back to the Island that summer was an eye opener, illustrating just how many out-migrants there actually were. An apocryphal story of the time suggested if all the Newfoundlanders and Italians left Toronto there wouldn't be enough people left to run Woolworths. Current belief is that there are more born Newfoundlanders alive outside the province than inside.

Early Newfoundland settlement

Aboriginal occupation of the Island of Newfoundland was sporadic with long intervals between cultures after about 9000 BC; the last aboriginal inhabitants, the Beothuk, were only on the Island for a short time before the European re-discovery. A couple of *mamateeks* on Red Indian Lake make a poor evidence for extensive presence when compared to long-houses and the huge stone cities of the continental Americas.

The Great Northern Peninsula and, perhaps, parts of the Labrador Coast were explored and settled by the Greenland Norse about 1000, not for long, but they were here, doing their Norse thing. They ran afoul of *skrælings*, now thought to be Dorset people, who predated the Thule Inuit by a few centuries. Their settlement at L'Anse au Meadows was abandoned quickly.

There are arguments that the Norse, after settling Iceland and Greenland, were polite enough not to encroach on another people's occupation of an area. In Greenland, the Inuit came down from the north after the Norse were settled and things seemed to go along ok; the eventual abandonment was probably caused by climate change that prevented farming, an important part of Norse settlement.

In eastern Europe, Vikings set up trading posts and controlled river trade (the *Rus*); they moved into the islands north of Scotland and raided western Europe but only really settled down in that part of France now called Normandy about the same time they were moving west across the Atlantic.

The Greenland Norse settlements disappeared mysteriously by the mid-14th century; an early example of de-settlement resulting from climate change. Iceland remained as did Norse presence in the North Sea.

Settling Newfoundland was supposedly not encouraged or outright banned for most of the period between 1500 and 1750 (however, see Pope and Mannion above, pps. 4-5). The early 17th century plantations did have sanction by the Royal Court but not by the competing merchants and fish dealers of England who saw settlers as antithetical to their exploitation plan. Pirates also set settlements back though predation of people, goods and ships and their cargoes going to and fro.

The Treaty of Utrecht in 1713 meant England owned the Island, except for some French coastal holdings which would linger and shift over for the next 2 centuries; from Cape Bonavista to Point Riche in the Strait of Belle Isle until 1783, then from Cape St. John, Notre Dame Bay, to Cape Ray in the Gulf of St. Lawrence until 1904. The whole of the French shores were increasingly settled by English fishermen over time as the French didn't use shore based facilities except in later years on the West Coast and around the tip of the Great Northern Peninsula. English settlement (immigration) began in earnest at locations near resources but also in support of commerce and services in larger settlements.

Settlement of Newfoundland was entirely resource-based; as concentrations grew, fishers spread along the coastline; as harvesting technology changed more areas were able to be settled. The use of the cod trap in the late 19th century resulted in a spate of short duration settlements where traps could be used. By 1850 people were flocking to the Newfoundland frontier, some to exploit the resources of land and sea, others skilled workers and professionals, to man the service and trade industries.

19th century settlements became more organized but were still established to cover one resource and, at best, sometimes, one alternative. Whitbourne, for example, is an atypical Newfoundland settlement.

There were many one-company towns, built around an agricultural, arboreal or mineral operation between 1860s and 1900; also, like Whitbourne, a few railway-based settlements after the 1880s.

The Island's natural resource exploitation settlements had an average duration of about 100 years, three to four generations. This is for more than 400 abandoned communities for which reliable dates are available. Of those that were settled for fishing, after 1835, the average is slightly higher at about 125 years.

Settlement periods generally acknowledged are, the early modern period (1600 to 1700); the post 1713 and post 1763 periods after English ownership was strengthened by European treaties; the 19th century period after Responsible Government (1835 to 1900).

Early Modern Newfoundland settlement 1600 - 1700
In the early 1600s English enterprisers promoted and set up *plantations* in the Island. Their Discourses on planting are just about the only records of Newfoundland from the time; John Guy, William Vaughan, and George Calvert all tried their best, thwarted either by weather, ineptitude, or pirates, Conception Bay and St. John's were the exceptions, rolling along in a quasi-official way since the 1583 Gilbert claim.

These plantations evolved out of the Elizabethan English occupation of Ireland, the key Newfoundland players, Vaughan, Calvert, Cary, were all directly or indirectly connected to the Irish occupation, Cupids was initiated by Bacon and his pals in the Bristol Company under the careful attention of the most able John Guy and John Mason.

The planting system in Ireland simply displaced the native Irish with English settlers. Plantation organization, support, and supply were topics of studies (discourses) in the early 1600s, all proposals for planting in North America were based on the Irish experience.

The Newfoundland plantations enjoyed varied success. Vaughan's New Cambriol had a bad start and didn't thrive but left an indelible mark nonetheless on Newfoundland's early history. Calvert's Ferryland and Guy's Cupids were roaring successes.

The bases of plantations were grounded in profit to the planting company and increased trade wealth for England. Military protection of settled infrastructure and people were also included as a secondary rationale. The small boat handling of Newfoundland fisheries was seen as a training ground for naval recruits. By far the overwhelming reason for planting the New World was to alleviate poverty and lack of economic opportunity back home in England. Masses of people could become useful social contributors by working hard overseas in the fish trade.

Cupids, Ferryland, Aquaforte – the first three plantings of Newfoundland – were all small efforts, 30 people or fewer, all precarious, based in fish, they were also promoted to plant crops and harvest forest resources; in Ferryland a huge portion of Calvert's establishment was a wharf and warehouse, a distinctly commercial aspect.

Ferryland and Cupids (along with the branch at Bristol's Hope) lasted through the 1637 cancellation of all previous charters and the transfer to David Kirke of the whole Island. In Ferryland, most of Calvert's settlers simply went to work for Kirke. The Calvert-Kirke lawsuits raged on for another 30 years, and a commission of inquiry into the claims and counter-claims interviewed people who had come with Calvert and were still living here in the mid-1650s. Cupids and Bristols' Hope, and the ancillary areas of Carbonear and Harbour Grace seem to have been running along smoothly throughout this period but would later be ruined by pirates and French military forces; yet they quickly sprang back in times of peace.

St. John's was pretty well continuously settled from the mid-1600s. On the South Coast, Placentia, Belleoram, Harbour Breton, and some smaller French stations never went away, they just changed hands. Bel-

leoram is probably the single longest inhabited community in New-foundland. On the northeast coast it would take until the mid to late 18th century for permanent settlement in Trinity Bay and the inner parts of Bonavista Bay.

Trinity, the Bonaventures, Greenspond, Western Bay, and Bonavista were all settled before 1700 (Greenspond was once called the Capital of the North) and continuing to today, as are many communities on the Avalon Peninsula's Southern Shore.

The post-treaties immigrations
After 1713, Channel Islanders began to settle the South Coast in places previously used seasonally by Iberians (French, Basque and Portuguese). Englishmen filled Trinity and Bonavista bays, eventually spreading along the northeast coast and into Notre Dame Bay and from there down north and to Labrador. All fishing based, all semi-permanent, with a coastal summer settlement and a winter retreat back home in the inner bays. A perfect example is provided by the Indian Islands-Greenspond relationship. Once Indian Islands became more permanently settled the inhabitants started going North to the Straits of Bell Isle, never mind that it was under French control. Interlopers are hard to control when your governing presence is only for a few months a year.

By the mid-1800s French interests were being protected by year-round, Irish, Catholic employees especially around Hare Bay, White Bay, and both sides of the Strait of Belle Isle.

Northeast coast settlements were subject to the vagaries of piracy, military destruction, lack of official support, and West Country merchants who considered them as interlopers. Ferryland disappeared briefly in the French invasions of the 1660s, the people deported to England or held for ransom. The great immigration influxes after 1713 and 1763 grew the settled population and by the early 19th century the Newfoundland population was considered permanent and stable.

By the early 1800s there were many permanent settlements, but many were to fail and were soon abandoned. Of course this is a rather simplistic view of how Newfoundland grew and thrived, or failed to thrive in some cases.

Notably, after Amherst re-took St. John's from the French in 1762, the English Army offered options to ex-soldiers; return to England with a few pennies of pension a year and face dismal prospects, or take up rooms and premises in Newfoundland. Huge swaths of Trinity and Bonavista bays were populated by these veterans.

After a generation they began a slow infiltration of the inner parts of the bays, the Random Island region held vast forest resources, the offshore islands held great promise for fish. Growth was inevitable. The population grew and in 1834 a Responsible Government was formed and the Colony became self-governing. The West Country fish merchants and their agents were the nuclei of the new government, and their age old profit seeking management style was to continue for another century.

The 19th century population

The Island population was 75,000 in 1836, more than doubling to 161,000 in 1874 (38 years), then a one and half increase to 243,000 in 1911 (37 years), then slowly to 322,000 in 1945 (34 years) and to 514,000 in 1969 (24 years). The half million remains fairly steady today after some limited growth through to the 1980s and a slow decline afterwards. (Table A.1. in Historical Statistics of Newfoundland and Labrador, Government of Newfoundland and Labrador, Office of the Queen's Printers, 1970).

A table of 408 abandoned communities with known (some estimated) start and abandonment dates shows abandoned communities sorted by their age. The greatest concentration (159 communities) 78 between 61 and 80 years duration and 85 between 81 and 100 years (*Where Once They Stood: a gazetteer of abandonment*, Mobilewords Limited, Mobile, 2006).

Thirty-seven lasted more than 160 years; 76 lasted under 60 years; 295 between 60 years and 160 years; average for all is just under 100 years.

Duration	Number	%
<20	10	
>20-40	20	19%
>40-60	46	
>60-80	78	
>80-100	85	54%
>100-120	56	
>120-140	43	
>140-160	33	25%
>160-180	27	
>180-200	6	
>200-220	2	2%
>220-240	0	
>240-260	2	
Total	408	
	99.9 years average	

Examples of various settlement histories

Where Once They Stood: a gazetteer of abandonment lists about 600 abandoned communities. The table shows five typical settlements sampled from around the coast of the Island.

Place	Map Lat. Lon.	History	Years
Grandys Brook, SW Coast	11O/15 47° 37' 58° 51'	settled early 1800s abandoned after 1891	80

Black Island, Friday Bay, NDB	2E/10 49° 35' 54° 43'	settled by 1830 abandoned by 1955	125
Long Beach with *Droke and Cape Race, Southern Avalon	1K/11 46° 38' 53° 08'	settled by 1869 abandoned after 1961	90
Fair Island, Bonavista Bay	2C/13 48° 59' 53° 42'	French station after 1680 settled by 1780 abandoned 1961	180
Davis Island (Port Elizabeth) and Flat Island, Placentia Bay	1M/7 47° 16' 54° 55'	settled early 1800s abandoned by 1970	160

What We Call Things: a coastal toponymy of the Irish Loop (Mobilewords, 2011) studied when family names first appeared in the records (taken from Seary's *Family Names of the Island of Newfoundland*). Some of the earliest names were Welsh dating from the mid-1600's; but most were later arrivals.

Planned veterans' settlements

Perhaps the post 1762 method of mustering men out was remembered by the Commission of Government (1932 – 1949) during the poorest times in the world. A scheme to get veterans meaningful employment resulted in moving selected families from urban areas, mostly from St. John's and Conception Bay, and settling them into rural areas where they could farm and fish with better economic prospects. It was also meant to bolster rural areas with new people and new ideas.

The South Coast was hit hard in the 1930s and many fishing families were supported to move to other, better off areas; the Southern Shore of the Avalon Peninsula still has descendants of these South Coast families. At the outbreak of WWII, this was stopped as the fishery had rebounded and onshore employment increased. They were mostly individual families, not whole communities, however.

The following descriptions of six Commission of Government settlements are taken from various of the five volumes of the Encyclopedia of Newfoundland and Labrador. In many ways the model developed was similar to the early 17th century plantations, but this time with greater support and infrastructure capital in place.

Markland (taken from the Norse name) was an experimental land settlement near Whitbourne started in 1934. It began in the spring for ten families of WWI ex-servicemen who wished to farm as an alternative to collecting relief. The Commission advanced relief payments to them and offered a block of land on the road between Whitbourne and Colinet, along the Rocky River. The name Markland was chosen, from forest land of the Norse.

Homes were provided for 120 families, as well as two sawmills, a store, two inter-denominational schools, a furniture-making shop and a cottage hospital. Settlers were recruited from the areas hardest hit by the Depression. In the 1935 Census there were 635 residents.

The Markland effort wasn't unique. Baron Francis von Ellershausen set up a mining community in Betts Cove in Green Bay some 60 years before which included miners' homes, a hospital, a school, a church, and community amenities. When the ore ran out, von Ellershausen sold out to C.F. Bennet and moved on to found Ellershouse in central Nova Scotia. There mines, agriculture, forestry, manufactory, and secondary processing worked in unison, a company town with bright economic prospects settled in a wilderness.

Originally the Commission had great hopes for Markland and urged expansion to other agricultural communities. By 1939 Markland had mostly failed through mismanagement and failure to follow the socialist ideas of communal development.

The Markland model was transferred to Lourdes, on the Port au Port Peninsula. Lourdes was noted as having a good agricultural potential. South Coast people moved in but had a hard time with their predominantly French neighbours, eventually the Anglophones outnumbered

the Francophones and the community lost its French culture as the chief economic activity changed from fishing to farming.

Like Markland, Lourdes was discovered to be an expensive operation, off the beaten path, and government services were provided at great cost. Ironically the very basis of the post-Confederation resettlement programs, that is, the inability to provide government services effectively or efficiently, was the deal breaker that spelled the end of many communities.

Markland lasted nearly seven years, Lourdes just six.

Haricot, downstream Rocky River from Markland, was established and 25 families moved there in 1935 but half of them quickly disappeared after a year and the community dwindled by attrition over the next 20 years. Haricot was a replacement for an area off the Salmonier Line, called Vinland (another Norse name), but there wasn't enough arable land so the government infrastructure became first an agriculture training farm and then later a prison work farm.

Midland, a farming area near Pasadena, was established in the mid-1930s as a government land settlement. Level land and excellent soil, coupled with the promise of 30-acres, meant settlers from Placentia Bay, Conception Bay and the Burin Peninsula joined up. Slow at first, Midland eventually stabilized and the population grew after Confederation until the community amalgamated with Pasadena in 1955. An overall success, Midland was severely criticized for the amount of money spent to foster the initial settlers.

Sandringham, on the Eastport Peninsula, was founded in 1939. Intended for 50 families, the outbreak of war quickly reduced that to 25. At the end of the war Sandringham was a productive agricultural community; in the second half of the 20th century it continued with some original settlers, but employment opportunities in the nearby Terra Nova National Park reduced the reliance on agriculture.

Winterland, between Garnish and Marystown on the Burin Peninsula, was also established in 1939. Families from the region and Placentia Bay moved in but many were unused to agriculture and most soon retreated back to their fishing communities. At the end of the war there were about 80 people there, and it was stable until the mid-1950s when it became a growth center for the Government resettlement program when 10 new families were settled. By the 1990s there were four full-time farm families (the original settlers' descendants) and several part-time farmers; but most residents worked in neighbouring communities.

Point Au Mal, near Lourdes on the Port au Port Peninsula, was a small place with about 25 people in 1939 when 36 families were resettled from Placentia Bay. Each family was granted 10 acres of land but some chose instead to continue fishing. Further development was thwarted as the building of Harmon Base at Stephenville and new mining operations in the area sucked up all available labour. By the 1990s Point au Mal was mainly a summer community.

A seventh, Cormack, was started after 1945 as a way to set up WWII veterans who experienced limited options once back in society. Each family got 50 acres of land, a bungalow, and money for a barn, livestock and equipment. Over 200 veterans applied and 160 were accepted. They had to have some agricultural experience or take a year-long course in agriculture.

At Confederation there were just under 100 farms operating in Cormack, but the population declined throughout the next three decades so by the mid-1970s there were only 20 farms remaining. Cormack is now mostly a dormitory town for Deer Lake and Corner Brook, despite a resurgence of large farm development in the 1980s.

Not veteran related, Wooddale, 20km northeast of Grand Falls-Windsor on the New Bay Road, was named for Rupert Wood, the provincial government's agricultural field man who selected the site for farm development in the mid-1960s. The Agriculture Department gave leases; the first was a dairy farm set up 1969. In 1994, six farm families (two each of

dairy, poultry and vegetable/forage) worked 1200 acres alongside five part-time vegetable farmers. Wooddale was once the site of a tree nursery that provides conifer saplings for reforestation.

In 1970, statistics show there were in Newfoundland about 1700 census farms (a farm that was lived on that had some level of agriculture sales) occupying about 50,000 acres (down by half from 1951) and 300 commercial farms using 20,000 acres (Table J.1. in Historical Statistics of Newfoundland and Labrador, Government of Newfoundland and Labrador, Office of the Queen's Printers, 1970). In the 1991 version of the statistics publication the census farms are reduced to about 500.

Resettlement depended on a vote

Community resettlement, as a government social and economic planning tool, was promoted for three periods between Confederation and 1975. It did split communities and families, some wanting to go, others wanting to stay, and it certainly spawned a cultural revival of predominantly Irish, Roman Catholic, values in the 1970s as Placentia Bay families began to adjust to their new surroundings.

The difference between these programs and the agricultural settlements of the 1930s was that all of a community was resettled to an existing community, effective abandonment.

Many were abandoned voluntarily with or without government financial assistance or political support (referred to as attrition); nearly 200 before 1949 and others throughout the 20th century, some more in the 21st century, with more to come.

Economic downturns; bad fish catches or markets; running out of wood, water, game, or ore; natural and man-made catastrophes; lack of doctors, schools, or churches; and isolation were contributing factors for many communities deciding to move. At the end of the 20th century it was common to hear people refer to another possible wave of community abandonment in the wake of the cod stock collapse in 1992. After

2000 a number of communities have applied for and been granted support to abandon. Each was already made up of an aging population with most younger folks out-migrated.

The resettlement article in Encyclopedia of Newfoundland and Labrador (see Appendix B) reports on three official resettlements with 45 communities moved between 1945 and 1955; another 115 between 1955 and 1965; and 148 between 1965 and 1975. These 308 accounted for about 30,000 people; about 6% of the population). In each case 100% of residents had to vote in favour of the move. In effect, anyone who wished to not move were forced by community pressure to vote in favour. These few against maintain a resettlement resentment that is now two generations old.

After 10 years of Confederation, in 1959, the provincial government decided to study its resettlement policies and, in 1960, the Provincial Economist prepared an official report of his research. From March 1953 to February 1959, Robert Wells noted 29 communities (484 families; about 2,400 people had resettled with government assistance of $146,027. According to his survey results, 199 communities (3,289 families; about 14,800 people) were identified by respondents as needing resettlement. Thirty-five communities made enquiries about resettlement in 1959 and 24 applications (966 families; 4,347 people) were pending (Mobilewords, 2006).

Wells made much of the fact that changed economic times required a fundamental change of attitude for people in isolated coves and harbours. Mining towns and communities with fish processing plants had the best potential to become "growth" centres, he noted, and he listed 21 communities with fish freezing facilities and another 25 with salt fish plants.

Wells did not explore the social and cultural impacts of resettlement, those would evolve after a few more years. There was in every resettled community a portion of residents who were against the move, of those

who moved a portion who longed to go home again, who found the social and cultural adjustment of life in a growth center to be overwhelming or traumatizing. They wrote songs, stories and plays about their discomfort in their new life and their cultural and social heritage left abruptly behind.

Growth center mayors were generally happy with new schools, stores and government services expanding to serve the increased population; an increase tax base meant more money and modernization of town services. In most cases resettled families were joining relatives who had out-migrated prior to the resettlement program. The islands of Placentia Bay and Bonavista Bay moved to places only a short boat ride away, to places with which there had already been long-time connections of commerce, service, and family.

Those who claimed to suffer from the process were still in all offered greater opportunities to education, business and health. Generations of highly educated and successful people left their outport communities throughout history, after all only so many people could work the resource available and it is human to want to get away from home for some, to spread the wings of a new life away.

At the turn of the century many a young woman went to the Boston states in service. Some returned but many more married and stayed. Fishermen and sailors who shipped out to American and Canadian ports more often stayed and settled there rather than come back to Newfoundland. Soldiers in the First and Second World wars remained behind in England and Scotland, marrying local girls. In the post-war years many Newfoundland brides went back to the USA when their partner's service in the American bases in Newfoundland came to an end. An estimated at 40,000, or about 8% of the population (more like 15% of the female population) left home, a few eventually came back.

When viewed from a sociological and economic perspective the resettlement program of the mid-20th century Newfoundland was really a series of organized, small, local migrations, albeit with greater impact on those moving than on the rest of the population.

When viewed from a national perspective it was a blip of little consequence. From a global perspective it doesn't even attain blip status.

Expropriation doesn't require a vote

The 1940s American bases deal saw military organized settlements in five areas: Argentia, Stephenville, Goose Bay, Gander, and St. John's. These from the point of view of the soldiers and sailors stationed here were temporary, in fact they lasted only about 30 years. For Newfoundlanders they were an economic Godsend. Working on the base was the economic heartbeat of the surrounding communities, a localized, economic migration.

The establishment of the bases wasn't without disruption and displacement for locals. Argentia and Marquise were taken and the inhabitants assisted to move to nearby Placentia Bay communities. The graveyard was moved further alienating the land from the residents. The base later became a trans-shipment and ferry port of some note.

Harmon gobbled up nearly 9000 acres around the top end of St. George's Bay known until then as Indian Head; they established a world-class airport and shipping port and almost from early days employed upwards of 2000 people; with military forces the population topped out at nearly 7000 by 1960. About 900 people, descendants of the French-Mi'kmaq settlers who came a century before from Cape Breton, living at Indian Head, were moved off the land.

Pepperell took over about 200 acres in the Pleasantville and White Hills areas north of Quidi Vidi Lake. The area's history included barracks and parade grounds set up in its farm fields during the First World War. The White Hills were riddled with underground works and communications facilities. The American airport on the hill eventually became St. John's

International Airport where some 1940s buildings still stand. The American service buildings were transferred to Canadian forces. The American wharves and fuelling docks in the Harbour are still in use, being modernized in the 1970s and again in the 2010s.

Gander and Goose Bay were set up in wilderness but became important residential centers for their regions, building populations of skilled workers and their families and important as airports for trans-Atlantic flights. This purpose too has passed and both airports, along with Stephenville, hang on to deteriorating infrastructure and underused facilities.

About 1960 a new Deer Lake airport was established by expanding an existing small plane airstrip. A small community of Mi'kmaq settled at Junction Brook were moved without recourse to St. Jude's (the Chute) along the highway to Corner Brook.

The Outport Reality

Many communities were for long periods summer fishing stations used by the French, Basque and English. The South Coast, Hermitage, Fortune, and Placentia bays were ceded to English control in 1713 and 1763. French stations were settled by English and Channel Island fishing merchant employees on an increasing basis afterwards. The onset of Responsible Government in 1834 was followed by a census in 1836 and many of these communities appear officially for the first time then.

The small communities started up in the mid to late 1800s appear less successful than the older stations turned communities of the previous century given their sole reliance on fish and fish alone; this is also evident in the shore fishery carried out in Labrador throughout this period. As fish failed so did communities.

Many communities were, for most of their early existence, little more than single family premises, with each succeeding generation adding a few more people. A few servants, employees, and other tradespeople were recorded but long term viability based on mercantile, religious, or

other social infrastructures appear limited in abandoned communities. In Labrador the situation was even more tenuous for these small, family-based communities. There, families usually had a winter residence inland or on the mainland and a summer station outside on the islands and headlands. In many cases the winter residence became a permanent community, many still extant, while the summer station was recognized as *permanent* for very brief periods. Added to this *liveyer* situation, Labrador *summer stations* were semi-permanently settled by Island fishermen and continue to be so utilized. As on the Island, abandonment does not necessarily means *unused* with fishing enterprises and cottages still competing for space.

The 100 year average duration for abandoned communities accounts for four or five generations of natural resource exploitation and is reflected today in the duration of mining communities all across industrialized nations. It is a *natural* process with a certain built-in inevitability. Unless there is some other form of economic development, either imposed from without or developed within, communities based only on natural resource exploitation cannot apparently survive much longer. Whether this model can be super-imposed on territories, provinces, states, countries might make for an interesting socio-economic or historical analysis.

Mining communities throughout Notre Dame Bay, Green Bay, Halls Bay, and Little Bay followed another settlement and abandonment pattern as hundreds of people suddenly appeared on site and just as suddenly disappeared once the mine was played out. This single resource economic development (boom and bust) cycle approximates the fishing community pattern but is much more time compressed in a couple or three decades usually, with some lasting even shorter. Settlements at railway stations and sidings were mostly gone by 1950, a few clinging with two or three people until the railway itself was abandoned in the 1960s.

As populations increased but the resources remained stable, outmigration for education and economic purposes grew, in the 1960s it was reputed that there were more Newfoundland-born Canadians in Ontario

than in Newfoundland – that's a half million out-migrants. Some came home, it is true, but just as many or more left.

The closing of the Bell Island mines in the 1960s resulted in nearly 6,000 people moving from Bell Island mostly to southern Ontario. By the early 2000s, thousands more Newfoundlanders relocated to Alberta's oil sands where most remain. Some people who commuted to Alberta, when faced with withdrawal of their travel funding, chose to stay in Alberta while others chose to give up Alberta and come back where they introduce new ways of making a living, in crafts, food production, and hospitality.

The problem with counting

Given the transitory nature of many Newfoundland communities, determining their exact number is difficult. As smaller residential enclaves merged many communities disappeared from census rolls but still exist. The classic modern example is Conception Bay South where residents still come from the previously distinct communities along the coast between Topsail and Seal Cove.

There were nominally 1440 individual communities in Newfoundland and Labrador at Confederation. There are nominally 750 remaining.

In the closing days of the twentieth century a dwindling portion of the population of Newfoundland and Labrador had actually lived in resettled communities. Many places exist by reference and remembrance. Their reality will become even more attenuated in the next generations. Ironically, many people who now use former communities as cottage sites don't fully realize their ancestors once lived in an active, permanent community. Even nostalgia is subject to entropy.

About 150 communities were absorbed by their neighbours and their names still exist as local regions inside a town or community.

Aboriginal settlements

While a debate over initial settlement by Canadian aboriginals is under constant review, a number of Island communities are considered aboriginal in origin and history. The major ones have since become headquarters for newly formed regional bands, but only Conne River is a reservation. There are a few abandoned aboriginal settlements, but as they were not identified as such officially, they are not distinguishable except by memory and through tradition.

Stations

Men were needed at railway stations and sidings, the 600 mile track across the Island had 57 stops, stations and sidings on Howley's 1907 Geological Map of the Island of Newfoundland; made just a few years after the railway was completed. Howley's stops were primarily links to the coast or for maintaining *sections*. By 1962, there were 108 stops, the bulk of the additions near logging, mining, hydro-electric sites, and industrial communities in the interior, most between Deer Lake and Clarenville. By the end of the railway many stops and sidings had fallen into disuse because of the growing roads system, those remaining faded quickly.

While not all stops and sidings were permanently inhabited, many had year round residents including station masters, section crews, a boarding house, and the workers families. Every station or siding had a postal service provided by the railway and the post office. The train was the main method of carrying mail across the island to and from Canada, supplanting coastal ship traffic. The table has 10 railway settlements once considered permanent.

Place	Topo Map	History
Barretts Siding, near Georges Brook on Bonavista Branch	2C/4	settled by 1956 abandoned by 1976

Georges Lake, near Stephenville	12B/9	settled by 1901 abandoned 1962
Howards, at Georges Lake	12B/16	settled by 1900 abandoned by 1951
Jumpers Brook, near Bishops Falls	2E/3	settled by 1890 abandoned by 1914
Kittys Brook, near Howley	12H/2	settled by 1903 abandoned after 1945
McDougalls Gulch (and Wreckhouse), near Port aux Basques	11O/11	settled by 1900 abandoned 1966
Millertown Junction (Joe Glodes Pond to 1900), at Millertown	12H/1	settled by 1900 partially abandoned by 1975
Placentia Junction, near Placentia	1N/5	settled by 1890 abandoned after 1966
Quarry, near Gaff Topsail	12H/2	settled 1890s abandoned 1954
Rattling Brook Depot, near Norris Arm	2D/1	settled by 1925 abandoned 1963

Lights

There were 52 navigation lights operating on the Island in 1952. All were attended, some were considered communities with a keeper, his family, other employees and other families living on site. Others were close to communities and the keepers were considered part of the community, not the light.

Mines

Quick to open, quick to close, generally, with some notable exceptions; Buchans and Bell Island among them. The close of a long term mine settlement brings a dramatic drop in population as people leave to follow the money. A residual few who remain are committed to changing the

resource model and adapting to a new reality, but always a posited reality with good prospects.

Company towns

Company towns were a bigger part of the Newfoundland scene after 1900; the first being Bett's Cove set up by von Ellershause in the 1880's. Grand Falls, Corner Brook, Deer Lake, before 1925, and Buchans in the 1930s; Labrador City, Wabush and Churchill Falls started in the late 1950s and early 1960s. Most companies eventually divested their interest in the town and allowed privatization and municipal incorporation.

Former company towns where an industry has closed up remain extant for many years after, but are much smaller in size; after another generation or two, unless a regional service center, they too eventually fade.

The present situation

Newfoundland and Labrador today has about 750 communities. Outside the major urban areas of the Avalon Peninsula and in Clarenville, Gander, Grand Falls, Corner Brook, Stephenville, and Port aux Basques, some 300,000 Islanders live in about 450 towns and 250 unincorporated communities (a little over 500 per community). There are surrounding that average a large number of communities around 1,000 people and an equally large number with 250 or fewer. Labrador's nearly 30,000 people are mostly concentrated in four inland communities (taking Happy Valley-Goose Bay as not being coastal). On the coast there about 20 communities, with an average population of about 350 each.

About 450 of Newfoundland and Labrador communities are organized as towns with a mayor and a council (some in joint council with neighbours), the rest are unincorporated, although about 150 operate with Local Service District committees. Since 1990 there have been efforts to *amalgamate* or *regionalize* smaller and unincorporated communities based on the premise there is strength in numbers and community servicing costs can be more economically provided across regions. Like re-settlement, this sort of talk threatens to divide communities but, at least, it is not a move to relocate them wholesale to another location.

A settlement or community that is doing well and is home to a contented populace is not often seen as needing change; smaller places that are not resource based are either dormitories for larger places, convenient places for road stops, or are morphing into historical and hospitality based tourist locations. Community identity is a proud and fierce concept in Newfoundland, just look at the resettled and their lingering, powerful, sense of place and belonging.

And, of course small places without futures are still abandoning field and stream, or are at least talking about it; some small places are considering or actually amalgamating with their larger neighbours. Both actions further reduce the number of distinct communities.

> *Outports*
> Outports, or outharbours as they are sometimes called, are literally ports other than the principal port of St. John's https://www.heritage.nf.ca/articles/society/outports.php
>
> **outport** *n*
>
> **1.** *chiefly Brit* a subsidiary port built in deeper water than the original port
> **2.** *Canadian* one of the many isolated fishing villages located in the bays and other indentations of the Newfoundland coast
> https://www.thefreedictionary.com/Outports
>
> **Outport** noun
>
> 1. a secondary seaport close to a larger one but beyond its corporate limits or jurisdiction.
> 2. an isolated fishing village, especially on the Newfoundland coast.
> https://www.dictionary.com/browse/outport

No further deep internet diving is required to see that the word outport has an English origin and a uniquely Newfoundland identity. The origin word and the Newfoundland word have opposite meanings, however, the English being a secondary or ancillary port, *outside the main port's authority* while the Newfoundland outport is simply a small coastal

community with authority centralized in the jurisdictional and economic capital, St. John's.

Appendix D shows how Island settlement was coastal without any inland advances until the late 19th century. All communications and trade was coastal using smaller vessels. Outport communities shared similar size, tenure, economy, culture, vicissitudes and blessings. Their lack of polity meant political unity was difficult, springing up but always limited to is geographic scope, the very coast being the greatest barrier. Coaker in the first half of the 20th century and Cashin in the second were able to achieve some accord with fishing-based communities, but by the 21st century, no pan-community cohesiveness is evident although small regional coalescence is beginning – the communities of Fogo being well advanced in regional thinking and survival strategies.

A government supported regionalization of community economic development wound down after 10 years of mostly lacklustre performance as federal and provincial program funds were cancelled.

The Municipalities Federation represents about two thirds of the existing incorporated outports but, generally, outports are still on their own; doing what they can, and always following the rules.

On a local level *outport*, and its companion word *bayman*, have become terms of denigration when used by St. John's-men, countered by the near epithet *Townie* on the lips of baymen. Outporters will never say they are from an outport; they simply name their community with pride, sometimes having to name the bay where their community is located. Everyone from an outport knows that most people they will ever meet won't have a clue as to where the community is located.

The Newfoundland cultural world has embraced the *outport* in all its art forms. Outport is a unique cultural identifier and has a stock character and image. In Newfoundland, outport connotes isolation and, often, poverty when in fact these are false assumptions, particularly in the past half century; the outport of 1950 and the outport of 2000 are the

same community with completely different modalities. Most abandoned communities were pre-1950 type communities who found themselves on the margin of sustainable lifestyles and economies, who had no choice but to up stakes and move. Connecting by water is replaced by roads; telecommunications and digital media have brought surviving outports into the 21st century; where schools could not be sustained, computer-based teaching is now available in every location; interconnected power grids brought modern amenities and appliances only dreamed of at Confederation.

In Newfoundland, even the tourist-attraction outport risks disappearing reads a National Post headline from March 2018. The author predicts a reconstructed outport is slowly becoming less attractive to tourists and is moving toward abandonment; in the case of White Point, T.B. (the Random Passage movie set), the second abandonment in 60 years.

Heritage committees and volunteers cannot keep up against the tide of decay once the money from the target market slows down or dries up. It is no different than the fish declining or a period of bad market years. While no one lives on the outport set, nearby residents have made a living off the set since it was established, but the future looks bleak. *https://nationalpost.com/news/canada/in-newfoundland-even-the-tourist-attraction-outport-risks-disappearing*

Names
How or when a settlement gets a name is unknown, but it seemed to happen sooner rather than later. Newfoundland settlement names fall into four types:

geographic feature description (Black Head, Flat Island)
personal use or ownership (Bobs Cove, Joe Batts Arm)
family association (Waddleton Point, Yarders Cove)
enterprise attributes (Caplin Cove, Cod Seine Cove)

The eleventh principle of nomenclature, according to the Gazetteer of Canada, says new names should be euphonious and in good taste.

This list has birds, beasts, fish (all of them tasty), colours, place, size, shape, geography, condition, and trees and their frequency; personal names not counted.

15	Apsen	101	Duck	115	Lower	149	Shoal
73	Back	11	Eagle	5	Lynx	25	Spruce
32	Baker	99	Flat	29	Man-o-War	40	Stag
75	Bear	117	Fox	158	Middle	35	Sugar
103	Beaver	53	Freshwater	17	Moose	62	Trout(y)
330	Big	20	Goat	23	Muskrat	85	Upper
62	Birch	106	Goose	68	Otter	57	Whale
33	Blowmedown	65	Grass	81	Pigeon	85	Wild
35	Bull	80	Great	21	Port	29	Wolf
147	Burnt (ed)	220	Gull	15	Rabbit		
35	Caplin	51	Hare	125	Rocky	315	Black
18	Caribou	19	Hawk(e)	108	Round	208	Green
29	Cat	42	Herring	27	Saddle	200	Red
18	Clam	43	Horse	193	St.	220	White
26	Cow	104	Indian	112	Salmon		
25	Cross	139	Island	107	Sandy	400	North
57	Crow	15	Juniper	28	Sculpin	180	East
66	Deep	31	Lance	135	Seal	381	South
49	Deer	495	Little	81	Shag	265	West
63	Dog	351	Long	69	Ship		

N.B.
Lance is mostly derived from the French *l'anse* meaning *cove* as well as from the bait fish.
Note the high number of St.'s (Saint's).
There are nearly twice as many north-south's as east-west's.
Greens, reds, and whites are more or less even but blacks preponderate.
There are more littles than bigs; more lowers than uppers, and a tremendous number of longs.
Animals in order of frequency are: seal, fox, deer-caribou-stag, beaver, horse-cow-goat, bear, otter, whale, cat, muskrat, moose, and lynx; perhaps reflective of their (both wild and domestic) order of economic importance to outport life.

Settlement forms three nouns according to the Oxford English Living Dictionary (https://en.oxforddictionaries.com/definition/settlement); there is a financial agreement and property ownership, a place of human occupation, and a subsidence of earth under loading by buildings.

The OED gives this:

> A place, typically one which has previously been uninhabited, where people establish a community.
> The process of establishing a settlement or settlements.
> The action of allowing or helping people to establish settlements.

Humans might have started settling as early as 17,000 BCE but it really became a near universal human trait with the development of agriculture 10 millennia later.

Below are results for an Internet search ***define settlement***

> 3 a : occupation by settlers
> b : a place or region newly settled
> c : a small village
> *https://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/settlement*

> 2. a. The settling or establishment of a person or a group of people, as in a new region or in a business.
> b. A newly colonized region.
> 3. A small community.
> *https://www.thefreedictionary.com/settlement*

> frontier settlement - a settlement on the frontier of civilization

> outpost colony, settlement - a body of people who settle far from home but maintain ties with their homeland; inhabitants remain nationals of their home state but are not literally under the home state's system of government; "the American colony in Paris"
> *https://www.thefreedictionary.com/frontier+settlement*

Rural settlement is a populated area not meeting the criteria established for urban settlements in a given country. Rural settlements' inhabitants are engaged primarily in agriculture, forestry, or hunting; they also include settlements whose inhabitants are involved in other types of occupations (industrial, transport, construction) if the settlements have small populations and are located in rural areas.

Rural settlements can be divided into three categories: agricultural, non-agricultural, and mixed. Permanent settlements are inhabited year-round and have duration. They can also be seasonally or temporarily inhabited.

As of 1970, according to UN estimates, 63 percent of the world's population lived in rural settlements, compared to 67 percent in 1960. *https://encyclopedia2.thefreedictionary.com/Rural+Settlement*

4. A settlement is a place where people have come to live and have built homes.
5. The settlement of a group of people is the process in which they settle in a place where people from their country have never lived before.
https://www.collinsdictionary.com/dictionary/english/settlement

1. the act or state of settling or the state of being settled.
2. the act of making stable or putting on a permanent basis.
3. a state of stability or permanence.
7. the settling of persons in a new country or place.
http://www.dictionary.com/browse/resettlement

the act of colonizing; the establishment of colonies
a body of people who settle far from home but maintain ties with their homeland; inhabitants remain nationals of their home state but are not literally under the home state's system of government
frontier settlement or outpost - a settlement on the frontier of civilization

plantation - a newly established colony (especially in the colonization of North America)

proprietary colony - a colony given to a proprietor to govern (in 17th century)

n a community of people smaller than a town

the act of colonizing; the establishment of colonies

an area where a group of families live together
https://www.vocabulary.com/dictionary/settlement

1. the act or state of moving into or settling in a place, or the state of being settled
2. a colony, esp. in its early stages
3. a small community, as in a thinly populated area.
http://www.wordreference.com/definition/settlement

Below are results for an Internet search **define m*igration*.**

1 Movement of people to a new area or country in order to find work or better living conditions.
2 Movement from one part of something to another.
https://en.oxforddictionaries.com/definition/migration

The definition of a migration is a movement to another place, often of a large group of people or animals.
http://www.yourdictionary.com/migration

Human migration is the movement by people from one place to another with the intentions of settling, permanently or temporarily in a new location. The movement is often over long distances and from one country to another, but internal migration is also possible; indeed, this is the dominant form globally. People may migrate as individuals, in family units or in large groups. A person who moves from their home to another place because of natural disaster or civil disturbance may be described as a refugee or, especially within the same country, a displaced person. A person seeking refuge from political, religious or other forms of persecution is usually described as an asylum seeker.

Nomadic movements are normally not regarded as migrations as there is no intention to settle in the new place and because

the movement is generally seasonal. Only a few nomadic people have retained this form of lifestyle in modern times. Also, the temporary movement of people for the purpose of travel, tourism, pilgrimages, or the commute is not regarded as migration, in the absence of an intention to live and settle in the visited places.
https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Human_migration#cite_note-1

Out-migration: to leave one region or community in order to settle in another especially as part of a large-scale and continuing movement of population
https://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/out-migrate

Out-migration: the process of people permanently leaving a place in order to live in another place
https://dictionary.cambridge.org/dictionary/english/out-migration

Below are results for an Internet search **define expropriation**.

1. to take possession of, especially for public use by the right of eminent domain, thus divesting the title of the private owner:
2. to dispossess (a person) of ownership:
3. to take (something) from another's possession for one's own use
http://www.dictionary.com/browse/expropriation

The concept of settlement in relation to possessing, exploiting or inhabiting areas can take on different shades of meaning. A settlement can be defined as a place occupied on a year-round and continuing basis, as distinct from a camp, site or station inhabited temporarily, casually, or seasonally. The term settlement can also refer to the process of creating a temporary or permanent abode around which humans focus various social, economic or political activities. Additionally, settlement can be conceived as the occupation of a region by either nomadic or sedentary groups, and as occurring in either prehistory or historic periods. Prehistoric and early aboriginal settlement is dealt with in other sections of the *Encyclopedia*. The present article is limited to a discussion of the development of European settlement of the Province.

… Late seventeenth century settlements were simple communities of planters, their servants and families. The planter household was the fundamental economic unit, producing, with indentured labour, salted cod and train oil for overseas markets.

… The advantages and disadvantages of settlement in Newfoundland were debated in the seventeenth century in both England and France, which between them effectively controlled the Newfoundland fishery. On the one side people (mostly the more successful migratory adventurers) maintained that Newfoundland was uninhabitable because of the harsh climate and lack of soil for farming. … Pro-settlement advocates argued that Newfoundland was habitable. Settlement would promote a more efficient fishery and forestall the French (or the English). The practical advantages of settlement became increasingly apparent as the century wore on, and some limited degree of over-wintering was encouraged or at least tolerated.

… The economic basis of settlement economy almost everywhere was the production of dried salt cod and cod oil by planters. Planters had the same need and preferences as the migratory fishermen in that both groups produced the same staples in the same manner from the same resources. Both groups needed good landing areas for boats in well-sheltered sites near the fishing grounds. The minimal natural require-

ments of a boat crew, planter or migratory fisherman was a site that offered some convenience to build and maintain fish landing facilities (a wharf and stage) and to cure the fish; and access to a fishing area. The best sites had good shelter and anchorage, easy access to water and wood and the availability of other resources -- seals, salmon, capelin, seabirds, wildfruit and mammals.

… It may be roughly estimated that British immigrants created 200-250 settlements up to the 1830s. Subsequently settlements were established by the growing native-born populations who moved outward from the established communities, mainly within the Old English Shore and from the various eighteenth-century mercantile centres of the West of England merchants.

… Economic forces, combined with development in the Province's internal transportation, have contributed to major changes in the system of settlement, and some shifting of population into urban centres. … Recent changes have contributed much to an urbanization of settlement and a drastic shifting of population from hundreds of tiny isolated outports into fewer larger places, mostly urban centres or service centres, which are on or near the Trans-Canada Highway or well-linked settlements on the different peninsulas. Many of the older mercantile centres formerly served by ships are stagnant or in decline, and a few have been abandoned.

Abridged from ENL article by W. Gordon Handcock from Carol Brice-Bennett (1992), Gillian Cell (1969; 1982), A.P. Dyke (1969), W. Gordon Handcock (1977; 1989; 1993), C.G. Head (1976), Lawrence Jackson (1982), Alan G. Macpherson (1977), John Mannion (1974; 1977), Keith Matthews (1988), Rosemary Ommer (1977), Chesley W. Sanger (1977), Michael Staveley (1977; 1982), Patricia Thornton (1977; 1985), Richard Whitbourne (1620), Atlas of Newfoundland and Labrador (1991), Census (1836-1991), English Pilot (1689), Historical Atlas of Canada (2 vols. 1987; 1993), Newfoundland: From Dependency to Self-reliance (1980), CO 1 (Census, 1675-1684), CO 194 (Census 1708).

In the Newfoundland and Labrador context the term resettlement refers to a process whereby organized efforts have been made to centralize the population. Between 1954 and 1975 there were three resettlement programs introduced in Newfoundland and Labrador by the provincial and federal governments, which resulted in the abandonment of 300 communities and 30,000 people being moved, mostly from small, isolated fishing communities to larger *growth centres*. … However, changing settlement patterns and the abandonment of communities have long been features of Newfoundland and Labrador history.

… One of the earliest proponents of assisted concentration of population was John Haddon, one of the first two government-appointed school inspectors, who wrote of Green Bay in 1865:

> Could the settlers upon those barren little islands, and in the rugged creeks and coves which present no basis for growth or prosperity, be induced to remove *en masse* to some eligible well selected sites for four or five towns, at the head of the Bay, where the land is rich, well wooded and level, they would sooner, I fancy, find the blessings of civilization than by any other course, and ensure to themselves and successors future and permanent prosperity -- then only can they have resident clergymen, doctors, efficient schools, &c., with the great blessing of good roads, and I am persuaded the fishery interests would not suffer by the change.

… The Province's settlement pattern can, of course, be traced to traditional dependence upon resource industries.

An examination of Newfoundland and Labrador population statistics reveals an exception to the trend towards increasing urbanization that was characteristic of western society during the nineteenth century. Thus St. John's, by far the most important commercial and administrative centre of the Island, actually experienced a decline in its share of total population, from 20% to 13%, between 1836 and 1901. Even if one uses the relatively liberal measure of urbanization as consisting of those communities with a population of 1000 and over, there is a significant

trend away from urbanization, with some 21% of the total population residing in such communities in 1836 as against 18% in 1901. Given that the total population of the Country tripled during this period these figures are surprising and are clear evidence of a major trend towards population dispersal during the nineteenth century. Undoubtedly this feature of the economy was largely a result of the Country's dependence upon the resource industries. It is also attributable to the fact that, until the early part of the nineteenth century, Newfoundland's population was heavily concentrated along the coastline between Trepassey and Twillingate.

... Newfoundlanders and Labradorians have historically been willing to relocate in response to employment opportunities. The history of settlement, therefore, has always been one of considerable *natural* or unassisted resettlement. In addition there have been several government-sanctioned attempts to centralize the population. Centralization and settlement of the Inuit was one of the major goals of the Moravian Church in northern Labrador, while the efforts of Dr. Wilfred Grenfell to provide health and educational services in southern Labrador and northern Newfoundland were also predicated on a general policy of centralization.

There have also been a number of less well-known schemes: to establish an agricultural settlement at Musgravetown in the 1860s; the establishment of "mainland" communities in the Wesleyville area by inhabitants of Swain's Islands and other island communities in northern Bonavista Bay in the 1880s; and the curious experiment of moving virtually the entire southwest coast community of Garia to Anticosti Island in 1873.

One instance where whole outports were abandoned in favour of resettlement in other communities came shortly after the great tidal wave of 1929, which cost the lives of 29 people and inflicted millions of dollars in property damage, and prompted many residents of islands or low-lying headlands of the south coast to move to the better protected harbours of the Burin Peninsula.

… The decline of many of the smaller and more isolated communities continued throughout the late 1940s and early 1950s. Improving services at the larger centres and the construction of new roads to link up some larger communities were major factors, as was the increasing availability of marine engines. The traditional fishing industry was undergoing a major reorganization.

... No element of spatial structure change was, however, more controversial than the government sponsored resettlement programs implemented between 1954 and 1975. … Equally important was Premier Joseph R. Smallwood's intention to industrialize and diversify the Province's economy. Industrialization required sizeable pools of labour, and government, with characteristic optimism, foresaw the possibility of shortages. Moreover, the government was receiving numerous requests for relocation assistance from island communities of Bonavista Bay.

… There is little doubt that the resettlement of these communities did reduce the costs of providing services. Moreover, with strong evidence that the inshore fishery, which provided the economic base for the majority of these outports, was becoming unprofitable, it made poor economic sense to provide expensive government services to *dying* communities. But one of the major arguments against the centralization program was that it did not lead to an improvement in earned income or employment opportunities. In fact many families went from productive (if low paying) employment to unemployment insurance and welfare.

… Subsequent studies, however, have indicated that most resettled families were satisfied with the move. The advantages most often cited were improved public services, the reduction of isolation and better educational opportunities for children. But in some areas, particularly in Placentia Bay, much dissatisfaction has been expressed. When opportunities expected from industrial development in the Come by Chance-Arnold's Cove area did not reach expectations many people were forced to return to the inshore fishery -- from a base far removed from their traditional fishing grounds. In fact, in Placentia Bay many fishing families return to their former homes during the fishing season. The one attempt to re-establish a resettled community, at Red Island in the early 1980s, failed.

… Some 307 communities were abandoned between 1946 and 1975, the total number of settlements declining from 1300 to fewer than 1000. Between 1954 and 1975 approximately 28,000 people were relocated.

Abridged from ENL article by Brian C. Bursey/RHC from sources Parzival Copes (1972), Michael F. Harrington (1990), Iverson and Matthews (1968), Cato Wadel (1969), Robert Wells (1960), Census (1836-1986), Report to the Joint Planning Committee from the Newfoundland Resettlement Committee (1973), Report of the South Coast Commission, 1957 (1957), Report Upon the Inspection of Protestant Schools For the Year 1865 (1866), Statistics: Federal-Provincial Resettlement Program (1975?)

Until the 1960s our conception of the Island and how we live on it was governed by our knowledge of its 6,000 miles of coast. The railway *opened* the interior of the Island nearly 70 years before, but it didn't really change our perception of our geography which had developed over the course of four centuries.

People in government and business *knew* only a coastal view of the Island and considered the interior a *meta incognita* of vast resources and mysterious potential. Until we completed *the drive in '65, thanks to Mr. Pearson* wholesalers and shippers still operated fleets of coastal steamers and schooners to supply the coasts of the Island and Labrador. Labrador is still coastal, which is about to change with a new network of highways in southern Labrador now connecting to the trans-Labrador highway through western Labrador and on into Quebec.
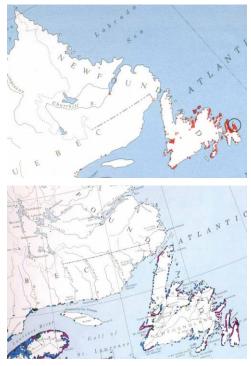
Even today there are fewer than 40 Island communities without immediate access to salt water.

An 1892 handbook included the sailing distances from St. John's to Bonne Bay (*The Capital of the West Coast*). Comparing them to a modern highway distance table from a *tourist map* there is an obvious loss of *linearity* and, consequently, some sense of discontinuity. The *stately* progression of a coastal steamer has given way to the frenetic haste of the automobile; the trip has become a barely tolerable *nuisance* rather than a life experience.

Two map sections from *The National Atlas of Canada* (1974) emphasize the coastal aspects of our geography.

The first shows the 1941 distribution of population for Newfoundland. Each red dot represents about 1,000 people and the circle around the northeast Avalon, centered on St. John's represents 40,000 people. The map is on pages 93 and 94 of the Atlas.

The second map section from the National Atlas of Canada pages 105-106 shows the 1961 population density.

Around or across the Island

A few hours by car, a day by train, a few days by boat. Newfoundland transportation has followed these timelines for 40 years, 70 years, and 400 years in turn. In an 1892 handbook sailing distances between ports were shown. Interestingly it was about the same distance between St. John's and Bonne Bay (the *Capital of the West Coast*) regardless of route (626 miles on the Northern route vs. 651 on the Western). In 1892 the Northern route included stops at three new mining towns in Notre Dame Day.

Since 1992 and the cod industry moratorium knowledge of what the land looks like from the sea is fading; unused cod trap berths and salmon net berths are in danger of being forgotten.

http://www.cbc.ca/history/EPISCONTENTSE1EP16CH3PA1LE.html takes a rather generalized view, somewhat negative, of the official resettlement process. Particularly obnoxious is the tenor set by the opening line, "the provincial government began wiping out a coastal culture that had existed for hundreds of years." As discussed most resettled communities were less than 200 years old and many more less than 100.

> Less than a decade after Newfoundland joined Canada, the provincial government began wiping out a coastal culture that had existed for hundreds of years.

> Between the mid-1950s and the early 1970s, the Newfoundland government led by Premier Joey Smallwood closed 250 coastal villages. Thirty thousand people were uprooted and relocated to larger villages and towns.

> "Most people in my village were fishermen," said Bruce Wareham. "Maybe 90 per cent of them. They just moved these people away from their fishing grounds. I do not know what will happen next. I think it is very sad."

> Newfoundland's dependence on the fishery had made it Canadas poorest province. Over the course of five hundred years, fishermen had established hundreds of small, isolated communities along the rocky shoreline.

> But the small outport fishing industry was in decline. By the 1950s, large, mechanized fishing vessels were becoming the norm and small-boat operators couldn't compete.

> The provincial government also decided that it could not afford to bring modern services to these outports, many of which could be reached only by sea.

> Premier Joey Smallwood seized on a radical solution of re-location. He argued that resettlement in larger communities would reduce government expenditures on education, health care and

social service. Smallwood also wanted to wean Newfoundland-ers from the cyclical and risky business of fishing, to retrain them for other work.

The massive program introduced many Newfoundlanders to the amenities of modern, urban life: electricity, telephone, schools, roads. Many Newfoundlanders welcomed the governments initiative.

"We have re-settled at last," said Charlie Parish, one of the up-rooted villagers. "We have a new house, and I will soon be able to buy a car. I am grateful."

A re-located fisherman echoed the sentiments.

"This is our new land. This is our new home. Everything will be ok. I'm quite content on what I'm gonna do in many years. Quite content of it. Me old days is over. "

But for some, the relocation wasn't welcomed; it starkly signaled the end of an era and the death of a way of life.

"What can I do? I never worked on the land. I went on the water when I was 13 now I'm 60."

-30-

A quick search for NL resettlement images provides a handful of icons images all variants of the floating house under tow or about to be dragged ashore.

Appendix G: Abandonments in the United Kingdom

http://www.abandonedcommunities.co.uk/places.html gives the life stories of about 50 communities scattered across the United Kingdom.

In the introduction to the web pages, which link out to the communities' detailed histories, the author wrote:

> Some places have been abandoned at a single point in time, while others have been gradually depopulated until there was no-one left. In some cases the forces of nature have made a major contribution to the abandonment, but more often economic and social changes have caused people to move away, or the decision of a powerful individual, organisation, or government has compelled inhabitants to leave.

The website links to Oliver Goldsmith's poem *The Abandoned Village* which verses would tug the hearstrings of any resettled Newfoundlander:

> Good Heaven! What sorrows gloom'd that parting day,
> That called them from their native walks away;
> When the poor exiles, every pleasure past,
> Hung round their bowers, and fondly looked their last,
> And took a long farewell, and wished in vain
> For seats like these beyond the western main;
> And shuddering still to face the distant deep,
> Returned and wept, and still returned to weep.

A sampling shows the processes of abandonment have been around since medieval times and the causes of abandonment all too familiar. Interesting to note is the high proportion of communities in Wales where the rural agricultural base had similarities to Newfoundland's rural fishing base.

The stories are familiar.

> People lived on the island of Hirte, one of the St Kilda group of islands, for a thousand years. In 1930 they asked to be evacuated. Their way of life was no longer viable.

In 1920 a community was created at Teesport when a submarine base was turned into housing. The housing was condemned in 1934 and everyone had to leave.

Dylife was a thriving lead mining community during most of the nineteenth century, but falling lead prices meant that it became unprofitable. When it closed there was no other significant employment in the area. All its residents moved away.

The village of Cosmeston was abandoned in the fourteenth century, possibly as a result of the Black Death. Parts of it have been reconstructed and opened to the public.

Temperance Town was a district close to the centre of Cardiff, built in the 1860s to promote abstinence from alcohol. It was demolished in 1937 to improve the approach to the railway station and create space for a bus station.

The village of Binnend in Fife was built in 1881 to house staff at the Binnend shale oil works. By 1894 the oil works had closed, but the village survived until 1954, when the last inhabitant left.

In the Tywi Valley the castles at Dinefwr and Dryslwyn lost their military significance in the fifteenth century. The castles and the small towns associated with them were abandoned.

The village of Lowfield Heath developed in the eighteenth century as it was on the London to Brighton road. It came to an end after the development of Gatwick airport.

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