

FROM COD TO CONSERVATION:
THE INTERSECTION OF TOURISM, THE COD MORATORIUM, AND
TELECOMMUNICATIONS HISTORY IN NEWFOUNDLAND

A Thesis
Presented to the Faculty of the Graduate School
of Cornell University
In Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for the Degree of
Master of Arts

by
Shannon N. Cilento
May 2017

© 2017 Shannon N. Cilento

ABSTRACT

Since 1992 when the Canadian government declared a moratorium on the cod industry, Newfoundland's major economic engine, the province has been at a crossroads, struggling to reconcile its past and present to plan for the future. The province's planners are faced with buildings that are obsolete for their original use such as cable stations and fisheries, and have turned their attention to the development of their heritage tourism industry to encourage economic stability. This thesis explores the tourism and heritage conservation renaissance through the lens of historic sites associated with the telecommunications industry, including the Cable Station in Heart's Content, the Cable Building in Bay Roberts, and Cabot Tower at Signal Hill in St. John's. Although the cod moratorium had grave effects on the economy and welfare of Newfoundlanders, this thesis demonstrates that it served as an impetus for historic preservation.

This work combines historical research and primary source analysis with interviews and firsthand documentation to provide a tourism narrative for Newfoundland. It also serves to document historic telecommunications sites and their role in provincial tourism and the moratorium. The first two chapters describe the context for the study with regard to history and legislation, respectively. The third chapter illustrates the evolution of tourism over time in Newfoundland, while the final three chapters present the specific case studies.

BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH

Shannon N. Cilento was born and raised in Oswego, New York and graduated salutatorian from Mexico Academy and Central Schools in 2011. Following high school, Shannon received a presidential scholarship to attend the State University of New York at Oswego to pursue a degree in global studies and anthropology, focusing primarily on archaeology. During her time at SUNY Oswego, Shannon interned at the Schweinfurth Art Center in Auburn, New York and the Richardson-Bates House Museum and Fort Ontario State Historic Site in Oswego, New York. Shannon graduated *summa cum laude* in May 2015 and received the Norman E. Whitten Award for Excellence in Anthropology and the Outstanding Senior in Global Studies Award. Following graduation, Shannon began working full-time at Fort Ontario conducting archaeological collections research and planning community events.

In August 2015, Shannon moved to Ithaca, New York to earn a Master's Degree in Historic Preservation Planning at Cornell University. While at Cornell, Shannon served on the boards of the Preservation Studies Student Organization and Women's Planning Forum. Shannon was also the Assistant Residence Hall Director for the Prudence Risley Residential College for the Creative and Performing Arts from 2015-2017. In the summer of 2016, Shannon was a Joseph P. Keithley Fellow at Cleveland Restoration Society, a non-profit organization dedicated to preserving the historic built fabric of northeast Ohio. Shannon will graduate from Cornell University's College of Architecture, Art, and Planning with a Master of Arts in Historic Preservation Planning on May 28th, 2017.

To my family, for unconditional love and support throughout my many adventures.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

This thesis would not have been possible without the support of many wonderful people. First and foremost, I will be forever grateful for Michael Tomlan, Sherene Baugher, and Jeffrey Chusid for their guidance and commitment with this thesis and my graduate coursework.

To the people of Newfoundland, I thank you for your incredible hospitality and warmth, and for making me feel at home in a place I had never been. During each of my expeditions to The Rock, I was welcomed everywhere I went. I thank Linda Sooley, Eric Jerrett, Jerry Dick, the archivists at The Rooms Provincial Archives, and the librarians Memorial University Newfoundland for the invaluable information which they supplied. I am also grateful for the help from the New York Public Library and the Cornell University Library system.

To my HPP family, thank you for always inspiring me to think in different ways. To the Historic Preservation Planning Alumni, I thank you for the financial support in the form of a Barclay Jones Research Grant. To Olivia, thank you for repeatedly dragging me to the library to work on this thesis, always reminding me that I am capable, and being my partner in conquering this venture.

To the various amazing humans in my life, I thank you for always making me laugh and providing a shoulder on which I can lean. Finally, to my mother, thank you for your patience and encouragement when I had many a thesis cry, for the many care packages, and for your unconditional love. Mom, you are always right.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Biographical Sketch	iii
Dedication	iv
Acknowledgements	v
Table of Contents	vi
List of Illustrations	vii
Introduction	1
Chapter 1: A History of Newfoundland's Avalon Peninsula and Case Study Communities	8
Chapter 2: The Preservation Climate in Newfoundland	43
Chapter 3: The Changing Landscape of Tourism in Newfoundland	60
Chapter 4: Case Study—Cable Station, Heart's Content, Newfoundland	82
Chapter 5: Case Study—Western Union Cable Building, Bay Roberts, Newfoundland	109
Chapter 6: Case Study—Cabot Tower at Signal Hill, St. John's, Newfoundland	132
Conclusion	152
Bibliography	159

LIST OF FIGURES

I.1	Map of the Case Studies on the Avalon Peninsula of Newfoundland	3
1.1	1927 Rand McNally Map of Newfoundland	10
1.2	1879 Birdseye Drawing of the St. John's Harbor	21
1.3	Development along the St. John's Waterfront, circa 1880	22
1.4	Commercial Development on Water Street, St. John's, pre-1892	22
1.5	Former Stores along Water Street, St. John's after the 1892 Fire	24
1.6	Water Street, St. John's Before the Introduction of the Streetcar Line	25
1.7	Water Street, St. John's After the Construction of the Streetcar Line	25
1.8	Bay Roberts Harbour Sketch by William Gosse, 1830s	29
1.9	Early Heart's Content House	38
1.10	Early Heart's Content House	38
1.11	1861 Sketch of Heart's Content Harbour	38
1.12	Sketch of Cod Fishermen in Heart's Content, <i>Frank Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper</i> , October 31 st , 1885	41
3.1	Advertisement from the Newfoundland Government Railway's 1924 <i>Map Showing Newfoundland Government Railway and Steamship System</i>	64
3.2	Back Cover of the <i>Atlantic Guardian</i> , February 1947	67
3.3	2016 Newfoundland and Labrador Tourism Advertisement	76
4.1	Company Workers Outside Original Heart's Content Cable House, 1872	88
4.2	Cable Terrace Staff Quarters, Heart's Content, early 20 th Century	88
4.3	1876 Section of the Heart's Content Cable Station, September 2016	92
4.4	1918 Addition on the Heart's Content Cable Station, September 2016	92
4.5	Transatlantic Park, Heart's Content, September 2016	108
5.1	Bay Roberts Cable Trench, July 22 nd , 1910	113
5.2	First Cable Hut in Bay Roberts, 1910	113
5.3	Construction of the Bay Roberts Cable Building, October 8 th , 1913	115
5.4	The Completed Western Union Cable Building, Bay Roberts, 1918	115
5.5	Cable Avenue, Bay Roberts, 1930	116
5.6	Cable Company Staff House, Bay Roberts, 1913	116
5.7	Deteriorated Exterior, Bay Roberts Cable Building, 1994	120
5.8	Mold-Covered Interior, Bay Roberts Cable Building, 1994	120
5.9	Restored Exterior, Bay Roberts Cable Building, September 2016	123
6.1	William Howe Greene's Original Sketch of Cabot Tower, 1897	137
6.2	Cabot Tower, circa 1900-1910	137
6.3	Marconi and His Team on Signal Hill, December 12 th , 1901	140
6.4	Cover of the Official Come Home Year Pamphlet, 1966	144
6.5	Cabot Tower, September 2016	148
6.6	Parking Lot Expansion atop Signal Hill, September 2016	148
6.7	2017 St. John's Visitors' Guide Cover	150

INTRODUCTION

“In Newfoundland, when we say fish we mean cod.”

—Stella Bury, CBC radio interview,
1979¹

It has been 25 years since over thirty thousand Newfoundlanders abruptly lost their jobs when Canadian Minister of Fisheries and Oceans John Crosbie declared a moratorium on the Northern cod fishery. The 1992 announcement shattered many small communities whose residents made their livelihood off the coveted fish. This order was born out of technological changes in the fishing industry which rendered overfishing easy and unavoidable. Until the dawn of such technological advancements, Newfoundland’s waters had a seemingly limitless supply of cod, drawing numerous colonial powers to the northeast Atlantic for five centuries. One fisherman recalled a time when “the fish would gladly leap into the boat just to get out of the crowded sea.”² Newfoundland’s towns were built upon this industry and it would be difficult to find an aspect of the province’s history not influenced by it.

It has been 150 years since the era of global communication began when the world’s first trans-Atlantic cable was laid from Valentia, Ireland to Heart’s Content, Newfoundland.³ From that event on, Newfoundland became an epicenter for telegraphic communications due to its proximity to Europe. The telecommunications

¹ Janet Thomson and Manmeet Ahluwalia, “Remembering the mighty cod fishery 20 years after moratorium,” *CBC News* (Ottawa, ON), June 29, 2012, <http://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/remembering-the-mighty-cod-fishery-20-years-after-moratorium-1.1214172>.

² Ibid.

³ Ted Rowe, *Connecting the Continents: Heart’s Content and the Atlantic Cable* (St. John’s: Creative Publishers, 2009), 27.

industry remained a key feature of Newfoundland's culture and economy through the 1960s, when evolving technology made the telegraph obsolete. The architectural skeletons of the historic industry dot the landscape of Newfoundland's Avalon Peninsula, from telegraph relay stations to early wireless signal towers.

Statement of Purpose

This thesis explores and defines the intersection of these two histories within the context of tourism. Newfoundland is "like a biological refugium...where archaic cultural forms could persist and develop their own peculiarities in relative isolation."⁴ Cod fishing was certainly an archaism in Newfoundland which remained relatively unchanged throughout half a millennium, the tradition passed down from generation to generation often uninterrupted. The moratorium decimated communities across Newfoundland, leaving the province facing an uncertain future. While there has been considerable writing on the moratorium's effect on the economy and the marine environment, there has been little on how the historic built environment might have been affected. Yet, this impact on heritage conservation is real and worth considering. This thesis demonstrates that the cod moratorium was the primary impetus for both a campaign of historic preservation and heritage-based tourism.

Newfoundland has used its historic telecommunications sites to develop a narrative for tourist consumption. Three of these sites on Newfoundland's Avalon Peninsula are examined in this thesis: the Cable Station in Heart's Content, the Cable Building in Bay Roberts, and Cabot Tower in St. John's (I.1). This thesis looks at how these aforementioned sites fit into the context of tourism in Newfoundland before and

⁴ Philip E. L. Smith, "In Winter Quarters," *Newfoundland and Labrador Studies* 3, no. 1 (1987), 29.



Fig. I.1. A map of the Avalon Peninsula of Newfoundland illustrating the three case study locations. *From the author.*

after 1992 and how the moratorium affected them and their respective communities. Tourism has evolved to accommodate built heritage, but it first promoted the natural environment rather than architecture. As Chapter 3 finds, organizations began marketing Newfoundland in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries as a paradise for those with an affinity for nature and sport. The telegraph industry was at its peak during those years and its associated buildings were not yet valued as historic. By the time of the moratorium, the telegraph industry had become extinct and the anachronistic architectural remnants it left behind provided an untapped resource which could anchor the drive for heritage tourism. The case studies presented in this thesis illustrate how these historic sites have been preserved, how they fit into the changing landscape of tourism, and their various roles in the modern tourism renaissance in Newfoundland.

Note on Terminology

There are several terms that are used in the course of this thesis whose definitions are crucial to the understanding of the text as a whole. *Outport* is a word used in traditional Newfoundland discourse, both academic and colloquial, which refers to any coastal community in the province except St. John's, which is considered a city. Outports are rural, small communities that typically relied upon fishing as their mainstay. Thus, the outports were those most devastated by the moratorium. Outports have been experiencing great population decline since 1992, as many residents have had to relocate to St. John's or other provinces in Canada to find employment. *Fishery* is another term used throughout. It refers to the cod fishery and its various associated components, and to the fishing industry in Newfoundland as a whole, including

fishing, processing, and sale. *Telecommunications sites* refers to the physical legacies left behind by the telegraph industry such as wireless signal towers, superintendent's houses, workers' houses, storage buildings, et cetera. Such buildings can be found across Newfoundland, primarily on the Avalon Peninsula, the easternmost portion of the province.

Methodology

Several repositories were accessed and utilized to provide primary sources for this thesis. The Centre for Newfoundland Studies at Memorial University in St. John's, Newfoundland provided an invaluable wealth of newspaper articles from the case study communities, as well as historic photographs and other materials. The Rooms Provincial Archives in St. John's has an extensive collection of historic photographs, lithographs, and maps which also informed this thesis. The Bay Roberts Town Archives at the Cable Building in Bay Roberts, Newfoundland provided additional material regarding the Bay Roberts case study. Cyrus W. Field's personal papers in the Manuscripts and Archives Division at the New York Public Library provided insight into the early history of the telegraph industry. The Cornell University Library provided access to books and peer-reviewed articles, especially those on Newfoundland's history. The Library's Map Room and its collections were also utilized for historic maps of the province as well as historic tourism promotional materials. Visits to Heart's Content, Bay Roberts, and St. John's were made in May and September 2016 to collect data and document the sites firsthand. Interviews were also conducted with representatives of the Bay Roberts Heritage Society, Heart's

Content Cable Station Provincial Historic Site, and the Heritage Foundation of Newfoundland and Labrador.

Limitations

There are several limitations which impact this thesis. This thesis is not written by a native Newfoundlander, or even a Canadian. The relative remoteness of Newfoundland makes data collection difficult and expensive. Because of this, visits were limited to two brief trips, one at the beginning and one at the end of the provincial tourist season. During said trips, weather greatly impacted the ability to access locations outside of St. John's, especially Heart's Content. There is one highway leading to Heart's Content which gets washed out during the frequent rainstorms Newfoundland experiences, rendering the Cable Station largely inaccessible; this both delayed and shortened the September 2016 site visit. During both trips however, contacts were made with various people in the communities, and associated organizations, who provided invaluable assistance during and after the visits. These lines of communication partially overcame the relative inaccessibility.

Chapter Overview

This thesis contains six chapters. The first examines Newfoundland's natural environment and historical development, with attention to the fishery and its impact. The histories of the case study communities—St. John's, Bay Roberts, and Heart's Content—are presented in order of their founding. Chapter 2 introduces the organizations and legislation that shaped the preservation climate in Newfoundland. This chapter describes acts, both federal and provincial, pertinent to heritage conservation, including Newfoundland's confederation into Canada and the 1992 cod

moratorium, as well as the organizations that have championed preservation in the case communities. Chapter 3 bridges the first two and the case studies, illustrating the dynamic landscape of tourism in the province. It divides the history of tourism in Newfoundland, dividing it into three distinct eras, tracing the evolving trajectory of tourism after the moratorium. Chapters 4, 5, and 6 comprise the case studies supporting this thesis.

Each of the final three chapters begins with a site history to inform readers of the significance of the structure, followed by a narrative of the preservation history. Finally, each site's role in the province's tourism narrative is assessed. Their significance has evolved over time from communications center to historic site, providing an interesting lens from which one can see the impact of a changing tourism industry. The sites' relationships with the moratorium are also addressed. The Cable Building in Bay Roberts was directly impacted by the moratorium, and while the Cable Station in Heart's Content and Cabot Tower in St. John's existed as historic sites before 1992, they were in no way immune to the impacts of the legislation. A concluding chapter ends this thesis, describing the major conclusions to be drawn, as well as a critical look toward the future of tourism and the economy in Newfoundland.

CHAPTER 1
A HISTORY OF NEWFOUNDLAND'S AVALON PENINSULA
AND CASE STUDY COMMUNITIES

Newfoundland's history is complex and rich, although primarily characterized by maritime development and the cod fishery. This chapter briefly discusses the entire province, but focuses on the development of the Avalon Peninsula and the case study communities. It is organized into six sections: the natural environment, first inhabitants, European encounters and the dawn of the fishing industry, St. John's, Bay Roberts, and finally, Heart's Content. The purpose of this chapter is to create a narrative for these places so that the case studies presented later have a context.

Newfoundland's Natural Environment

A history of Newfoundland requires an examination of the natural environment and ecology of what has been aptly named "The Rock." Understanding the environment is crucial because Newfoundland's position, resources, and topography were the very reasons the island was first settled. They also caused many issues faced by settlers and present-day inhabitants. Newfoundland is a large island off the eastern coast of North America, separated from Labrador in the north by the Strait of Belle Isle and from Cape Breton Island to the south by the Cabot Strait, bordered on the west by the Gulf of St. Lawrence and the Atlantic Ocean to the east. Newfoundland has an area of 108,860 square kilometers with 9,656 kilometers of coastline (Fig. 1.1).⁵ The Avalon Peninsula is the southeastern portion of the island, connected by a

⁵ "Statistics Canada, 2006," *Statistics Canada*, 2010, <http://www12.statcan.gc.ca/census-recensement/2006/dp-pd/hlt/97-550/Index.cfm?TPL=PIC&Page=RETR&LANG=Eng&T=101>.

thin isthmus to the rest, flanked on either side by the Trinity and Placentia Bays.⁶

Due to its proximity to Europe, rendering it closer than any other North American land mass, Newfoundland was able to become the epicenter of the trans-Atlantic telegraph industry. Before this era, however, Newfoundland was being settled for its fishing potential, becoming a major hub for New World commerce.

Geographically, the nature of the currents in the waters surrounding Newfoundland allow for a very fertile marine environment. This lent itself to the fishing industries of both the indigenous peoples and many others who came to inhabit the island and influence its early development. The Labrador Current has two branches which run along the eastern seaboard of North America. The Gulf Stream also extends up the coast before moving east into the North Atlantic at Newfoundland. The convergence of waters from both these currents creates a hospitable environment for phytoplankton, essential for the most vital marine ecosystem. Shelf water, or warmer waters receiving the most sunlight, and constant input of fresh water from the currents then mixes with the North Atlantic Current. This continuous and regular mixing of the currents brings nutrient-rich water to the surface, allowing for phytoplankton populations to grow; phytoplankton is the basis of the food chain in the North Atlantic marine ecosystem. Simultaneously, the chilled water of the Labrador Current impedes the growth of bacteria which would otherwise pose a serious threat to the phytoplankton. This high availability of phytoplankton permits the growth of the fish population, particularly cod, and became the major pillar of sustenance among

⁶ E. R. Seary, et al., *The Avalon Peninsula of Newfoundland: An Ethno-linguistic Study* (Ottawa: National Museum of Canada, 1968), 1.

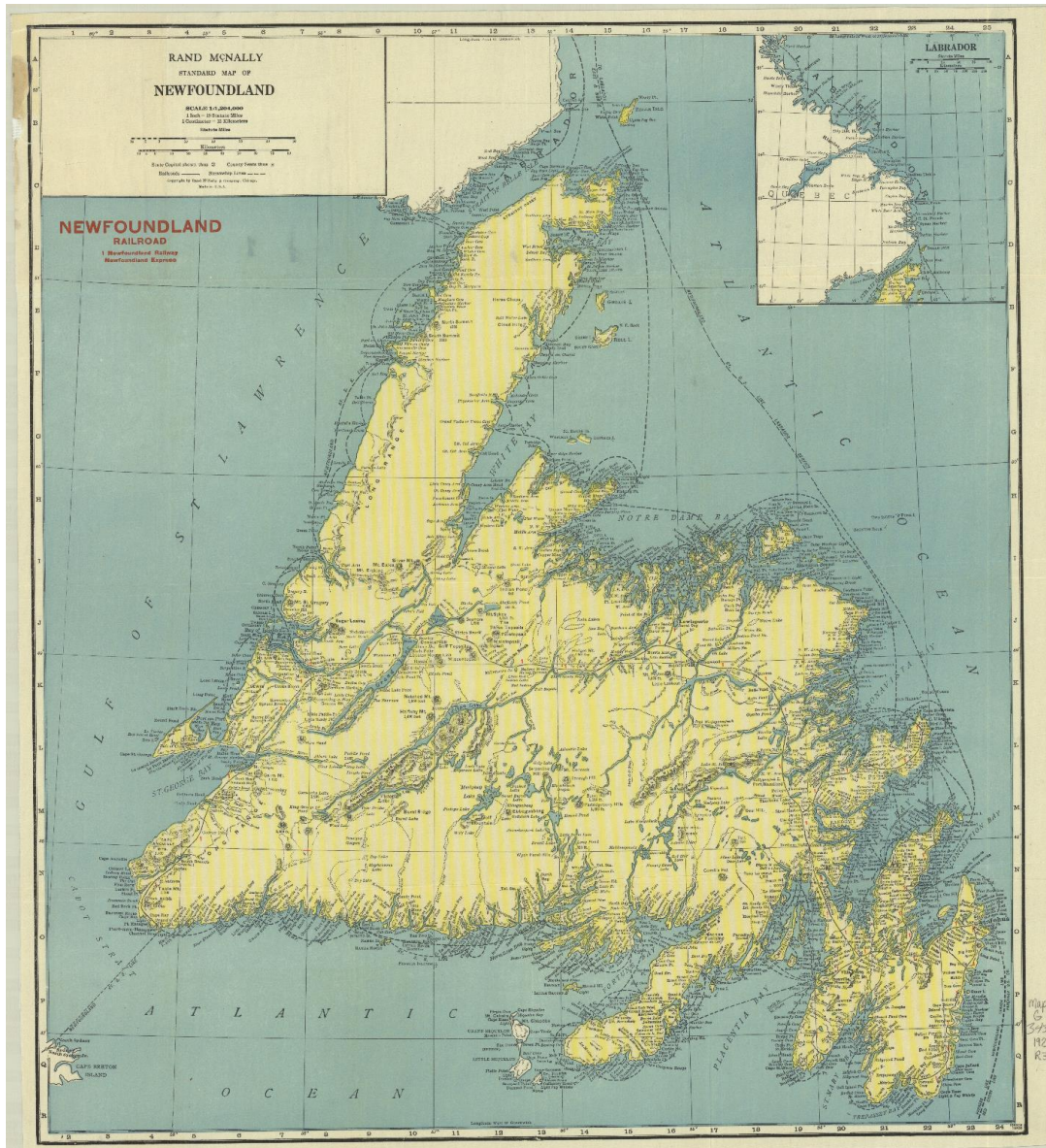


Figure 1.1. A 1927 map of Newfoundland created by Rand McNally, showing the island of Newfoundland and surrounding waters. The Avalon Peninsula is shown in the lower right. *From Rand McNally's 1927 Standard Map of Newfoundland.*

Newfoundlanders.⁷ Settlements in Newfoundland grew along the coastline and that pattern is still evident today, as communities grew with the prevalence of the cod industry. The Irish, who came to represent a major portion of Newfoundland's population, called the island *Talamh an Éisc*, meaning “the fishing ground” or “land of the fish.”

Newfoundland has a very rocky terrain with poor soil quality. About ten thousand years ago, the Wisconsin Glacier retreated and scraped the island of Newfoundland bare of much vegetation and soil, leaving a rocky and rough terrain in its wake.⁸ The result was naked bedrock at the highest points, gravel and rocks on most high grounds, and sand-silt-gravel mix in the lowlands, particularly along riverbeds. One-third of Newfoundland has no soil covering its ground. Because of this, limited agriculture, including the raising of cattle and sheep, is only able to develop in select areas in the river watersheds of Newfoundland, where grass can grow for grazing. This lack of soil and vegetation further encouraged reliance on the fishing industry and desire to develop communities on the coast.⁹

First Inhabitants—Indigenous Peoples and the Norse

Before Cabot's landing at Newfoundland in 1497, the island had been inhabited primarily by indigenous peoples, including the Beothuk, with a short period of Viking settlement around 1000 AD. Although these two groups lived on the mainland of Newfoundland rather than the Avalon Peninsula, their presence is

⁷ Sean T. Cadigan, *Newfoundland & Labrador: A History* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2009), 5.

⁸ Patrick O'Flaherty, *Old Newfoundland: A History to 1843* (St. John's: Long Beach Press, 1999), 1.

⁹ Cadigan, *Newfoundland & Labrador*, 7.

important. What is known regarding the original inhabitants of Newfoundland has been drawn from modern archaeological work, much of which has been conducted over the past two decades. Maritime Archaic Indians were probably the first peoples to set foot on Newfoundland, crossing the Strait of Belle Isle around 3000 BC onto the northwest reaches of Newfoundland and establishing camps at places like Port au Choix, where they were able to rely almost entirely on the sea for sustenance.¹⁰ From approximately 1000 BC until AD 800, various peoples from the Dorset and Little Passage cultures called Newfoundland home. The Beothuk, understood to be descendants of the Little Passage Indians, became the predominant indigenous group on Newfoundland by the fifteenth century. Sustaining a seafaring way of life through European contact, the last surviving Beothuk died in the early 1800s.¹¹ For a brief time, the indigenous population was not alone on Newfoundland, as the Vikings landed on what they called Vinland, or present-day L'Anse aux Meadows, around 1000 AD. L'Anse aux Meadows became a seasonal settlement for the Vikings, part of their greater north Atlantic empire, spanning Scandinavia, Iceland, Greenland, and Newfoundland. Viking occupation of the Great Northern Peninsula lasted only a decade, but left remnants of cultural and historical significance, such as sod houses and tools.¹² After the abandonment of L'Anse aux Meadows by the Vikings, the native peoples on the island had an interlude without external contact; this, however, did not last.

¹⁰ Cadigan, *Newfoundland & Labrador*, 14.

¹¹ Cadigan, *Newfoundland & Labrador*, 23-25; O'Flaherty, *Old Newfoundland*, 5-6.

¹² Cadigan, *Newfoundland & Labrador*, 28; O'Flaherty, *Old Newfoundland*, 8-9.

Europeans in Newfoundland and the Dawn of the Fishing Industry

John Cabot ushered in a new era of development when he landed in Newfoundland in 1497. With the Age of Exploration beginning in the late fifteenth century, the idea of reaching the New World to find a Northwest Passage to Asia rose to the forefront of several European agendas. The first major royal endorsement for north Atlantic exploration came from the English crown, which employed John Cabot, a Genoese-born master of an English vessel.¹³ Cabot was assigned to conquer “all mainlands, islands, towns, cities, castles and other places” that he may find, and in return he would be allowed to keep one-fifth of all the revenue and commodities.¹⁴ Cabot and his crew, including John Day who left the most detailed accounts of the voyage, landed in Newfoundland in 1497 and erected banners branded with King Henry VII and Pope Alexander VI’s respective coats of arms, only to return to the ship and continue along the coast for a month. Cabot returned to England to collect his pension from the king and was responsible for a 1498 westward voyage, from which he never returned.¹⁵

Despite this seemingly failed voyage, news of Newfoundland’s presence and the abundance of marine life spread throughout Europe, stimulating other nations to set out into the north Atlantic. At first, the prospects of spices and silk were alluring enough. It was the less exotic codfish that became the desired commodity however as Cabot recalled that the abundance of cod on the banks of Newfoundland could be

¹³ O’Flaherty, *Old Newfoundland*, 10.

¹⁴ Henry Percival Biggar, *The Precursors of Jacques Cartier, 1497-1534: A Collection of Documents Relating to the Early History of the Dominion of Canada* (Ottawa, ON: Ottawa Government Printing Bureau, 1911) 9.

¹⁵ Patrick O’Flaherty, *Old Newfoundland*, 10; Seary et al. *The Avalon Peninsula of Newfoundland*, 3.

caught by the basket.¹⁶ Portugal became the first power to prioritize voyages northwestward to see the marine abundance about which Cabot bragged. In 1500, Gaspar Corte-Real of the Azores set sail under King Manoel, finding Cape Farewell, Greenland before venturing on to Newfoundland in 1501. Corte-Real's crew sailed along the coasts of Newfoundland and Labrador, producing a Portuguese map entitled "Terra del Rey de Portugall," or "the Land of the King of Portugal." The map depicted a heavily wooded land, thought valuable for its potential to increase ship and mast production in Portugal. The 1501 crew was also reported to have forcibly kidnapped fifty Beothuk, who were consequentially placed in the slave trade.¹⁷

A permanent European presence in Newfoundland began in the early sixteenth century. Previously, England's traditional fishing grounds were off the coast of Iceland. When Cabot returned from his initial voyage, he allegedly reported that there was "no more need of Iceland," because Newfoundland's cod supply could not be rivaled.¹⁸ The fishing industry developed rapidly as governments sent expeditions to the island. A 1502 English voyage brought 216 barrels of salt cod back to the mother country, the first documented shipment from Newfoundland's waters, thus commencing one of the largest fishing industries the world would know.¹⁹ By the 1520s, the area which would become St. John's was the epicenter of a fight for fish. John Rut, an Englishman who was leading a fishing expedition to the area, wrote in 1527 that in that single harbor, "eleven saile of Normans, and one Brittain, and two

¹⁶ Biggar, *The Precursors of Jacques Cartier*, 20.

¹⁷ O'Flaherty, *Old Newfoundland*, 11.

¹⁸ Biggar, *The Precursors of Jacques Cartier*, 20.

¹⁹ O'Flaherty, *Old Newfoundland*, 12.

Portugall Barkes, all a fishing.”²⁰ This was the case all along the coast. The Basque fisherman of southern France and northeastern Spain arrived in the 1520s. The industry was primarily conducted as a shore fishery. Fleets would arrive, set up rudimentary camps, and fish with the shore in sight. Fish caught were then brought to shore for processing, where they were salted or prepared for “wet shipment.” It was not long before fishermen realized their business could be conducted offshore and entirely on their ships, reducing the time it took to complete a voyage. The Grand Bank, off the southeast shore of the Avalon Peninsula, were found to be the biggest breeding grounds for cod and became the hub for the offshore bank fishery, which was fully developed by 1550. Cod and cod liver oil became the most sought-after commodities, but the whaling industry also grew after Jacques Cartier sailed to the Strait of Belle Isle just north of Newfoundland.²¹ Although the waters surrounding the island were the most valued, the establishment of maritime industries set the stage for later permanent settlement in Newfoundland when the European powers desired official land claims and fishing territory.

St. John’s, The First City

Situated on the far eastern coast of the Avalon Peninsula, St. John’s is by far the biggest city in Newfoundland today, also serving as the capital for the province of Newfoundland and Labrador. It is the major political and commercial seat, with a metropolitan population of over 200,000 people, almost half of Newfoundland’s

²⁰ O’Flaherty, *Old Newfoundland*, 12.

²¹ *Ibid*, 13-14.

population.²² While fishing led to the development of the area, it was not until 1583 that the land was claimed by any nation. On August 5th, 1583, Sir Humphrey Gilbert established British rule under Queen Elizabeth in what became St. John's. Though the exact site is still debated, accounts reveal that the ceremony in which Gilbert took formal possession of the island occurred in a tent on the hillside. One account states "He [Gilbert] took possession of the said lande in the right of the Crown of England by digging up a turfe and receiving the same with a hazell wand delivered unto him after the manner and the lawe and customs of England."²³ After this, Gilbert was said to have emerged from the tent to music, merriment, and the waving of flags, to declare three laws for the "New Found Land"—public worship was to be done in accordance with the Church of England, any attempt to undermine the Queen's possession or rule over the land would be subject to hanging, drawing, and quartering, and that anyone speaking out against the Queen would be subject to "loose his ears and have his ship and goods confiscate [sic]."²⁴ Although this is the first official proclamation of any colonial claim to Newfoundland, Catholic Spanish, French, and Portuguese fishermen were still present, and would be for years to come.

After his formal declaration of British possession, Gilbert made land grants in St. John's to various merchants and captains he found fishing in the St. John's harbor. Each of these plots became ships' rooms, where fisherman would come onto shore to

²² "Population Estimates, July 1, 2001 to 2015, Census Divisions and St. John's Census Metropolitan Area (CMA), Newfoundland and Labrador," *Statistics Canada*, 2016, http://www.stats.gov.nl.ca/statistics/population/PDF/Population_Estimifae_CDCMA.pdf.

²³ Paul O'Neill, *The Oldest City: The Story of St. John's Newfoundland* (Portugal Cove-St. Philips, NL: Boulder Publications Ltd., 2008), 11.

²⁴ *Ibid*, 11.

cure and dry fish. These ships' rooms were key in the early development of the waterfront because settlers were not allowed in them or to construct on these plots of land.²⁵ In 1584, the Newfoundland Company was established by Edward Hayes with the hopes of forming a permanent settlement where Gilbert had declared the land British in the prior year. These plans did not materialize however, until 1610 when John Guy of the Newfoundland Company chartered the first official colony within the island at Cupid's Cove, just southeast of present-day Bay Roberts.²⁶ During this time, permanent settlers began to assume the land claims from Gilbert along the harbor, punctuated by the ships' rooms, by building houses and planting gardens and orchards on their plots. The 1675 census records a permanent population of 185 people in St. John's. In addition to this, there were 155 head of cattle, a small amount of sheep, and twenty-tree stages for curing and drying fish. The following census, taken in 1677, counted 249 people, 27 residences, 45 fishing stages, and an additional eight horses had joined the settlement.²⁷ The 1677 St. John's landscape was characterized by cleared land, houses, kitchen gardens, and ornamental trees. As St. John's continued to grow, it became the largest of the 28 established communities across the island and has never been surpassed in size.²⁸

The built environment of early St. John's was characterized by wood construction. One- and two-story timber saltbox houses were prevalent. Only a limited number of these original structures exist in St. John's today, but the style can still be

²⁵ O'Neill, *The Oldest City*, 15.

²⁶ *Ibid*, 14.

²⁷ *Ibid*, 17.

²⁸ *Ibid*, 18.

seen predominantly in outport towns. Wood construction gained popularity in early St. John's because building houses out of stone was more expensive and risky, as a governor or military representative reserved the legal right to burn or demolish a building because there were no formal property right for individuals at the time, but rather the Queen controlled all the land on which the settlers built.²⁹ The ships' rooms and fishing stages occupying the waterfront areas of the harbor inhibited the construction of streets and roads, so the city grew in a disorganized fashion, an arrangement that survives today.³⁰

St. John's continued its pattern of growth through the eighteenth century due in part to the arrival of many Irishmen, who were trying desperately to escape their impoverished homeland. English ships travelling to St. John's would often stop at Irish ports before continuing to the New World, giving Irish people a chance to embark on a new life.³¹ During the first decade of the 1700s, relations between France and Britain were tumultuous, resulting in the burning of several parts of St. John's by the French. Peace between the two powers resumed by 1709 and St. John's grew without the threat of French arson. By 1735, the city had sixteen taverns and a commercial district. The population passed one thousand in the early 1760s, with over three hundred houses, the majority occupied by Irish immigrants.³² The connections to trade and immigration between St. John's and Waterford, Ireland also grew in the

²⁹ O'Neill, *The Oldest City*, 18.

³⁰ *Ibid*, 19.

³¹ *Ibid*, 19.

³² *Ibid*, 20-21.

latter half of the eighteenth century. A 1796 report in *The Times* of London described St. John's as such:

The town of St. John is situate [sic] on the west side of the harbour. The houses are irregular and scattered. In the fishing season, which begins in May and ends in September, there are perhaps 5,000 people there; many of them return to England annually with the ships...In the harbour there are some very convenient wharves...The houses are built of wood, and covered with shingles; should a fire happen, the consequences must be dreadful...the summer being short and the winter very severe...the country is covered with woods, which are impenetrable, except by beaten paths.³³

As the dawn of the nineteenth century approached, the permanent population of St. John's surpassed 3,700. Trade and other commerce grew to support the population, including shoemakers, tailors, blacksmiths, and teachers. Irish immigrants continued to arrive in the city. A British Act of Parliament in 1811 finally granted property rights to settlers in Newfoundland. This meant people could build residences and commercial buildings and businesses without fear of government seizure, allowing the built environment to grow greatly (Fig. 1.2). At the same time, the ships' rooms lining the waterfront were abolished so that the Water Street commercial downtown core could take shape as the population exceeded ten thousand. Governor Sir John Duckworth was responsible for this mercantile district growth and championed the ideas of private property and economic development. Duckworth granted land to many inhabitants of St. John's and divided the ships' rooms into lots that were auctioned off for thirty year leases, with incentives introduced to build with stone and brick. The material preferences were encouraged to avoid tragedies such as

³³ *The Times* (London, England), Oct. 14, 1796.

the Great Fire of London caused by easily flammable wood construction. Building codes were also conceived to steer the downtown construction. For example, commercial structures built downtown were to be at least two stories high, with partition walls of brick or stone at least twenty inches thick, and lessees needed to ensure proper drainage on their lots (Fig. 1.4).³⁴ This growth continued as the *Morning Courier* described on September 1st, 1845:

Go where you may in the most public part of the city and the carpenter's handiwork strikes the eye. No convenient place that admits of the foundation of a house is now unoccupied. The ground is becoming very valuable and the rents are very high so that those who build on their own land, or those who build on rented land, are equally the gainers. If this state of things is to continue, who that left here some forty years ago will know the city in its manhood?³⁵

A great fire broke out in St. John's in 1846 after these observations, but it did not stall the city's growth. Major infrastructural improvements occurred afterwards, such as road and sidewalk paving and construction, and new buildings quickly replaced those destroyed in the fire.³⁶

This development continued until the most devastating fire in 1892. July that year was particularly hot and dry in Newfoundland, and forest fires were frequent throughout the island. *The Evening Telegram* warned residents in St. John's to be vigilant to prevent fires in the closely-built, majority wood-construction town. On the evening of July 8th, a fire broke out in a barn on the hill up above downtown. The

³⁴ O'Neill, *The Oldest City*, 25.

³⁵ *Ibid*, 30.

³⁶ Joan Rusted, *St. John's: A Brief History* (St. John's: Breakwater Books Ltd., 2011), 36.

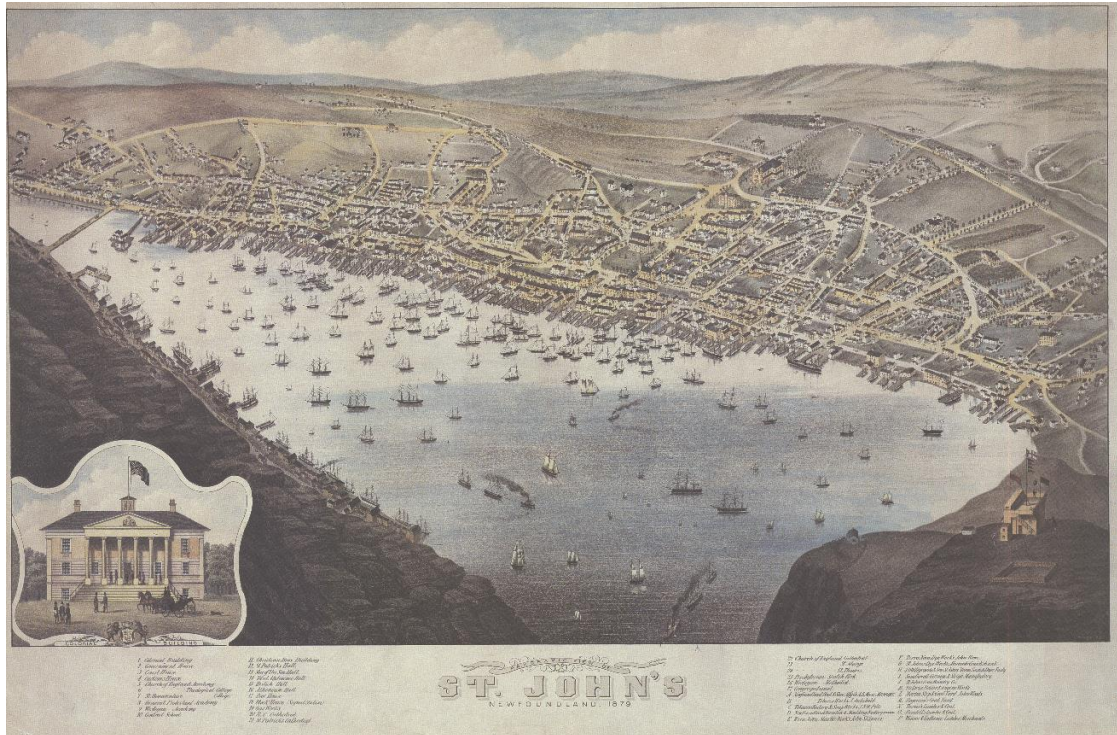


Figure 1.2. An 1879 birds-eye drawing of the St. John's harbor, showing its harbor-oriented density. From *1879 Panoramic View of St. John's, Newfoundland* produced in Ottawa.



Figure 1.3. A photograph, circa 1880, showing the development along the waterfront and the maritime activities taking place. *From the City of St. John's Archives.*



Figure 1.4. A pre-1892 photograph depicting the commercial development on the south side of Water Street in St. John's. *From the Memorial University Newfoundland Archives and Special Collections.*

town's firemen allegedly arrived too slowly, and the extreme northwesterly wind brought burning shingles and wood to the town below. The fire spread rapidly, destroying huge portions of St. John's, including the Church of England Cathedral, savings banks, printing businesses, schools, homes, and commercial buildings (Fig. 1.5).³⁷ Newspapers reported that between two-thirds and three-fourths of the city's built environment burned in the fire. The governmental relief committee formed to address the aftermath counted 1,550 houses destroyed and up to a third of the schools and churches. Within the eight months following the fire, six hundred new homes were constructed, as well as commercial buildings and other religious and academic structures, allowing for a large portion of the contemporary St. John's built environment to be attributed to the 1890s post-fire building boom.³⁸

Just prior to the fire, St. John's received municipal government status in 1888. St. John's, which then boasted a population of 30,000, elected its first council, comprised of five councilors and two government-appointed officials. The residents enjoyed many modern conveniences as a result of incorporation, including electric streetlights, public water supply, and public transportation in the form of electric streetcars (Fig. 1.6; Fig. 1.7). Propelled by the post-fire development and the introduction of modern metropolitan amenities, St. John's grew to be an influential financial and commercial center of the North Atlantic as the city entered the twentieth century. In 1921, the Newfoundland government's passage of the City of St. John's Act incorporated St. John's as a city, a title it did not previously hold. St. John's

³⁷ Patrick O'Flaherty, *Lost Country: The Rise and Fall of Newfoundland, 1843-1933* (St. John's: Long Beach Press, 2005), 176.

³⁸ *Ibid*, 177.



Figure 1.5. The 1892 fire destroyed a significant portion of the commercial downtown area, including these former stores along Water Street. *From the Memorial University Newfoundland Archives and Special Collections.*



Figure 1.6. Water Street, looking east, just before the introduction of the streetcar line. Water Street and the rest of downtown St. John's rapidly re-built itself after the 1892 fire. *From the Memorial University Newfoundland Archives and Special Collections.*

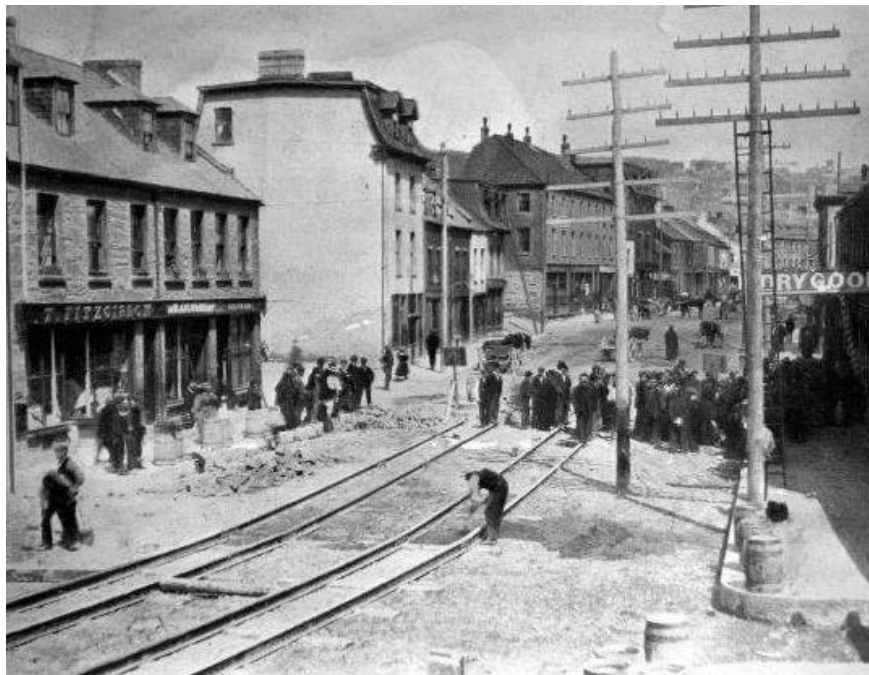


Figure 1.7. Water Street, one of the main downtown thoroughfares, benefitted from the construction of a streetcar line as one of the results of the post-1892 fire development. *From the City of St. John's Archives.*

remained the economic and industrial capital of the island until Newfoundland's adoption into the Canadian Confederacy in 1949, when it was officially declared the provincial capital.³⁹

Bay Roberts/Baie de Robert

Bay Roberts is a small town on the Avalon Peninsula, the population of which reached just over 5,800 in the 2011 census. Located on the northeast shore of Conception Bay, Bay Roberts is about ninety kilometers, or a one-hour drive from St. John's, and only a short distance from the Trans-Canada Highway, rendering it readily accessible to locals and tourists alike.⁴⁰ Bay Roberts sits at the intersection of two peninsulas jutting out into Conception Bay. In between the peninsulas sits the Bay Roberts Harbour, lined with many outpost communities such as Mercer's Cove, French's Cove, Bishop's Beach, Port de Grave, Blow Me Down, Ship's Cove, and others. Today it serves as a service center for the surrounding small outposts, as well as other towns throughout Conception Bay, rendering it one of the few Avalon Peninsula centers outside of the St. John's metropolitan area.⁴¹

The story of Bay Roberts begins in the late seventeenth century, when Newfoundland and its rich fishing grounds were highly desired by both the English and the French. Following the end of King William's War in 1697, Le Moyne d'Iberville led the French in a campaign by land and sea to take control off English towns along the Avalon Peninsula, thus gaining access to some of the richest fishing

³⁹ "History of St. John's," *St. John's, Newfoundland and Labrador* (Government website), 2016, <http://www.stjohns.ca/living-st-johns/your-city/st-johns-history/history-st-johns>.

⁴⁰ "Community Profile," *Town of Bay Roberts* (Government website), 2016, http://www.bayroberts.com/?page_id=878.

⁴¹ Ibid.

grounds in the world.⁴² During his career, d'Iberville destroyed 36 settlements across Newfoundland. When d'Iberville and the French were conducting this campaign, a British expatriate by the name of John Earle Sr. allegedly claimed he would fight to the death to protect his newfound home and fishing grounds. In the 1690s when the French were attacking Newfoundland, Earle was living on Little Bell Island, one of an archipelago of islands in Conception Bay a few kilometers offshore from present-day Bay Roberts. Earle and his family, along with several others, survived the French attacks on the natural redoubt of Little Bell Island. Because of this sanctuary, the Earles were able to relocate to the mainland and became the first permanent settlers of Bay Roberts. John Earle's sons also settled in Bay Roberts outports—his youngest, William at Jugglers Cove, and his eldest, John Jr. at Portugal Cove. Before the arrival of the Earles, migratory fishermen had used the Bay Roberts harbor as fishing grounds, but the Earles were the first family to settle permanently. Early maps show the town as both Bay Roberts and the French *Baie de Roberts*, named most likely for an early migratory fisherman from Jersey, England bearing the Robert surname.⁴³

Settlers in the area established themselves first at the ends of the peninsulas, such as Jugglers Cove, where they remained there until the 1920s, when most began to migrate westward onto the mainland now the heart of Bay Roberts. However, the westward migration began in 1705, when the threat of French invasion was imminent. The town of Bay Roberts grew from then on. In 1730, Robert Badcock was appointed constable, and stocks and a jailhouse were built. A one-room schoolhouse was also

⁴² Michael F. Flynn, *Historic Bay Roberts: Not Your Typical Small Town* (St. John's: Flanker Press, 2011), 1.

⁴³ *Ibid.*, 5.

constructed, under the tutelage of a male teacher. Two churches dominated religious life in Bay Roberts, the Wesleyan Church and the Anglican Church of England. In 1791, there were thirty members of the Wesleyan Church, while the Anglican Church was established in 1824 at St. Matthew's Church; an earlier Anglican church existed in Mercer's Cove, but St. Matthew's became the official home of the Church in the 1820s.⁴⁴ In 1829, the Newfoundland School Society established another school in Bay Roberts under the supervision of the Reverend Henry Lind.⁴⁵ The population began to grow significantly in the nineteenth century. Between 1836 and 1850 the population doubled, reaching 1,800 people and four schools were then in service for the area.⁴⁶

The economy was based on working the inshore cod, Labrador, and seal fisheries. In the mid-nineteenth century, over six hundred Bay Roberts residents fished off the Labrador coast each season. They supplemented their income the remainder of the year by cattle-rearing and other agricultural activities in Bay Roberts, as this was one of the few parts of the island with fields for grazing.⁴⁷ Because of the active fishing industry and the local availability of timber, Bay Roberts also became an early epicenter for ship-building. William Badcock, one of the early settlers in Bay Roberts, built the first ship in the bay, a sixty-ton schooner christened the *Fox* which carried a twenty-man crew to Labrador. As the Labrador fishery grew throughout the nineteenth

⁴⁴ "Early History of Bay Roberts," *Newfoundland's Grand Banks Genealogical and Historical Data*, 2016, <http://ngb.chebucto.org/Articles/early-history-bay-roberts-hg.shtml>.

⁴⁵ Ibid.

⁴⁶ Flynn, *Historic Bay Roberts*, 10.

⁴⁷ Ibid, 10.

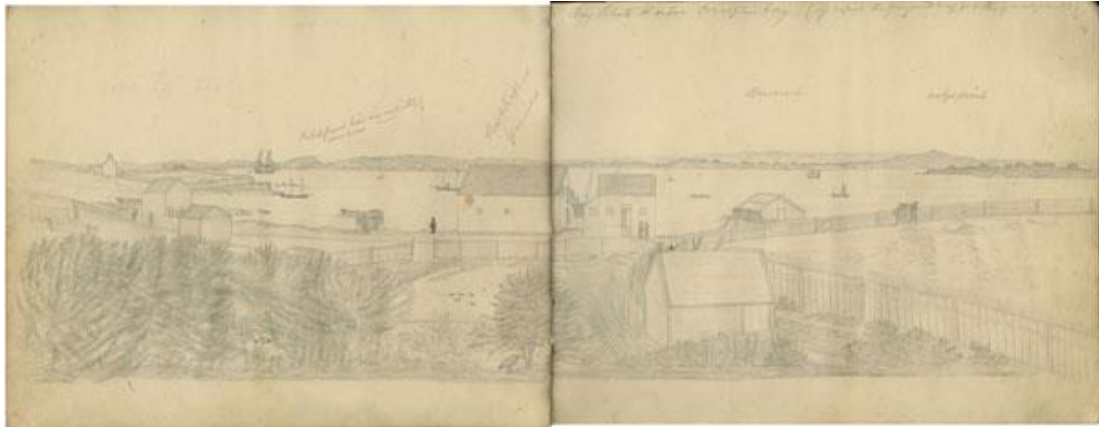


Figure 1.8. A late 1830s sketch by William Gosse depicting the Bay Roberts Harbour, and its built environment. *From The Rooms Provincial Archives.*

century, so did the number of boats constructed in Bay Roberts. The 1845 census registered 164 inshore boats and 18 schooners. The seal fishery grew as well during this time, and in 1837, Bay Roberts and Port de Grave sent 83 ships to seal-rich waters around Newfoundland and Labrador. By the end of the nineteenth century, fifty boats were being produced each year, despite the collapse of the Labrador fishery.⁴⁸

Bay Roberts was the site for two major projects in the final years of the nineteenth century, allowing infrastructural improvements for the town and the surrounding areas. In the late 1890s, several women from the nearby town of Coley's Point went door to door collecting signatures to ask the government to support a causeway between Coley's Point and Bay Roberts. The two goals of this project were to provide efficient and quick access from Coley's Point to Bay Roberts for services as well as to provide a project that could employ those local men who had lost their jobs as a result of the collapse of the Labrador fishery.⁴⁹ The Newfoundland government soon undertook this project in 1898, as reported in the *Harbour Grace Standard*:

[The] government is shortly to commence a very useful public work at Bay Roberts, one which will be found of practical use to the people of that place and the neighboring localities. That work is the building of a bridge or road bed across the harbour...the work shortly to be commenced will be found not only a serviceable one, inasmuch as it will furnish the necessary labour for the people, but it will also be one which will confer lasting benefit on the people of that part of the district.⁵⁰

⁴⁸ Flynn, *Historic Bay Roberts*, 23.

⁴⁹ *Ibid*, 181.

⁵⁰ *Harbour Grace Standard* (Harbour Grace, NL), Jan. 14, 1898.

The bridge was approximately six hundred feet in length, ten feet wide, and constructed of stone on either end, with wooden planks in the center. Deemed the Klondyke, referencing the good fortune of those who struck gold in the 1887 Klondike gold rush, the bridge project employed about one hundred men and cost about six thousand dollars. After the completion of the Klondyke, a ferry service in the Bay Roberts harbor began operating between Coley's Point to Mercer's Cove and French Cove across the harbor. It ran until 1933.⁵¹

In the same year that brought the Klondyke Bridge, Bay Roberts was connected to the rest of the island by railroad. Originally, the railway to Conception Bay North which opened in 1884 ran from Whitbourne inland on the Avalon Peninsula, up to Broad Cove and across to Tilton, terminating in Harbour Grace just north of Bay Roberts. In 1898, the railroad was rerouted from Brigus Junction to Carbonear and Harbour Grace, passing through Bay Roberts and its subsidiary towns and hamlets along the way. The railroad spurred more growth in Bay Roberts. The Reid Newfoundland Railway financed the construction of the Bay Roberts train station, a two-story traditional saltbox-style station in which the upper floor was designated as living quarters for the station master. The railroad transported goods to and from Bay Roberts, feeding the growth and prosperity of the local cooperage industry. Herring barrels, fish drums, and other fishing accoutrements were produced in Bay Roberts and shipped across Newfoundland and Labrador.⁵² It is evident that the

⁵¹ Flynn, *Historic Bay Roberts*, 184.

⁵² *Ibid*, 188-189.

introduction of the railroad to Bay Roberts was the primary reason the town was able to grow to the service center it is today.

In March 1896, *The Evening Telegram* published a story on Bay Roberts that painted a picture of the small maritime town, emphasizing amenities it had not just for fishermen.

The place can congratulate itself on possessing two residential medical men—Dr. McLeod and Dr. Bowden. Both these gentlemen have a good practice, though the residents are “healthy to a fault” from the practitioners’ financial standpoint...There is a “glow” of glory about the “village blacksmith,” particularly when he invents a “Calpin patent anchor” for the benefit of ships going to the sea...Shoemakers! Three of them...they are “pegging away” for cash and fame. Tinsmiths! There are two of these useful citizens so much spoken of at the hearth and home...Photographer! One, John Mercer, self taught and self perfected [sic]. There are several very elaborate houses...The Methodist Church is quite an attractive building...The [English] Church is over thirty years old and, yet, as it appeared in the bright moonlight late Friday night, it seemed to have been just passed out of the builder’s hands.⁵³

These aforementioned businesses persisted into the twentieth century, when the Western Union Telegraph Company established a telegraph station in 1910, changing the course of Bay Roberts development. The introduction of the telegraph, discussed at length in Chapter 5, transformed Bay Roberts from a traditional fishing and boat-building community into a union town with rising tensions between the new and old citizens.

⁵³ *The Evening Telegram* (St. John’s, NL), March 3, 1896.

Heart's Content

The small town of Heart's Content is located 45 kilometers (28 miles) northwest of Bay Roberts and is situated on Trinity Bay, which is home to some of the richest fishing grounds in Newfoundland. Heart's Content, like Bay Roberts and St. John's, developed around a small bay and today has a permanent population of just over four hundred people. Although not incorporated as a town until 1967, Heart's Content has a long history of settlement that predates the introduction of the transatlantic telegraph cable.⁵⁴ It is not certain where the town got its curious name, but there are several theories. The town is not alone in its peculiarity, as the towns of Heart's Desire and Heart's Delight are situated just south of Heart's Content. One explanation comes from the possibility that it was named for a pioneer fisherman with the surname Hart, while another suggests the harbor is shaped loosely like a heart. Others posit that the moniker derived from early accounts by fishermen, whereas they came into their "heart's delight" while yielding thousands of cod in the bay.⁵⁵ Regardless of the origin, Heart's Content has retained the current spelling since the mid-nineteenth century, and uses it today as a marketing tool and source of local lore.

The migratory fishing grounds near Heart's Content have been exploited for hundreds of years. The first written account of the area comes from John Guy, a merchant from Bristol, England who wrote extensively about his voyages to "New Found Land." Guy came with the desire to establish a trade network on the Avalon

⁵⁴ "Our Community," *Town of Heart's Content*, 2013, <http://www.heartscontent.ca/our-community.html>.

⁵⁵ Ted Rowe, *Heroes and Rogues and the Story of Heart's Content* (St. John's: Creative Publishers, 2011), 9.

Peninsula, where furs could be exchanged with the Beothuk. In 1610, Guy and several investors from England established the first settlement at Cupids and in 1612 he set out to find more sites for settlement when he came across the Heart's Content harbor. Guy and his team of explorers set sail in the *Endeavor* on October 7th, 1612, continuing onto Trinity Bay. The *Endeavor* faced strong winds in the Trinity Bay and could not yet continue on, but the small boat accompanying them was able to find refuge in a small "harbour of the South side of Trinity Bay called Hartes Content [sic]."⁵⁶ The *Endeavor* met the small boat several days later after the storm and the crew ventured on to explore the mainland and conduct trade with the Beothuk whom they encountered. The potential for the harbor to be fruitful fishing grounds was recognized immediately by various members of the crew, who found signs of migratory fishermen left behind after the previous season's end.⁵⁷

Following Guy's expedition to Trinity Bay, a British squire named Sir Percival Willoughby set out to gather settlers for Heart's Content. Willoughby was known as a particularly disagreeable man with an inclination for risky financial ventures and a temper, which eventually left him in poverty. His plan was to enlist settlers from the struggling Cupids colony to resettle in Heart's Content and his liaisons in Cupids gathered eight men to make the move. Willoughby's financing came up short however, and the plan never came to fruition.⁵⁸ After this, no settlement plans for Heart's Content were known until the 1670s, when settlement restrictions imposed by

⁵⁶ Rowe, *Heroes and Rogues*, 6.

⁵⁷ *Ibid*, 7.

⁵⁸ *Ibid*, 10.

the British government were softened. In 1675, naval commanders began conducting censuses on behalf of the Crown; this is where the first permanent settlers of Heart's Content begin to be recorded. The first recorded resident in these censuses was a fisherman named John Bennet in 1679, who prepared for the coming winter with £30 worth of provisions he obtained from a financier who he agreed to pay back in Newfoundland fish. Several others followed Bennet to settle in Heart's Content, but the population remained small through the eighteenth century.⁵⁹

Heart's Content fell victim to the campaign of Le Moyne d'Iberville. Following weeks of destruction, murder, and scalping of British Newfoundlanders, in February 1697 d'Iberville's forces came to "Havre Content," a term they used to describe Heart's Content, and the residents of the town met a far different fate from that of those recently plundered. Abbé Jean Baudoin, who recorded accounts of the French Avalon campaign, wrote that upon "arriving [in Heart's Content], we found a house fortified and musket-proof, covered with boards... We summoned them at once. An Irishman who commanded came to us and said they would surrender if their lives were spared, which we granted to 30 men who were there with women and children and many provisions."⁶⁰ Heart's Content was left under French control for several months following the encounter and served as a base for French operations throughout the Trinity Bay area. After the Treaty of Ryswick put an end to the Avalon Peninsula theater of war in September 1697, and the French interest in Heart's Content subsided and the small community returned to fishing. Following this, the population of Heart's

⁵⁹ Rowe, *Heroes and Rogues*, 15.

⁶⁰ *Ibid*, 20.

Content grew to 27 permanent residents. Several violent encounters with the French occurred throughout the Trinity Bay area in the ensuing years until the Treaty of Utrecht in 1713, but the fishermen and families in Heart's Content remained and the town began to grow.⁶¹

The 1740s brought a new influx of settlers to Newfoundland as the fishing industry grew; by 1753 Heart's Content had 91 residents. Most of the inhabitants owned a fishing boat and property, and several men had English or Irish servants. Heart's Content continued to operate as a fishing community through the turn of the nineteenth century, and it eventually surpassed the surrounding settlements in terms of size and population and became the largest town in the Trinity South region. An 1800-01 survey revealed 26 dwellings, 22 fishing rooms, and 152 people living in Heart's Content. The land holdings of Thomas Street and John Jeffrey accounted for one-third of the entire extent of the town.⁶² Ship-building operations expanded as well during this time and persisted through the century to come. The homes that characterized the Heart's Content landscape in the late 1700s and 1800s were single-story cottages of approximately seven hundred square feet with a gable roof covered in shingles and up to three windows in the gable ends. The main floor had two rooms, often a kitchen and bedroom or parlor space, while an attic loft was often used as quarters for the children. The sloped-roof extension off of the rear, referred to as the "linhay," usually had a porch at one end and a storage pantry at the other. The timber for the framing and finishing was sourced locally, and the walls were studded, with any cracks or cavities

⁶¹ Rowe, *Heroes and Rogues*, 22.

⁶² *Ibid*, 29.

filled with moss, wood shavings, or other detritus such as old rope. The homes were built by the men of Heart's Content themselves and those buildings supplies which they could not naturally procure themselves, such as glass or hardware, they could purchase from a merchant. The exterior was only shingled or covered in clapboard in the best houses, while the interior walls were finished with an inchboard.⁶³ Several of these cottages survive today and serve as a testament to the care and craftsmanship with which these dwellings were built (Fig. 1.9; Fig. 1.10).

The nineteenth century brought major changes to the Newfoundland fishery, greatly impacting outport communities such as Heart's Content. Wars and strife in the homeland led to the virtual disappearance of the Francophone fishermen. A series of wars between the United States of America and Great Britain distracted seafaring Englishmen from the Newfoundland waters as they were called to arms in the American theater of war during the War of 1812. Because of this, foreign vessels vanished from the fishery, leading to a shortage of salt cod in the European market. There was also a shift to Newfoundlanders spending the summers in the waters of northern Newfoundland and southern Labrador, utilizing those rich fishing grounds. The reinvention of the oil lamp by Swiss inventor Ami Argand grew rapidly in popularity throughout Europe and North America for streetlamps, businesses, and lighting for other public spaces. Because of this, the seal fishery prospered as Newfoundland seal oil was much more affordable than whale oil. This was a time of

⁶³ Rowe, *Heroes and Rogues*, 32.

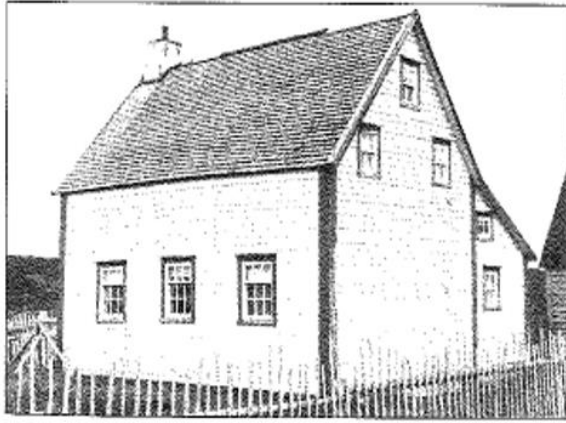


Figure 1.9 (left) and Figure 1.10 (right). Two houses exemplifying the early style of domestic architecture in Heart's Content. *From D.B. Mills as seen in Heroes and Rogues and the Story of Heart's Content.*

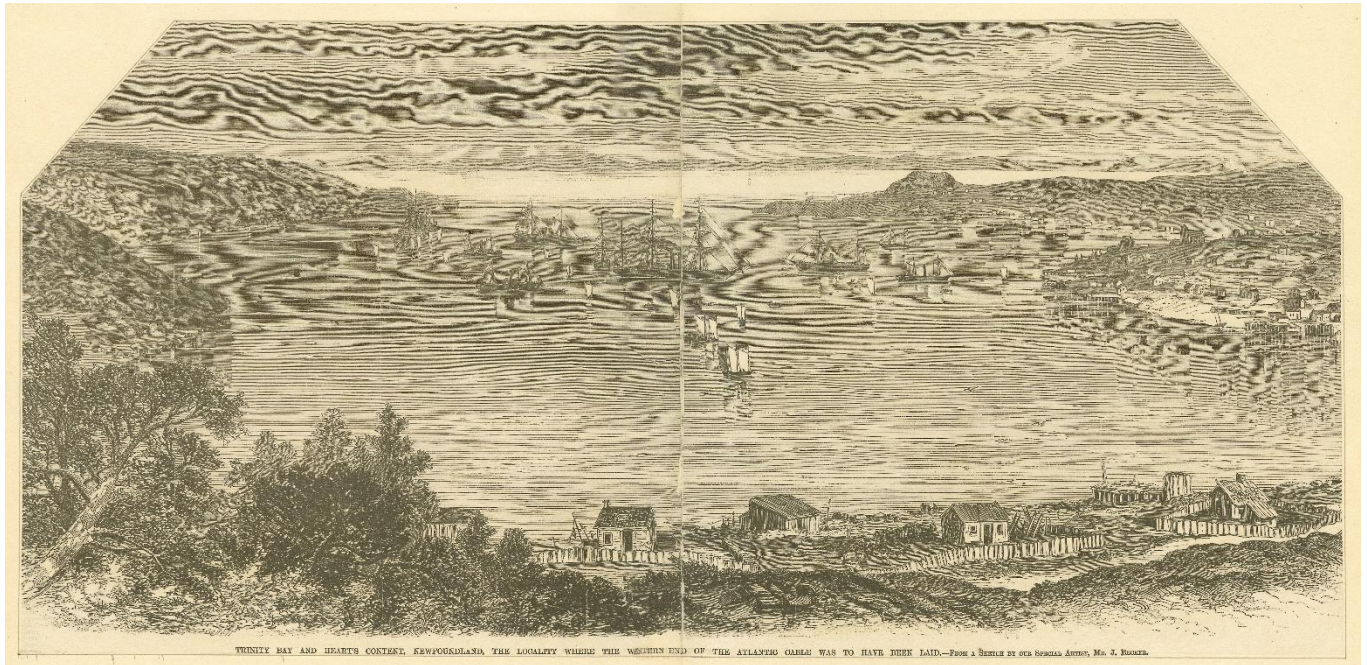


Figure 1.11. An 1861 sketch by J. Becker depicting the harbor at Heart's Content and development of the town. *From the New York Public Library Digital Archives, originally in Booth's History of New York Vol. 7.*

prosperity for Newfoundland, as they provided products that were highly desirable. Immigration to the Avalon Peninsula increased throughout the 1800s and Heart's Content was no exception.⁶⁴ It was at this time, Heart's Content saw its first businesses started by newcomers to support the growing fishing population. After Newfoundland gained more governance from Great Britain in 1833, improvements were made at the hands of Newfoundlanders, especially with regard to infrastructure and safety regulations. In Heart's Content, this translated into the appointment of a constable, blacksmith Charles Rendell, and a Justice of the Peace, Robert Ollerhead. In 1836, the government's road improvement program connected Heart's Content with the town of Carbonear via what is now Highway 70. At this point, the population of Heart's Content had reached 386 and access to a hub such as Carbonear and Harbour Grace was important.⁶⁵ A ferry from Carbonear to Portugal Cove outside of St. John's meant that the major commercial center was now only a day's travel away from Heart's Content.⁶⁶

The town was able to enjoy additional amenities and services due to the increased accessibility of St. John's, including the introduction of educated people from the city to Heart's Content to establish schools, churches, and social organizations. George Gardner was one of these. A theologian and teacher who studied in St. John's, Gardner was posted to the mission in Heart's Content in the early 1860s. Recognizing the comparative poverty to the local fishermen to the more

⁶⁴ Rowe, *Heroes and Rogues*, 42.

⁶⁵ *Ibid*, 54.

⁶⁶ *Ibid*, 57.

affluent community he left behind in St. John's, Gardner sought to improve the lives of the hardworking citizens of Heart's Content. The 1860s were a particularly difficult time for the fishery, as prosperity from the early 1800s had leveled off and profits were low, leading to starvation in some outports. Gardner decided to adopt the English concept of a "friendly society" and apply it to Heart's Content. The purpose of such societies was to have a membership base which would meet regularly and contribute ideas and resources on how best to combat poverty and other social issues within the town. On February 14th, 1862, Gardner called a community meeting attended by thirty men at the local schoolhouse. The result of this meeting was the formation of the Heart's Content Fishermen's Society, of which Gardner was the president, and there were five officers and an executive committee of twelve. The dues were minimal, but the benefits were great, including sick pay and grievance pay to a wife upon a member's death. The Society's ideas spread quickly and membership grew to 178 by 1866. The group became a social institution and a cornerstone in the Heart's Content community.⁶⁷

Despite the great success of the Heart's Content Fishermen's Society, the reality of the 1860s in the town was that the fish populations were diminishing and migrating, and the industry that built Heart's Content was no longer booming. When it seemed as though there was little to rely upon for food or other vital necessities, rumors surfaced of a transatlantic cable being laid. Outsiders began to visit Heart's Content to survey the area to assess its potential as a landing site for the coming cable. The ultimate selection of Heart's Content as the site for the cable and its

⁶⁷ Rowe, *Heroes and Rogues*, 68-70.



NEWFOUNDLAND. THE OLD FISHERY AT HEART'S CONTENT—INSTAURATING THE LEGEND OF THE FISH.
From a sketch by a local artist.

Figure 1.12. An October 31st, 1885 sketch on page 173 of *Frank Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper* showing cod fishermen in Heart's Content. *From Frank Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper.*

subsidiary business would alter the course of history for those living in the town. Heart's Content was sitting on the cusp of great change.

Conclusion

What began as the European quest for the Northwest Passage resulted in the discovery of what would become very important in the twentieth century.

Newfoundland was the epicenter for the North Atlantic cod fishery and the missing piece needed for the success of Transatlantic communications. By the dawn of the telecommunications age, many men had mastered the rugged and unforgiving terrain and climate of Newfoundland, harnessing the wealth in its waters to establish a major industry and attract more. Despite the various colonial powers and immigration waves in Newfoundland, the island developed a distinct identity which can only be fully understood through careful examination of its history, a history in which the fishery and telecommunications are at the forefront, shaping the economy, society, culture, architecture, and landscape.

CHAPTER 2

THE PRESERVATION CLIMATE IN NEWFOUNDLAND

The following chapter seeks to organize and understand the legislation that has shaped and impacted the heritage conservation climate in Newfoundland, as well as introduce the key organizations charged with advocating for the preservation of historic structures across the province. The following legislation and organizations will be referred to in subsequent chapters and an explanation and context is crucial before providing a deeper evaluation in the case studies. The review begins with Newfoundland's confederation into Canada, as this is when preexisting Canadian heritage legislation becomes applied to Newfoundland and later decisions from Ottawa affect the province. National, provincial and municipal legislation and stakeholders are all presented here to give background before they are reintroduced in the case studies. Finally, the Canadian government's moratorium on cod in 1992 is examined, as it plays a pivotal role in Newfoundland's economy, heritage tourism industry, and historic preservation.

A New Era: Newfoundland Joins Canada

Newfoundland's entrance into Canada was of paramount importance for many reasons, but the adoption of existing Canadian laws and subsequent legislation led to the establishment of preservation and heritage conservation activities in the province. As Britain had control in Newfoundland as well as Canada, the idea of Newfoundland joining the confederation first appeared in 1864, when delegates from Newfoundland attended the Quebec Conference. These delegates signed the resolutions that became

the British North America Act, establishing Canada as a dominion on July 1st, 1867. However, Newfoundland would not be part of this nascent dominion, as anti-confederates in Newfoundland won when the idea was proposed for a vote in 1869. The opposition to confederation was so great that the idea was soon forgotten and the island continued to develop and prosper on its own.⁶⁸ Anti-confederate slogans and songs were created and grew to be popular in Newfoundland, such as the following:

Men, hurrah for our native Isle, Newfoundland—
Not a stranger shall hold one inch of her strand;
Her face turns to Britain, her back to the Gulf,
Come near at our peril, Canadian Wolf!⁶⁹

Newfoundland remained the only British North American colony to remain independent however, of Canada.⁷⁰ However, after the initial 1869 vote, eight decades brought many changes to Newfoundland, ultimately leading to the twentieth century revival of pro-confederation sentiments.

Despite the political separation, Newfoundland and Canada had to negotiate a variety of concerns between 1869 and World War II, including but not limited to trade, Labrador, security, control over North Atlantic waters, and the fishery. Relations remained amicable, but neither had a strong interest in confederation. In 1933, however, Newfoundland found itself on the verge of bankruptcy, owing a debt of almost \$100 million. Encouraged by the Dominions Office in London to avoid default, Newfoundland voted to allow an unelected commission from Britain take

⁶⁸ Cadigan, *Newfoundland & Labrador*, 130-132.

⁶⁹ Raymond B. Blake, *Canadians at Last: Canada Integrates Newfoundland as a Province* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1994), 3.

⁷⁰ J. K. Hiller, "Newfoundland and Canada: 1864-1949," *Newfoundland & Labrador Heritage*, 1997, <http://www.heritage.nf.ca/articles/politics/confederation-1864-1949.php>.

control of the nation's dire circumstances in 1934.⁷¹ By surrendering their representative government, Newfoundland entered an era of uncertainty, one that lasted through World War II. The war brought Newfoundland increased contact with Canada and the United States; the island's strategic position allowed for Canadian and American land utilization through the establishment of bases and other centers. After the war, the Newfoundland question was raised once again in Canada and Britain, as the strategic location would be of benefit to Canada in the case of another war. Newfoundland's 1933 collapse and their lack of sovereignty led to their attitude change about confederation as well. By 1945, amalgamation of Canada and Newfoundland made sense to both parties.⁷²

Months of discussion between all the stakeholders ensued before the vote. On June 3rd, 1948, a national referendum was proposed, asking Newfoundlanders to vote on their future. Their options included returning to a pre-1933 responsible government, continuing the post-1934 British control, or the potential financial and social security that would come with becoming a Canadian province. The results of the initial June 3rd referendum were inconclusive due to the presence of all three options, but remaining under the British Commission rule was the least popular choice. On July 22nd, a revised referendum was proposed, with only two options: a return to responsible government or confederation with Canada. The latter won by a

⁷¹ Patrick O'Flaherty, *Leaving the Past Behind: Newfoundland History from 1934* (St. John's: Long Beach Press, 2011), 1.

⁷² Blake, *Canadians at Last*, 3.

small margin.⁷³ Canada immediately began the transition process, with delegates travelling back and forth from both Ottawa and St. John's. On March 31st, 1949, Newfoundland was officially integrated as a Canadian province and Canadian citizenship and jurisdiction were extended to its residents and to the island.⁷⁴

National Preservation Legislation and Organizations

The major body with regard to preservation in Canada is the Parks Canada Agency. Parks Canada is credited with being the first national parks agency in the world. On May 19th, 1911, the Dominion Parks Branch was established within the Department of the Interior. Before this, Canada had several National Parks, including Banff National Park in Alberta's Rockies, established in 1855. These pre-Parks Canada sites suffered from poor management schemes and general disorganization. The establishment of a national parks agency under the umbrella of the Department of the Interior was monumental in its effect on heritage in Canada. Since 1911, Parks Canada and its sites have grown exponentially and its jurisdiction and programs have expanded greatly.⁷⁵ The Canada National Parks Act of 1930 further outlined and refined the responsibilities and scope of Parks Canada. In this act, the parks' dedication to the public was explicitly defined: "The national parks of Canada are hereby dedicated to the people of Canada for their benefit, education, and enjoyment, subject to this Act and the regulations, and the parks shall be maintained and made use

⁷³ Blake, *Canadians at Last*, 4.

⁷⁴ Hiller, "Newfoundland and Canada."

⁷⁵ Paul Irish, "Parks Canada Celebrates a Century of Discovery," *The Toronto Star* (Toronto, ON), May 13, 2011.

https://www.thestar.com/life/travel/2011/05/13/parks_canada_celebrates_a_century_of_discovery.html.

of so as to leave them unimpaired for the enjoyment of future generations.”⁷⁶ This principle governs the operations of Parks Canada and the organization has since established a charter further defining their mission. Their mission reads:

On behalf of the people of Canada, we protect and present nationally significant examples of Canada’s natural and cultural heritage, and foster public understanding, appreciation and enjoyment in ways that ensure the ecological and commemorative integrity of these places for present and future generations.⁷⁷

Parks Canada also administers the Canadian Register of Historic Places (Le Répertoire canadien des lieux patrimoniaux), or Canada’s Historic Places. This register is primarily a directory of all the historic sites in Canada as they have been designated by Parks Canada. The Canadian Register was created in 2001 as part of the Historic Places Initiative, an undertaking by the Federal, Provincial, and Territorial governments to “recognize the contribution historic places make to our communities.”⁷⁸ They define a “historic place” as “a structure, building, group of buildings, district, landscape, archaeological site or other place in Canada that has been formally recognized for its heritage value by an appropriate authority within a jurisdiction.”⁷⁹ This list is an important step toward preservation in Canada, and one of Parks Canada’s major programs.

Perhaps the most defining legislation with regard to heritage conservation in Canada was the 1953 Historic Sites and Monuments Act. Prior to this act,

⁷⁶ Senate and House of Commons of Canada, *Canada National Parks Act*, S.C. 2000, c. 32 (Ottawa, ON, 2000), 3, <http://laws-lois.justice.gc.ca/PDF/N-14.01.pdf>.

⁷⁷ “The Parks Canada Charter,” *Parks Canada* 2011, <http://www.pc.gc.ca/eng/agen/chart/chartr.aspx>.

⁷⁸ “About Us,” *Canada’s Historic Places*, <http://www.historicplaces.ca/en/pages/about-apropos.aspx>.

⁷⁹ *Ibid.*

Commissioner of the Dominion's Park Branch James B. Harkin advocated successfully for the federal government to create an Advisory Board for Historic Site Preservation in 1919. The original six members officially declared the body The Historic Sites and Monuments Board of Canada at their inaugural meeting, and elected Brigadier General E. A. Cruikshank as the first chairman of the board. The Board began determining what they felt were the country's most historic and important sites, which they dedicated with a commemorative bronze plaque on stone cairn.⁸⁰ The Historic Sites and Monuments Act officially established the Board in law in 1953. The Board consists of sixteen members—the Librarian and Archivist of Canada, an officer from the Canadian Museum of History, an officer from Parks Canada, and a representative from each province and territory.⁸¹ Later amendments allowed the Board to recommend national designation for buildings with exceptional merit in design or historical significance; other amendments added programs for the commemoration of heritage railways, gravesites of past Prime Ministers, and heritage lighthouses.⁸² The work of Parks Canada and the Historic Sites and Monuments Board has been integral in the establishment of guidelines and standards for preservation in Canada, and they have presence in each province and territory, Newfoundland being no exception.

The National Trust for Canada (Fiducie Nationale du Canada) is the most influential and notable non-profit advocacy organization in the country. Established in

⁸⁰ "The Board," *Historic Sites and Monuments Board of Canada*, 2014, <http://www.pc.gc.ca/clmhc-hsmbc/comm-board.aspx>.

⁸¹ Senate and House of Commons of Canada, *Historic Sites and Monuments Act*, R.S.C., 1985, c. H-4, (Ottawa, ON, 1985), 2, <http://laws-lois.justice.gc.ca/PDF/H-4.pdf>.

⁸² "The Board."

1973, the National Trust for Canada “leads and inspires action for places that matter. [Their] sites, projects and programs engage Canadians, enhance local identity, and bring heritage to life.”⁸³ They strive to provide tools and services for those interested in preserving their local heritage, and they advocate for financial incentives and legal protections for historic places. Just as Parks Canada provides a governmental framework for preservation in Canada, the National Trust for Canada is a member-driven advocacy organization that has worked to preserve historic sites across Canada, including Newfoundland. Between 2015 and 2016, the National Trust awarded \$368,000 in grants to 52 historic sites and organizations throughout Canada, breaking previous records for annual allocations. Additionally, the National Trust administers the Young Canada Works program, which sponsors student interns with heritage organizations across the country each summer. \$243,000 was allocated toward this program in 2015 to sponsor 74 interns at various organizations.⁸⁴ They also sponsor the National Heritage Conference which is the country’s largest gathering of heritage professionals. Further, they administer the Main Street and Heritage Regions programs which are area-specific revitalization initiatives.⁸⁵ Through these various programs and campaigns, the National Trust for Canada provides vital expertise and capital for preservation projects in Canada.

⁸³ “About Us,” *National Trust for Canada*, <http://www.nationaltrustcanada.ca/about-us/vision>.

⁸⁴ Natalie Bull and Tom Urbaniak, “Bringing Heritage to Life, Annual Report 2015-2016,” *National Trust for Canada*, 2016, 2. http://www.nationaltrustcanada.ca/sites/www.nationaltrustcanada.ca/files/Communications_Annual%20Report_2015-2016_FINAL.pdf.

⁸⁵ “About Us,” *National Trust for Canada*.

Provincial Heritage Legislation in Newfoundland and Labrador

There are two main organizations at the provincial level in Newfoundland and Labrador concerned with heritage conservation: Provincial Historic Sites and the Heritage Foundation of Newfoundland and Labrador. Provincial Historic Sites is the public, governmental body charged with the management of twelve historic sites across the province, eleven of which are in Newfoundland.⁸⁶ Provincial Historic Sites was created under the Historic Resources Act in 1985, when Newfoundland drafted “an act respecting the preservation of the historic resources of the province.”⁸⁷ Within this act, the Provincial Registry of Historic Resources was established, in which the act outlines those places which may be added to the registry, including sites of historic, cultural, and paleontological significance. The act also gives the province power to acquire lands for the purpose of creating and maintaining an historic site. Guidelines for establishing and commemorating provincial cultural resources are also outlined in the act, expanding designation to intangible cultural heritage and traditions as well as physical sites.⁸⁸ Provincial Historic Sites is managed through the Newfoundland and Labrador Department of Business, Tourism, Culture and Rural Development.⁸⁹

The Historic Resources Act also established and legitimized the Heritage Foundation of Newfoundland and Labrador. This quasi-governmental agency consists

⁸⁶ “The Sites,” *Provincial Historic Sites*, <http://www.seethesites.ca/the-sites.aspx>.

⁸⁷ House of Assembly, Newfoundland and Labrador, *Historic Resources Act*, RSNL 1990, c. H-4 (St. John’s, NL, 1985), <http://www.assembly.nl.ca/legislation/sr/statutes/h04.htm>.

⁸⁸ *Historic Resources Act*.

⁸⁹ “About Provincial Historic Sites,” *Provincial Historic Sites*, <http://www.seethesites.ca/about-provincial-historic-sites.aspx>.

of a board of seven to twelve people appointed by the Lieutenant-Governor in Council and has a small staff as well as charitable status. The principle objectives of the Heritage Foundation are:

(a) to stimulate an understanding of and an appreciation for the architectural heritage of the province; (b) to support and contribute to the preservation, maintenance and restoration of buildings and other structures of architectural or historical significance in the province; and (c) to contribute to the increase and diffusion of knowledge about the architectural heritage of the province.⁹⁰

The Heritage Foundation can designate sites in the provincial registry, make grants for preservation projects, enter into easements with outside entities wishing to undertake a preservation project, establish committees, and establish commemorative measures for designated places.⁹¹

The Heritage Foundation, in partnership with Provincial Historic Sites, oversees many programs in addition to designation and grants, including the Provincial Historic Commemorations Program and the Fisheries Heritage Preservation Program, both of which exemplify two of the major focuses of the foundation and heritage conservation in the province. The Provincial Historic Commemorations Program's mission is to recognize and commemorate all aspects of history and culture in the province, which includes architecture, but the major tenet of the program is the preservation of intangible aspects of culture in Newfoundland and Labrador—such as cultural practices, traditional knowledge and skills, and customs that characterize the human landscape of the province. The categories designated by the program's

⁹⁰ *Historic Resources Act*.

⁹¹ *Ibid.*

nomination process include exceptional people from the past, outstanding historic events, unique places, tradition bearers, and distinctive cultural traditions and practices.⁹²

The Fisheries Heritage Preservation Program administered by the Heritage Foundation is the result of the organization's recognition of the fishery as paramount in Newfoundland culture. The program began in 2002 with five projects restoring built aspects of the fishing industry, including places such as fishing stages, flakes, commercial structures, and other associated buildings. Grants reaching ten thousand dollars are available for community restoration projects each year; the proposed projects need to meet two objectives—restoration of the physical structure and documentation of the intangible cultural heritage component within the community.⁹³ Since the program's introduction in 2002, over 230 projects have been completed with grants from the Heritage Foundation.⁹⁴

Municipal-Level Heritage Conservation in Newfoundland

All three case study communities—St. John's, Bay Roberts, and Heart's Content—have municipal-level organizations aimed at the preservation of local history, including architecture. The City of St. John's has a Built Heritage Experts Panel as one of its many council committees. The scope of the panel includes

⁹² "About the Program," *Provincial Historic Commemorations Program*, <http://commemorations.ca/about/>.

⁹³ "Grant Program," *Fisheries Heritage Preservation Program*, [http://www.heritagefoundation.ca/programs/fisheries-heritage-preservation-program-\(fhpp\)/grant-program.aspx](http://www.heritagefoundation.ca/programs/fisheries-heritage-preservation-program-(fhpp)/grant-program.aspx).

⁹⁴ "Completed Fisheries Heritage Preservation Program Projects," *Heritage Foundation of Newfoundland and Labrador*, [http://www.heritagefoundation.ca/programs/fisheries-heritage-preservation-program-\(fhpp\)/completed-fhpp-projects.aspx](http://www.heritagefoundation.ca/programs/fisheries-heritage-preservation-program-(fhpp)/completed-fhpp-projects.aspx).

developing recommendations for designations, whether at the provincial or national level, providing guidance and recommendations for applications regarding alterations to heritage structures or structures in designated heritage areas, and addressing any other heritage-related issues that may arise.⁹⁵ The City’s Municipal Plan, last revised in 2015, established a section on heritage in 1990 that provides municipal guidelines governing preservation activities. “As the city develops, heritage buildings should retain their original features, although their use can and must evolve over time,” the plan states, emphasizing the importance of retention of character-defining features while encouraging adaptive reuse.⁹⁶ Within this plan, the City designated the St. John’s Heritage Area and allowed for further expansion and additional areas to be designated. Today there are three heritage areas and additional “special areas” outside of the main districts. The City also maintains a municipal register of Designated Heritage Buildings, formed in 1977. Inclusion on this list allows for property owners to take advantage of the City’s Heritage Financial Incentive Program, which distributes two types of grants: Heritage Maintenance Grants and Heritage Conservation Grants.⁹⁷ These grants provide vital funds for the maintenance and restoration of the city’s historic urban fabric.

⁹⁵ “Built Heritage Experts Panel,” *City of St. John’s*, 2016, <http://www.stjohns.ca/council-committee/built-heritage-experts-panel>.

⁹⁶ “City of St. John’s Municipal Plan,” City of St. John’s Department of Planning (St. John’s, NL, 2003), <http://www.stjohns.ca/sites/default/files/files/publication/St.%20John's%20Municipal%20Plan%20May%202015.pdf>.

⁹⁷ “Heritage,” *City of St. John’s*, 2016, <http://www.stjohns.ca/living-st-johns/building-renovation-and-repairs/heritage>.

In Bay Roberts, the Bay Roberts Heritage Society is the main advocate for preservation in the town and greater municipal area. Formed in 1989 by local architect Eric Jerrett and his wife, Elizabeth, a Bay Roberts native, the Bay Roberts Heritage Society works to “preserve, protect, and present the history and culture of the Bay Roberts area.”⁹⁸ The Bay Roberts’ Heritage Society logo incorporates those elements that the group has identified as the cornerstones of the town’s culture: a porthole representing the marine history, the codfish responsible for the settlement of the area, flat rocks in the harbor allowing for the fish to dry without constructing flakes, and Morse code spelling out Bay Roberts Heritage Society, representative of the former telegraph industry in the town.⁹⁹ The Town’s Heritage Advisory Committee also designates Municipal Heritage Sites and works closely with the Heritage Society to preserve the built environment of the town. The Bay Roberts Cultural Foundation is another local entity, incorporated in 2009, focused on the preservation of the more intangible aspects of local culture. It is also responsible for a series of signs throughout the town illustrating the history and culture for locals and tourists alike.¹⁰⁰

With regard to Heart’s Content, a small volunteer-driven organization, the Mizzen Heritage Society, is the main local advocate for preservation in the area. Created in 1994, the Mizzen Heritage Society’s mission is to “preserve, protect, collect, and present our local community history and culture for future generations.”¹⁰¹

⁹⁸ Eric Jerrett, interview by Shannon N. Cilento, September 30, 2016, transcript.; “Heritage Society,” *Bay Roberts*, http://www.bayroberts.com/?page_id=909.

⁹⁹ “Heritage Society.”

¹⁰⁰ Ibid.

¹⁰¹ “Home,” *Mizzen Heritage Society*, 2016, <http://mizzenheritagesociety.com/index.html>.

One of the main goals of the society is adaptive reuse for the benefit of the community, which sits somewhat isolated from commercial activity. In 2011, the society purchased the vacant Heyfield Memorial United Church (built 1878) and began rehabilitating it to create the Heart's Content Regional Centre for the Arts.¹⁰² Although the work is ongoing, the main community center meeting space is open and events have been held there. Several other buildings have been acquired and restored under the direction of the society, including the United Church School, Rendell Forge, and the House of Commons. The Mizzen Heritage Society also organizes and hosts coffee house events with live, local music, plans the annual Heritage Day each July, and manages a small museum, the Mizzen Heritage Museum which has interpretive panels and exhibits narrating the town's history.¹⁰³

The Cod Moratorium of 1992

It is no coincidence that many heritage conservation and preservation activities began or gained momentum in the 1990s. Perhaps the most controversial and devastating pieces of legislation for Newfoundland was the moratorium placed on cod-fishing in 1992. After this, the need to preserve buildings associated with the industry became apparent, and a shift to heritage tourism through preservation occurred.

The role cod has played in Newfoundland's history is unmatched. From Cabot's landing on the island in 1497, cod fishing has been the mainstay of those living in and conducting business in the province. St. John's, Bay Roberts, and Heart's

¹⁰² "Heart's Content Mizzen Heritage Society," *Legendary Coasts Eastern Newfoundland*, 2013, <http://legendarycoasts.com/Users/view/150>.

¹⁰³ "Accomplishments," *Mizzen Heritage Society*, 2016, <http://mizzenheritagesociety.com/members--accomplishments.html>.

Content were all settled due to their harbors and access to fruitful fishing grounds. The province's economy was built on the cod fishing industry. In 1855, writer John Mullaly visited Newfoundland and shortly after published his accounts from his trip. The overwhelming majority of observations made about Newfoundland in this volume were regarding two things: cod and telegraphy. His writings exemplify how deeply engrained the cod fishery had become in the society.

The name of Newfoundland is inseparably associated with fish in the mind of every person, and naturally so, as it forms the principle article of export from the Island. In fact, the greater portion of its population depend upon the fisheries for their subsistence and one years [sic] failure in the supply would be attended with the most disastrous effects. The southern, eastern, and western coasts are studded with little villages and towns whose inhabitants live almost entirely by fishing...¹⁰⁴ Talk of the gold mines in California! They cannot compare with the inexhaustible wealth of the fisheries of Newfoundland...¹⁰⁵

Mullaly and others who have written on their visits to the province all echo one another. The cod industry was always the mainstay for Newfoundlanders, which is why the moratorium was so devastating.

After centuries of fishing for cod, Newfoundlanders received distressing news on July 2nd, 1992 from the Canadian government. The Federal Minister of Fisheries and Oceans, John Crosbie, declared an indefinite moratorium on the cod fishery, ending almost five hundred years of tradition and economic stability. The cause was widely known and many agreed that regulation was necessary as the cod population in

¹⁰⁴ John Mullaly, *A Trip to Newfoundland; Its Scenery and Fisheries; with an Account of the Laying of the Submarine Telegraph Cable* (New York: T.W. Strong, 1855), 45.

¹⁰⁵ *Ibid*, 47.

the North Atlantic was almost extinct. The fishery, including both inshore and offshore activities, benefitted from advances in technology allowing for mass amounts of cod to be caught at once. Because of this, catch rates increased exponentially in the 1970s and stocks were not given the necessary time to replenish. Despite warnings from fisheries scientists and the government, the cod stocks were exploited and over-fished, not only by Canadians, but by international commercial fishing trawlers in Canada's waters who ignored regulations.¹⁰⁶ Drastic measures were necessary. As of midnight on the day the moratorium was announced, July 2nd, 1992, fishermen had to pull their nets from the Newfoundland waters and cease all cod fishing activity. Deemed "the biggest layoff in Canadian history," the moratorium instantly left thirty thousand people without employment. "Newfoundland will lose a way of life..." one CBC news broadcast began after the announcement of the moratorium, saying it would "gut the backbone of the Atlantic fishery."¹⁰⁷ At the time of the moratorium, the cod fishery was reported to be worth over \$700 million per year, rendering it the largest contributor to the provincial economy; cod alone comprised forty percent of all fish caught in the North Atlantic fishery. Considered an unprecedented move, the moratorium was necessitated by the calculation of the lowest cod stock ever recorded. In order to replenish the stocks, Crosbie saw the order as crucial.¹⁰⁸

The moratorium was met with great anguish and outcry from the Newfoundland public. The compensation package offered by the Canadian

¹⁰⁶ Jenny Higgins, "Cod Moratorium," *Newfoundland & Labrador Heritage*, 2009, <http://www.heritage.nf.ca/articles/economy/moratorium.php>.

¹⁰⁷ Tonda MacCharles, "Cod Fishing and 'The biggest layoff in Canadian history,'" CBC News, Ottawa, ON: CBC Radio-Canada, July 2, 1992, <http://www.cbc.ca/player/play/1769461892>.

¹⁰⁸ Ibid.

government was considered unacceptable. Displaced fishermen would receive \$225 a week for ten weeks after the moratorium was issued, then unemployment insurance was to take effect. Incentives for early retirement and alternative job training were also offered. Crosbie's press conference in St. John's was the occasion for riots and protests, as the aforementioned package was the biggest point of contention and grief. "I wouldn't say that \$225 is adequate for anyone, who knows what's an adequate amount of money? We're in an emergency situation here," Crosbie said in the press conference.¹⁰⁹ The provincial government denounced the proposed compensation as well. "The proposed compensation is hardly more than welfare," remarked the Newfoundland Fisheries Minister Walter Carter.¹¹⁰

The relief program, known officially as the Northern Cod Adjustment and Rehabilitation Program (NCARP), left many of its beneficiaries impoverished and unable to provide for themselves or their families. The Northern Cod Adjustment and Rehabilitation Program was replaced in 1994 by a second relief program, labeled The Atlantic Groundfish Strategy, or TAGS. This strategy was very similar in nature to its predecessor, but slightly restructured the weekly payment system. The government ran out of funding for these programs in 1998, although they were promised to program participants to last until 1999.¹¹¹ Both programs, although often considered failures, included a stipulation which led to a new era in heritage tourism and preservation. Benefit recipients were required to train for work in other fields, including building

¹⁰⁹ MacCharles, "Cod Fishing."

¹¹⁰ Ibid.

¹¹¹ Jenny Higgins, "Economic Impacts of the Cod Moratorium," *Newfoundland & Labrador Heritage*, 2008, <http://www.heritage.nf.ca/articles/economy/moratorium-impacts.php>.

trades. Without this aspect of the program, the restoration of many historic buildings across rural Newfoundland may not have happened.

Conclusion

In Newfoundland, the provincial and local legislation and advocacy organizations have the most direct impact with regard to preservation. Many of Newfoundland's small, rural towns do not have organizations such as those in St. John's, Bay Roberts, and Heart's Content to act as stewards for the historic built environment. In these cases, the provincial bodies intervene to garner local support. The three case study communities have benefited greatly from the local preservation activities and advocates. In many cases, these groups have several members who were former fishermen or fish plant workers that were displaced by the moratorium on cod. After the moratorium, many Newfoundlanders receiving benefits from the NCARP or TAGS programs entered the building trades industry, gaining training in masonry, construction, and other preservation-related trades. Because of this, the availability of hands to restore the historic fabric of Newfoundland grew, and preservation rose to the forefront despite the economic despair brought by the moratorium. The following chapter explores the tourism industry in Newfoundland further, with special regard the heritage tourism industry, to which the moratorium served as an impetus for great development.

CHAPTER 3

THE CHANGING LANDSCAPE OF TOURISM IN NEWFOUNDLAND

Noted Newfoundland architectural historian Shane O’Dea wrote, “Newfoundland’s history is Newfoundland’s culture. The two are not, as they are for many nations, separable. What distinguishes us is what we have made and what we have kept.”¹¹² O’Dea is correct in that Newfoundland has retained a distinct “Newfoundland culture” despite confederation with Canada, which was met with cultural resistance and a revival of traditional artistic and historic practices. The historic built environment of Newfoundland suffered great loss in the second half of the twentieth century however, as many historic structures had not been “kept” as O’Dea suggests. A study published by the Heritage Foundation of Newfoundland and Labrador in 2004 found that between 1970 and 2000, 21 to 23 percent of Canada’s historic building stock had vanished due to demolition or deterioration beyond repair. Newfoundland’s amount of loss was found to be almost twice the national average, revealing a dire situation especially for the rural areas of the province.¹¹³ The built heritage of Newfoundland has been critical in the province’s coping with the aftermath of the 1992 cod moratorium, something that was so devastating for the economy, yet prompted a surge in historic preservation and heritage tourism. This chapter seeks to understand the evolution of Newfoundland’s heritage tourism industry before and after the moratorium, including its triumphs and struggles.

¹¹² Shane O’Dea, “Newfoundland: Development of Culture on the Margin,” *Newfoundland Studies* 10, no. 1 (1994): 73.

¹¹³ “The Case for Heritage: Six Heritage Projects of the Heritage Foundation of Newfoundland and Labrador,” (St. John’s, NL: Heritage Foundation of Newfoundland and Labrador, 2004), 1.

Tourism in Newfoundland, 1890-1949

Getting to Newfoundland and getting around Newfoundland were difficult tasks until the 1890s. In final decade of the nineteenth century, ferries began travelling from mainland Canada and Nova Scotia to Newfoundland, increasing accessibility. The construction of railroads across the province was a priority so that visitors and residents alike could navigate around the province. It would not be until after confederation and during the Smallwood administration that a serious investment in tourism infrastructure was made in road improvements and accommodations. This relative lack of development influenced early tourism campaigns, which emphasized the province's rustic and rugged nature. Advertisements pictured mountains, water, and wildlife, suggesting Newfoundland was a respite from the hustle and bustle of growing urban areas in an industrial age.¹¹⁴ The earliest active proponent of tourism in Newfoundland was not the government, but the steamship and railroad companies. The Reid Newfoundland Company constructed and operated a trans-island railroad in the 1890s. To augment the traveler's experience on its trains, the company published and then disseminated Newfoundland's first tourism guides. Its inaugural guide in 1903 was titled "Fishing and Shooting in Newfoundland and Labrador: Their Attractions for Tourists and Sportsmen." In his introductory pages, H. A. Morine, Reid Newfoundland's General Passenger Agent, wrote:

This book is dedicated to the tourist, health seeker, and sportsman, with a view of turning their attention to Newfoundland, which is now known to many as the "Norway of the New World" and "The Sportsman's Paradise." It is presented with the compliments of the

¹¹⁴ Jenny Higgins, "Tourism before Confederation," *Newfoundland and Labrador Heritage*, 2012, <http://www.heritage.nf.ca/articles/economy/tourism-pre-confederation.php>.

Passenger Department of the Reid Newfoundland Co.,
who believe that it is the best spot in America for those
who are in search of Scenery, Health, or Sport.¹¹⁵

This was the first of many publications sponsored and distributed by Reid Newfoundland. The railroad allowed passengers to reach new hunting and fishing grounds previously inaccessible, which increased Newfoundland's reputation as a haven for outdoorsmen and nature enthusiasts.

After the turn of the century, nature and wildlife in Newfoundland were key themes in promotional materials and advertisement campaigns. These were most likely influenced by both the Reid Newfoundland publications, and several independent works published in the 1890s. Reverend Moses Harvey wrote *Newfoundland as it is in 1894: A Hand-book and Tourists' Guide* in which he champions the natural landscape of Newfoundland. "I have devoted a considerable portion of the volume to a description of the natural resources and capabilities of the Island...I have dwelt on the fine scenery of the Island, and given such information and directions as required for enabling them to see the country to the best advantage."¹¹⁶ The government also recognized caribou hunting as a major tourist interest, and instated a policy to limit local residents from hunting caribou so that game hunters visiting the island could have ample opportunity. Until the collapse of the caribou population in the 1920s, the government was issuing over one hundred caribou

¹¹⁵ H. A. Morine, *Fishing and Shooting in Newfoundland and Labrador: Their Attractions for Tourists and Sportsmen* (St. John's, NL: Passenger Department of the Reid Newfoundland Company, 1903), 2.

¹¹⁶ Moses Harvey, *Newfoundland as it is in 1894: A Hand-book and Tourists' Guide* (St. John's, NL: J. W. Withers, 1894), 3.

hunting permits annually to visitors.¹¹⁷ In the 1920s, the government of Newfoundland sponsored several publications by journalists and travel writers that would seek to diversify the tourism economy beyond caribou hunting. These writings lauded Newfoundland not only as a place to visit, but as a place in which to settle and invest. H. M. Mosdell's 1920 book *Newfoundland: Its Manifold Attractions for the Capitalist, the Settler and the Tourist* exemplifies this effort, but the principle focus remained on the natural environment. "The whole island is a happy hunting ground for the lover of the novel and the beautiful...Here Nature's attractions are displayed on a most lavish scale," Mosdell writes.¹¹⁸ In 1924, the Newfoundland Government Railway echoed these sentiments in their promotional materials, one of which read "Newfoundland has stronger claims to the title of "Sportsman's Paradise" than any of the famous fishing and game preserves of the American continent."¹¹⁹

In addition to luring urbanites from cities in North America and Europe to Newfoundland for sport and nature, the government also created several campaigns and events to encourage expatriates to return to their native Newfoundland. Assuming expatriates had left the slow pace of Newfoundland for work in more industrialized cities, advertising and promotional materials focused on perpetuating the island as an anachronism in a globalizing world, where one could reconnect with family, nature, and a simpler way of life. The earliest of these events was from August 3rd-10th, 1904,

¹¹⁷ Higgins, "Tourism before Confederation."

¹¹⁸ H. M. Mosdell, *Newfoundland: Its Manifold Attractions for the Capitalist, the Settler and the Tourist* (St. John's, NL: The Executive Government of Newfoundland, 1920), 7.

¹¹⁹ F. E. Pittman, *Map Showing Newfoundland Government Railway and Steamship System* (St. John's, NL: Newfoundland Government Railway, 1924).

NEWFOUNDLAND

Coollest Country on the Atlantic Coast in Summer

It is a genuine pleasure for the holiday-seeker and tired city-dweller to revel in camp life and enjoy the salmon and trout fishing for which this country is justly famed. Newfoundland Salmon, River Trout, and Sea Trout are the gamiest fish known and engage their captors in the most exciting struggles for liberty.



THE HOME OF THE SALMON AND TROUT

Figure 3.1. A typical advertisement promoting sport and nature from the Newfoundland Government Railway's 1924 *Map Showing Newfoundland Government Railway and Steamship System*. From the Cornell University Library Map Room.

when the government organized “Old Home Week.” An estimated 600 expat Newfoundlanders arrived in St. John’s, many from the New England states. They were met with a multitude of celebrations reinforcing a national identity and pride.¹²⁰ In order to promulgate tourism events such as this, the government established the Newfoundland Tourist Publicity Commission in 1925, later reorganized as the Newfoundland Tourist Development Board. At first, the Commission was financed by public subscription, but in 1927 it was supported through travel stamp tax revenue.¹²¹ Offices were established in London and Boston and tourists coming to the island increased by over fifty percent by 1930.¹²²

Since the province was experiencing an influx of tourists, infrastructure improvements became one of the Commission’s top priorities. Between 1925 and 1929, the mileage of roads in Newfoundland rose from just over one hundred to more than seven hundred. Across the province, and particularly in St. John’s, new hotels were constructed. Local businessmen opened hotels, but the province also received investment from Canada-based companies as well, such as T. E. Rousseau Limited, which opened the Newfoundland Hotel in 1926. Newfoundland experienced a tourism boom in the 1920s—the new roads and accommodations allowed for an increased capacity and visitors were at an all-time high. Unfortunately this peak did not last, as the Great Depression hit, followed by World War II shortly after. The effects of these global events were strong in Newfoundland, whose nascent tourism economy relied

¹²⁰ Higgins, “Tourism before Confederation.”

¹²¹ James Overton, *Making a World of Difference: Essays on Tourism, Culture and Development in Newfoundland* (St. John’s, NL: Memorial University of Newfoundland Institute for Social and Economic Research, 1996): 20.

¹²² Higgins, “Tourism before Confederation.”

upon wealthy Americans and Europeans.¹²³ In 1933 when the Newfoundland government was facing bankruptcy and Britain resumed control in 1934, tourism was no longer a priority and the industry was largely stagnant until confederation.¹²⁴ The one major exception to this stagnation was a 1947 campaign similar to the 1904 Old Home Week, in which native Newfoundlanders living abroad were encouraged to return to the island after World War II. One such advertisement reads boldly, “I want my Son to Know and Love Newfoundland, too,” picturing a mother and small child perched atop a hill overlooking a scenic bay (Fig. 3.2).¹²⁵

Tourism in Newfoundland, 1949-1992

Joseph Smallwood became the premier of Newfoundland when the island was incorporated into Canada in 1949 and he held this position until 1971. The Smallwood administration recognized tourism as an efficient way to diversify the province’s economy, which was still primarily based on fishing. Smallwood’s main objective was to further improve Newfoundland’s transportation systems and traveler amenities, especially for those utilizing automobiles to reach the province.¹²⁶ These efforts highlight a main issue of tourism in Newfoundland: the intrinsic conflict between the necessity to modernize infrastructure and the desire to preserve the seemingly rustic and untouched image perpetuated by the province’s tourism campaigns. This struggle to accommodate tourists while retaining the traditional values and rugged, natural

¹²³ Higgins, “Tourism before Confederation.”

¹²⁴ O’Flaherty, *Leaving the Past Behind*, 1.

¹²⁵ Advertisement, *Atlantic Guardian* 3, no. 2 (February 1947): back cover, <http://collections.mun.ca/cdm/ref/collection/guardian/id/2510>.

¹²⁶ Jenny Higgins, “Tourism after Confederation,” *Newfoundland and Labrador Heritage*, 2012, <http://www.heritage.nf.ca/articles/economy/tourism-post-confederation.php>.

"I want my Son
to Know and Love
Newfoundland, too"



This is Newfoundland's 450th anniversary year, and a fitting time for Newfoundland-born parents living abroad to return for a visit with their children. Plan your summer trip now to avoid disappointment and delays later.

The lad was born in the United States. Good schools, a high standard of living, fine opportunities in a great and rich country — these things were his by right of birth. But to his mother, who was born in Newfoundland, that was not enough. She wanted him to see and know her forbears and his, the folks back home who, knowing few of the amenities of modern life, had toiled through difficult times and developed sturdiness of character and resourcefulness. She wanted him to see the headlands and the bays of Newfoundland, to feel the thrill and the strength of the sea, to discover for himself that life for his ancestors had been a constant challenge . . . so the lad's mother took him "home" in the summer, and he learned to know and love Newfoundland as she did . . .

**NEWFOUNDLAND TOURIST
DEVELOPMENT BOARD**
ST. JOHN'S and CORNER BROOK - NEWFOUNDLAND

Also: Newfoundland Government Information Bureau, 620 Fifth Ave., New York.



Figure 3.2. Back cover of the *Atlantic Guardian*, February 1947, depicting an advertisement appealing to expatriates. *From the Memorial University Newfoundland Centre for Newfoundland Studies.*

environment would continue to be an issue that would plague planners and officials over the next several decades. The advertising initiatives that were a result of Smallwood's guidance continued to focus on the outdoors and environment, but an element of the historic built environment in tourism began to materialize during this time.¹²⁷

Immediately following Smallwood's installation as premier he enlisted the assistance of Leo Dolan, the Director of the Canadian Government Travel Bureau. He asked Dolan to come to Newfoundland and critically review their industry so that Smallwood could make improvements. In addition to infrastructural improvements, Dolan cited a need to foster a "tourist consciousness" among local Newfoundlanders. Dolan was suggesting training programs be offered to outport communities on the valuable role tourism could play in their local economy as well as how to encourage tourism at the grassroots level. During the 1950s and 1960s, the growth of the tourism economy that began in the 1920s was revived through several key government actions. A Director of Tourist Development was installed in 1952 and a Tourist Development Loan Board was established in 1953 to invest in accommodations across the province. Chain hotels, such as Holiday Inn, recognized a growing market and opened hotels in various locations in the 1960s.¹²⁸ Parks also played an important role in this developmental era, as the Provincial Parks Act was passed in 1952 to sponsor provincial-level conservation and Parks Canada announced the creation of Terra Nova National Park in 1957, the province's first national park. The first two national historic

¹²⁷ Higgins, "Tourism after Confederation."

¹²⁸ Ibid.

parks, Signal Hill and Cape Spear, were opened in 1958 and 1962, respectively. After confederation, the national government was eager to establish such sites in Newfoundland and had the ability to fund such endeavors. They also wanted the newly designated sites to be proximal to the forthcoming Trans-Canada Highway to render the sites easily accessible.¹²⁹ The latter half of the 1960s brought many transportation improvements to align with the increase in motorized tourism when the automobile became a household possession. Air Canada began operating several routes to St. John's from major Canadian cities, and Eastern Provincial Airways was established to provide air travel around Newfoundland.¹³⁰

On November 27th, 1965, the Trans-Canada Highway was completed in Newfoundland due to the advocacy of Smallwood, who convinced Ottawa to extend the highway into the nation's newest province. This was a monumental development because it not only made the island more accessible for tourists, but also allowed connections to be made across the province, such as between St. John's and Corner Brook, to improve the quality of life for local residents. With the addition of the Trans-Canada Highway, small businesses were able to grow alongside, such as restaurants, motels, gas stations, and other traveler amenities.¹³¹ In 1966, the government sponsored a "Come Home Year" after the highway's completion, which was an expanded iteration of the 1904 "Old Home Week." A government-created

¹²⁹ Alan MacEachern, *Natural Selections: National Parks in Atlantic Canada, 1935-1970* (Montreal: McGill-Queens University Press, 2001), 129.

¹³⁰ Jenny Higgins, "Tourism after Confederation."

¹³¹ Peter Gullage, "A Look Back," CBC News, Ottawa, ON: CBC Radio-Canada, Nov. 27, 2005, <http://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/newfoundland-labrador/programs/hereandnow/a-look-back-to-celebrate-50-years-since-completion-of-the-tch-in-newfoundland-1.3340419>.

visitor's map proclaimed: "Newfoundland welcomes all those who are visiting us during the Come Home Year of 1966. We extend a special welcome to those sons and daughters and their descendants who have come back to their home and who will be able to observe for themselves the transformation that has taken place in recent years."¹³² The Come Home Year reportedly generated approximately \$45 million in revenue, a major boost to the Newfoundland economy. This solidified the government's support of investing in tourism, a trend that persisted beyond the Smallwood administration. In 1973, the Department of Tourism was established, and Gros Morne, another national park, was designated. L'Anse aux Meadows, the site of Viking occupation in North America, was created as a national historic park in 1977 as well, and later gained UNESCO designation. Provincial parks continued to be established and developed throughout the 1980s. In 1984, tourism was the third greatest employer in Newfoundland, while fishing and construction were first and second, respectively.¹³³

Tourism in Newfoundland after 1992

The 1992 moratorium on the North Atlantic cod industry rattled Newfoundland—no town was untouched by this legislation. The rural areas and outport towns which relied solely upon fishing were most devastated, and as historian James Overton described the situation, tourism was the only straw at which some

¹³² *Come Home Year 1966*, map (St. John's, NL: Department of Highways, 1966).

¹³³ Higgins, "Tourism after Confederation."

outports could grasp to save themselves from total ruin.¹³⁴ The provincial government recognized tourism as a potential opportunity for economic growth, which was reflected in their 1992 Strategic Economic Plan released after the moratorium.¹³⁵ In 1993 the Department of Tourism became the Department of Tourism and Culture, signaling a shift from environment-based tourism to heritage-based tourism that became the canon after the moratorium.¹³⁶ In 1994, the government published *A Vision for Tourism in Newfoundland and Labrador in the 21st Century*, which emphasized the promise and importance of tourism in the province and further reinforced the shift to the conservation of cultural heritage, including both architectural and archaeological heritage.¹³⁷

Numerous archaeological investigations were prompted by this publication. Archaeology based upon the Viking contact in Newfoundland's Great Northern Peninsula and southern Labrador had been happening for several decades at this point. However, outside of this area, archaeological inquiry seldom occurred. After the moratorium, archaeology received government investment because the government understood both the short-term benefit of employment and long-term tourist potential. Although some preservation initiatives existed in Newfoundland prior to the moratorium such as Cabot Tower and L'Anse aux Meadows, the new interest in archaeology and preservation led to a surge in local, rural efforts. Newfoundland

¹³⁴ James Overton, "A Future in the Past? Tourism Development, Outport Archaeology, and the Politics of Deindustrialization in Newfoundland and Labrador in the 1990s," *Urban History Review* 35, no. 2 (2007): 64.

¹³⁵ *Ibid.*, 64.

¹³⁶ Higgins, "Tourism after Confederation."

¹³⁷ Overton, 64.

archaeologists Peter Pope and Stephen Mills have dedicated most of their careers to these efforts, and described the situation of the 1990s: “On the island of Newfoundland itself, community interest in archaeology is driven, to a great extent, by hopes of economic diversification.”¹³⁸ Community archaeology, widely referred to in Newfoundland as outport archaeology, gave new life to communities. Memorial University, the largest university in the province, began archaeological outreach work in the 1990s and the Newfoundland Archaeological Heritage Outreach Program, or NAHOP, was founded in 2000. Both programs provided training to local labor to conduct digs and in turn discover and market newfoundland cultural resources in rural areas.¹³⁹ The provincial government also directly sponsored several projects with funds pulled directly from the tourism promotion budget, further suggesting the symbiotic relationship between heritage and tourism.¹⁴⁰

In 2006 the provincial government published *Creative Newfoundland and Labrador: The Blueprint for Development and Investment in Culture* which expanded upon the growing momentum. The purpose of this “blueprint” was not only to promote heritage and cultural conservation, but also to encourage economic diversity following the moratorium. “Numerous aspects of the cultural sphere contribute to this

¹³⁸ Peter E. Pope and Stephen F. Mills, “Outport Archaeology: Community Archaeology in Newfoundland,” in *Past Meets Present: Archaeologists Partnering with Museum Curators, Teachers, and Community Groups*, ed. John H. Jameson, Jr. and Sherene Baugher (New York: Springer, 2007), 169.

¹³⁹ Overton, 65.

¹⁴⁰ *Ibid*, 66.

generation of jobs, goods, services and wealth,” the publication states.¹⁴¹ *Creative Newfoundland and Labrador* presents ten strategic directions in which the province should move to promote this creative economy, most of which pertain directly to intangible cultural heritage. However, Strategic Direction Six is “Preserving and Celebrating our Tangible Cultural Heritage.” In this section, it is stated that:

A critical piece in the colourful mosaic we call our culture is our tangible heritage: our historic buildings, museums, sacred places, monuments, libraries, burial sites, structures, archaeology, artifacts and archives. Alongside our natural heritage, many of these make up the physical world we see and experience every day. Together, they constitute a precious legacy from our ancestors and a strong thread in our collective identity today. In addition, of course, they contribute in various ways economically, a dimension whose potential is barely scratched.¹⁴²

The above quote exemplifies the province’s commitment to the expansion of tourism and historic preservation in the economy. One of the key objectives stated in this section as well was the desire to “encourage municipal governments and communities to protect and sustain their heritage.”¹⁴³ This would be done through grant programs, the development of a provincial commemorations program, and professional support and expertise from those working in the Department of Tourism, Culture, and Recreation to rural, outport communities.¹⁴⁴ In addition to this, Strategic Direction

¹⁴¹ *Creative Newfoundland and Labrador: The Blueprint for Development and Investment in Culture* (St. John’s: Government of Newfoundland and Labrador, 2006), 11.

¹⁴² *Ibid*, 30.

¹⁴³ *Ibid*, 31.

¹⁴⁴ *Ibid*, 31.

Nine in the plan was Cultural Tourism.¹⁴⁵ This directly exemplifies the direction in which the government wanted tourism to go. The focus was on attracting tourists to experience aspects of Newfoundland's historic built environment and fabric, rather than a pre-moratorium focus on the province's natural and ecological resources.

Giving Contemporary Newfoundland a Brand

Color has become one of the most prominent motifs currently being championed in post-moratorium marketing campaigns in Newfoundland. Today, the tourism publications of provincial and local organizations repeatedly feature Newfoundland as a highly colorful place in which “there is no beige. Instead you’ll find a kaleidoscope at every turn.”¹⁴⁶ This campaign grew out of the provincial trend of painting houses bright colors, which originated in the 1970s and 1980s, and grew significantly in the 1990s. Traditionally, house painting in Newfoundland was done in white, with trim in a limited palette. Commercial buildings associated with the fishery were often painted in a hand-tinted ochre paint with white trim. Although commercial, canned paint had been available in Newfoundland by the late nineteenth century, these ready-made paints were made more affordable in 1907 by the Standard Manufacturing Limited Company in St. John's. Standard Manufacturing's paint palette remained simple and limited to colors like white, dark green, and red for many decades. The trend of painting one's house a bright color originated in St. John's in the 1970s, and

¹⁴⁵ *Creative Newfoundland and Labrador*, 40.

¹⁴⁶ “Jellybean Row, Newfoundland and Labrador,” *Newfoundland and Labrador Tourism Broader Palette Series*, YouTube, 1:07, Jan. 18, 2016, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=iwJuiXyaMAQ&list=PLVGFVYO2PrDxv53mfxvj15z9T50V1IUHb&index=2>.

paint schemes expanded to multiple colors rather than just one with a trim.¹⁴⁷ This development was how Jellybean Row in St. John's earned its moniker. However, it is not simply one row of brightly painted houses in the city as the name suggests, but rather the aesthetic of domestic architecture throughout the entire city. In 2007, Templeton's, a St. John's-based paint company, partnered with the Heritage Foundation of Newfoundland and Labrador to create a heritage color palette for customers. This was a direct response to Templeton's receiving numerous requests for "heritage colors" which took the form of both early traditional colors and bright, vibrant colors. Post-moratorium Newfoundland was seeing a surge in preservation activities and rehabilitation required paints that either matched original colors or followed the Jellybean Row trend.¹⁴⁸ The recreation of these colors allowed the province to have a palette that exemplified what was uniquely Newfoundland in terms of colors. A special "Jelly Bean Palette" was created as well, featuring bright yellow, orange, orchid, and aqua.¹⁴⁹

Newfoundland & Labrador Tourism, the provincial tourism bureau, harnessed the idea of using these bright colors to promote the province. In 2014, Newfoundland & Labrador Tourism released a video advertisement highlighting this theme in which they show various shots of colorful scenes across the province. The video clip says, "In a world oddly bent on conformity, there's something strangely encouraging about

¹⁴⁷ "Historic Colours of Newfoundland," *Heritage Foundation of Newfoundland and Labrador and Templeton's* (St. John's, NL: 2007).

¹⁴⁸ Barb Sweet, "Province's history reflected in new paint colours," *The Telegram* (St. John's, NL), June 13, 2007, <http://www.thetelegram.com/living/2010/6/30/province-s-history-reflected-in-new-pain-1440793.html>.

¹⁴⁹ "Historic Colours of Newfoundland."



Figure 3.3. An example of a typical contemporary advertisement promoting Newfoundland, characterized by bold colors and a depiction of outport culture, 2016. *From Newfoundland and Labrador Tourism.*

a place that's anything but."¹⁵⁰ This exemplifies the theme of consequent campaigns over the following two years and the inclination to promote Newfoundland as a colorful and unique place free from the struggles of a technologically modernized society. In 2016, Newfoundland and Labrador Tourism unveiled their Broader Palette campaign, including a variety of print and media publications all featuring bright, bold colors that have become a symbol of the province. The organization's homepage on their website reads: "Inspiring boxes of crayons since 1497. Around here, even our colours are more colourful."¹⁵¹ This quote is accompanied by a link to their Broader Palette website, a separate page which features more campaign videos and information.

There are eight video advertisements associated with this campaign, all of which champion the theme of color. The main video is titled "Crayons" and reads: "Newfoundland and Labrador is a deeply colourful place, slightly off-kilter with the rest of the world. Around here, there is no beige. Instead, you will find colourful place names, colourful houses, colourful landscapes, a colourful culture, and colourful characters – more shades, tones, and hues than you ever thought possible."¹⁵² Another video highlighting the houses in St. John's shows a young girl admiring Jellybean Row who says, "My science teacher says the human eye can see ten million colors...is that all?" implying that ten million is an understatement considering all the colors one

¹⁵⁰ "Architecture, TV Ad, Newfoundland and Labrador Tourism," *Newfoundland and Labrador Tourism*, YouTube, 1:00, Nov. 18, 2014, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=8U1DrQrDeFI>.

¹⁵¹ "Newfoundland and Labrador Tourism Home Page," *Newfoundland and Labrador Tourism*, 2016, <http://newfoundlandlabrador.com/>.

¹⁵² "Crayons, TV Ad, Newfoundland and Labrador Tourism," *Newfoundland and Labrador Tourism*, YouTube, 1:31, Jan. 14, 2016, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=mQpwDtIn4ec&t=21s>.

can witness in Newfoundland.¹⁵³ One video features an interview with an artist who uses the colors of Newfoundland as his muse: “The province of Newfoundland and Labrador is a gold mine for colors. Every cove is a studio for an artist.”¹⁵⁴ The 2016 Traveller’s Guide and Traveller’s Map uses the theme “Lost and Found” but visually presents the same vibrant color scheme on every page.¹⁵⁵ The idea that one can get lost in Newfoundland while finding themselves is the idea behind “Lost and Found,” which is a nod to the earlier tourism campaigns which promoted Newfoundland as a place where one can escape.

Planning for the Future of Heritage and Tourism

At the same time that Newfoundland and Labrador Tourism released their Broader Palette marketing campaign, they published a renewal of their master plan *Vision 2020*, called “Uncommon Potential: A Vision for Newfoundland and Labrador Tourism.” This was a response to their 2009 introduction of *Vision 2020*, which was the first major attempt to formally organize Newfoundland and Labrador Tourism’s goals and strategies. This planning process was a collaboration facilitated by Newfoundland and Labrador Tourism that included the Atlantic Canada Opportunities Agency (ACOA), Hospitality Newfoundland & Labrador, and the regional agencies—Adventure Central Newfoundland, Destination Labrador, Legendary Coasts Eastern

¹⁵³ “Jellybean Row, Newfoundland and Labrador.”

¹⁵⁴ “Chasing Colours in Brigus South, Newfoundland and Labrador,” *Newfoundland and Labrador Tourism*, YouTube, 1:37, Feb. 29, 2016, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=xE4HM2mejUc>.

¹⁵⁵ *2016 Traveller’s Guide: Lost and Found* (St. John’s, NL: Newfoundland and Labrador Tourism, 2016); *Traveller’s Map* (St. John’s, NL: Newfoundland and Labrador Tourism, 2016).

Newfoundland, Go Western Newfoundland, Destination St. John's.¹⁵⁶ At the time of *Vision 2020*'s original publication, tourism was reportedly bringing in approximately \$790 million in revenue to the provincial economy and employed near 13,000 people. The purpose of the *Uncommon Potential* publication was to assess the first six years of the plan's implementation to address any additional issues or changes. By 2015, the tourism industry surpassed \$1 billion in revenue and 5,000 additional jobs were created. This was primarily due to more government investment in the industry, as well as private-public partnerships.¹⁵⁷ The aforementioned statistics prove that the industry is growing and the plan is successful, but *Uncommon Potential* addresses continued struggles and barriers to renew the plan and continue this positive economic growth.

Vision 2020 focuses not only on the tourist and services available to them, but also the native Newfoundlander who should benefit from the industry through employment and business. The plan emphasizes this objective:

Our Vision for tourism focuses on providing travellers [sic] with memorable experiences. To do that, operators must be creative, innovative and develop experiences around unique offerings that appeal to travellers and, at the same time, generate income. The tourism industry must be positioned as a viable career option and one in which a good living can be made. As such, operators must be empowered with confidence to buy into the industry, make further investments and have a plan for succession when the time comes to retire and move on.¹⁵⁸

¹⁵⁶ "Uncommon Potential: A Vision for Newfoundland and Labrador Tourism," *Newfoundland and Labrador Tourism*, 2016, <http://www.btcrcd.gov.nl.ca/tourism/pdf/uncommonpotential-2016.pdf>.

¹⁵⁷ *Ibid*, 6.

¹⁵⁸ *Ibid*, 10.

The symbiotic relationship between the tourist and the local service provider is crucial. The growth of the tourism industry is especially pertinent because Newfoundland has traditionally been a single-resource-based economy. After the fall of the cod industry, offshore oil grew to be a promising new prospect. Four oil fields—Hibernia, Terra Nova, White Rose, and Hebron—were established to produce crude oil, the first of which was employed in 1997 to replace the cod industry.¹⁵⁹ Though this has provided a significant source of employment and revenue for the province, the oilfields hold a finite amount of oil and are not a renewable, sustainable option to power the economy. Sustainability for industry is also a major theme within the *Vision 2020* plan where it is stated: “As oil prices fluctuate and create a variance of economic uncertainty, tourism is an industry in which strong investment is a smart move.”¹⁶⁰

One of the main barriers to creating this sustainable and successful industry however is accessibility for non-resident travelers. Described as “a major competitive disadvantage” to Newfoundland’s tourism industry, getting to and from the island presents obstacles, as well as a short peak season.¹⁶¹ Travel time, distance, and cost are all high, which is why Strategic Direction No. 2 in the seven-point *Vision 2020* plan is rendering Newfoundland more accessible. “For Newfoundland and Labrador, there is no accidental tourist. It takes deliberate planning and determined effort to visit here,” the statement opens.¹⁶² Air access has continually grown while sea and road access

¹⁵⁹ Jenny Higgins, “Oil Industry and the Economy,” *Newfoundland and Labrador Heritage*, 2009, <http://www.heritage.nf.ca/articles/economy/oil-economy.php>.

¹⁶⁰ “Uncommon Potential,” 11.

¹⁶¹ *Ibid*, 14.

¹⁶² *Ibid*, 24.

dwindle due to rising gas and ferry prices. Expanding the St. John's airport, its destinations, and airlines, as well as rental car options at the airport is a major objective outlined in the section. After tourists arrive in the province, road travel is the primary option for getting around the island, so road maintenance, signage, and roadside amenities need to be continuously evaluated and improved. *Vision 2020* and "Uncommon Potential" address this necessity, but their plans are still being implemented while tourism continues to grow.

Conclusion

A tourism industry in Newfoundland existed long before the moratorium, however the moratorium introduced a new era in the province's tourism discourse. After the moratorium there was a shift from a primarily natural environment-based industry, to marketing and celebrating the historic built fabric. As Overton suggested, the development of the tourism industry provided a straw at which the province could grasp in the wake of the collapse of the cod fishery. In 1992, 264,000 tourists entered Newfoundland; by 2010, that number had reached over half a million.¹⁶³ The marketing efforts of Newfoundland and Labrador Tourism have absolutely affected this. Further, the 1993 renaming of the provincial Department of Tourism to the Department of Tourism and Culture was no coincidence—to cope with the moratorium, something that was at the core of Newfoundland culture, a new sense of urgency for cultural heritage preservation became apparent.

¹⁶³ Mark C. J. Stoddart, Howard Ramos, and David Chafe, "The Intangible Impacts of Tourism: The Battle Harbour National Historic District as a Tourism Anchor" (St. John's, NL: The Harris Centre Memorial University, 2014), 5, https://www.mun.ca/harriscentre/reports/Stoddart_13_14_ARF_Final.pdf.

CHAPTER 4
CASE STUDY: CABLE STATION
HEART'S CONTENT, NEWFOUNDLAND

This chapter creates a narrative for the Heart's Content Cable Station from its construction to the present day. The site of the first trans-Atlantic cable, Heart's Content holds an important place in not only Newfoundland's history, but in the history of global communications. When the telegraph company left Heart's Content in 1966, the future of the Cable Station was in limbo until local advocates came together to restore it. This chapter explores the history, restoration, and the station's role in revitalizing a rural outpost town after the fall of the cod industry, the town's main employer.

The Telegraph Comes to Newfoundland

Electric telegraphy arrived in the mid-1800s, in answer to a need for faster communication in a globalizing world. Telegraphy's predecessors were cumbersome and unreliable. Semaphore systems required massive amounts of labor and had great room for error. A breakthrough came in 1819, when Danish physicist Hans Christian Oersted discovered that a magnetic needle would move if next to an electric current-carrying wire. Once his work was published, countless inventors began to find practical uses for this discovery. William Cooke and Charles Wheatstone of England are credited with creating the first telegraph system, which was utilized by railroads and other industries around Europe for several decades. It was not until Samuel Finley

Morse patented an improved system in 1840 that the potential for trans-Atlantic telegraphy was conceived.¹⁶⁴

The story of the telegraph coming to Newfoundland begins with Frederick Newton Gisborne, a well-traveled and educated British engineer and mathematician. Gisborne became interested in electricity and telegraphy while living in Canada, and also realized the insulation potential of gutta percha, a latex-like substance from a Malaysian tree, during a trip to the South Pacific. In 1846 he took a position with Montreal Telegraph, which launched his professional career in telegraphy. By 1847 he had organized the British North American Telegraph Association with the aim to expand communications across Canada. While on a business tour through the Maritimes, Gisborne realized that all news from Europe was coming in by ship through Halifax, Nova Scotia and then transmitted to New York via telegraph. Recognizing that St. John's was the most easterly city in North America, Gisborne set his sights on extending the telegraph line to Newfoundland, which would allow for St. John's to become the major port-of-call for European ships to get news the quickest to New York. The demand for news from Europe was immense from American newspapers, meaning Gisborne's idea had great potential.¹⁶⁵ After petitioning to the Newfoundland government, plans moved forward and telegraph stations were built across the province, and the Newfoundland Electric Telegraph Company was formed by the government in 1852. While back in New York, Gisborne learned that the Brett brothers in England had laid a submarine telegraph cable across the English Channel.

¹⁶⁴ Donald R. Tarrant, *Atlantic Sentinel: Newfoundland's Role in Transatlantic Cable Communications* (St. John's: Flanker Press Limited, 1999), 3-4.

¹⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, 8.

Though the cable was not successful, Gisborne began to consider a submarine cable across the Cabot Strait between Cape Ray, Newfoundland and Nova Scotia.

Fortunately, at that time he was introduced to Cyrus West Field in New York City, and the two began to conceive plans for a trans-Cabot Strait telegraph line.¹⁶⁶

Field had become rich at a young age as a merchant, and thus had a large amount of capital to invest. His interest in the potential for telegraphy grew as he learned of Gisborne's pursuits. Field also noticed Newfoundland's relative proximity to Great Britain, as it was a thousand miles closer to Britain than New York City. The promise and potential a cable across the ocean would yield was an incredible revelation for Field and he immediately began contacting other investors and governments in the pursuit of laying such a cable. On March 10th, 1854, Field organized the New York, Newfoundland and London Telegraph Company. When the Cabot Strait line was finally complete in late 1856, the stage was set for serious explorations of a trans-Atlantic line. After a series of financial troubles and personal conflicts between Gisborne and Field, the pair split ways and the former took up mineral exploration in Newfoundland instead, leaving Field to move forward with the trans-Atlantic line.¹⁶⁷

Several attempts were made at the placement of the trans-Atlantic cable before it was successful. The distance was still immense and unprecedented, despite the fact that Newfoundland was closer to Great Britain than the rest of North America. 2,500 miles of cable needed to be manufactured, and this was no small feat. At its core, the

¹⁶⁶ Tarrant, *Atlantic Sentinel*, 16-17.

¹⁶⁷ Rowe, *Connecting the Continents*, 9-10.

cable contained seven copper wires wrapped in three layers of gutta percha. This bundle was then wrapped in treated hemp and wound with seven-strand iron-wire and coated in a layer of tar. Because of the incredible length of the cable, it could not be carried entirely by one ship, thus two were used during the first 1857 attempt—the *USS Niagara* and the *HMS Agamemnon*. On August 6th, 1857, the shore section of the cable was placed at Valencia Island, County Kerry, Ireland and the ships proceeded into the Atlantic laying the cable. Five days later however, the cable snapped due to a mechanical error after 380 miles of cable had been placed. Unable to retrieve the cable's end, the mission was canceled and the ships returned to Britain.¹⁶⁸ Two additional attempts in 1858 were met with storms at sea, causing the new cables to break. In July 1858, a new plan was devised in which both ships would sail to the maritime midpoint between Ireland and Newfoundland, and would then split ways and travel away from one another, laying the cable from the center out.¹⁶⁹ On August 4th, the ships landed at their respective locations in Valencia and Trinity Bay, Newfoundland and a clear signal was transmitted.¹⁷⁰ The celebrations that spread throughout North America and Europe were short-lived, as six weeks later, the cable line went silent, attributed to defects in the cable manufacturing.¹⁷¹

After several years of fundraising and convincing governments and financial backers for support, Field was again ready to pursue another attempt at laying a trans-Atlantic cable. Field gained the support of Daniel Gooch, an industrialist from Britain

¹⁶⁸ Rowe, *Connecting the Continents*, 10.

¹⁶⁹ *Ibid*, 11.

¹⁷⁰ *Ibid*, 12.

¹⁷¹ *Ibid*, 14.

who owned the steamship *Great Eastern*, which was one of the largest ships in existence at the time. In exchange for stock in the telegraph company after the cable's success, Gooch agreed to contract out *Great Eastern* to Field. By 1864, Field had returned to Newfoundland to choose a new destination for the anticipated cable. At first, New Perlican, a town nearby Heart's Content was chosen, but Field changed his mind when he stumbled upon Heart's Content, found the size and depth of the bay ideal for laying the cable, and decided to proceed with Heart's Content.¹⁷² By June 1855, a cable bound for Heart's Content set out on the *Great Eastern*. By early August, after a slow and troubled voyage riddled with cable breaks and repairs, the cable finally broke aboard the ship and the crew was forced to return to Britain.¹⁷³ This did not deter the team from another effort the following year, when a new, improved cable was manufactured; this iteration contained additional layers of gutta percha and was wrapped with ten-stranded iron wires as opposed to the previous seven-stranded wires.

Finally, after years of trials, on Friday, July 27th, 1866, Field and his telegraph team successfully saw the cable ashore in Heart's Content. It was directed to the Telegraph House, the original telegraph station in Heart's Content, which is no longer extant. A Heart's Content resident named James Legge was constructing a two-story home on his plantation adjacent to the harbor. One of Field's colleagues bought the house and land in order to finish and convert the house into a temporary cable

¹⁷² Rowe, *Connecting the Continents*, 15.

¹⁷³ *Ibid*, 29.

building.¹⁷⁴ After the cable line was tested and deemed a success, the Anglo-American and New York, Newfoundland and London Telegraph Companies supplied employees and normal operation began.¹⁷⁵ It soon became apparent that the station operated from a structure that was intended to be a modest home was much too small. Field then offered local businessman Elias Warren \$2,000 for his plantation land on the bay, where Field saw potential for construction and growth. Warren took the offer and the company staff soon relocated into Warren's existing quarters temporarily and by November they moved into a modest one-and-a-half story wood-frame building, rectangular in form (Fig. 4.1). The company contracted John and James T. Southcott, well-known builders from St. John's, to construct this new cable station as well as additional staff quarters (Fig 4.2).¹⁷⁶ The first permanent staff quarters were high end, and reminiscent of the architecture of the era back in England with which the company workers were familiar. Deemed "Cable Terrace," this new two-and-a-half story apartment complex was designed by an architect from Dublin and built by the Southcott brothers. Furnishings and décor for the apartments were imported from London, and recreational spaces such as a billiards room and library were completed. The superintendent's house, and those of other officials, were designed in a French Second Empire style with steep mansard roofs.¹⁷⁷ These buildings were utilized through the 1870s, when the present-day cable station was built.

¹⁷⁴ Rowe, *Connecting the Continents*, 27-28.

¹⁷⁵ *Ibid*, 43.

¹⁷⁶ *Ibid*, 43.

¹⁷⁷ *Ibid*, 51.

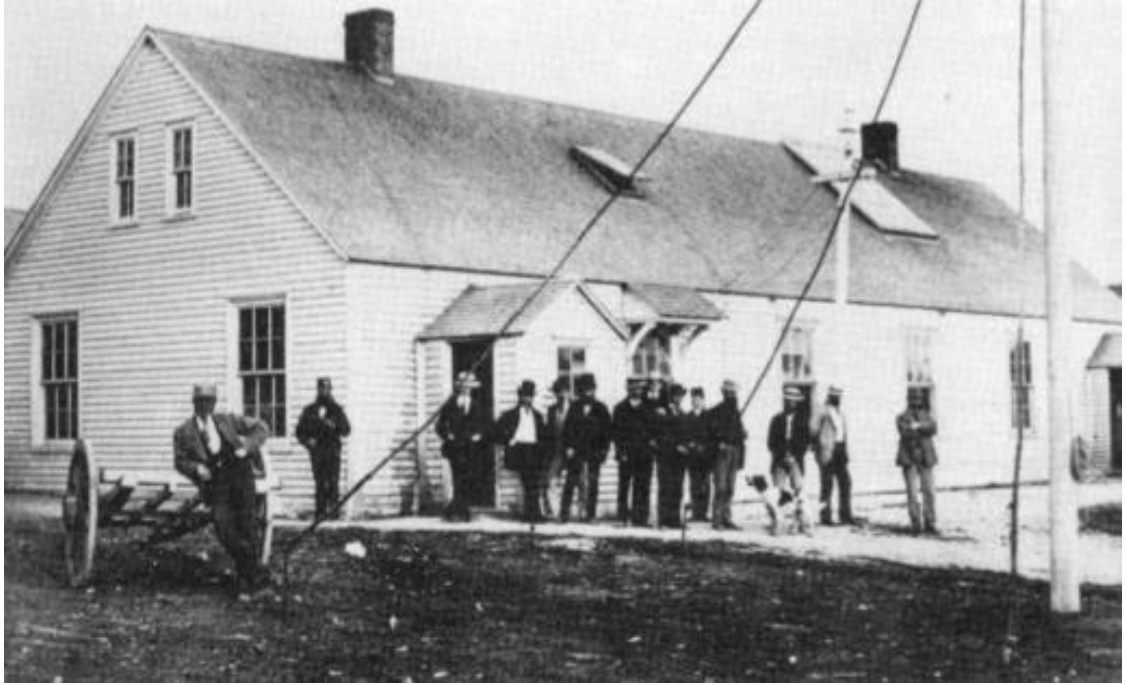


Figure 4.1. An 1872 photograph showing company workers outside the 1866 cable house at Heart's Content. *From the Institute of Electrical and Electronics Engineers.*



Figure 4.2. An early twentieth century photograph by S.H. Parsons featuring “Cable Terrace,” the first permanent staff quarters for telegraph operators at Heart's Content. *From The Rooms Provincial Archives.*

Despite the repeated failures of the trans-Atlantic cable, Field and his team were finally successful and their accomplishment signaled a new era in global communications. The contributions of Gisborne and Field are of paramount importance, and the latter especially has not gone without recognition. In a letter Field received from his pastor in 1868, his pastor remarked, upon seeing Field with Samuel Morse at church, “I could but think at the time how much had been accomplished in the world by the instrumentality of you two.”¹⁷⁸ J. L. O’Sullivan wrote to British royalty on Field’s behalf advocating for his knighthood. “Cyrus Field was indeed the very Columbus of that work. He was to it what Peter the Hermit was to the first Crusade. He was the very steam of it...without him there would have been no Atlantic cable,” O’Sullivan wrote.¹⁷⁹ The Common Council of the City of New York passed a resolution expressing their gratitude to Field in October of 1866, in which they wrote:

...the municipal authorities of the city of New York for themselves and speaking in their behalf of their constituents the people, do hereby cordially tender their congratulations to Cyrus W. Field, Esq., on the successful consummation of the work uniting the two hemispheres by electric telegraph—a work to which he has devoted himself for many years—and to whom, under Devine Providence, the world is indebted for this great triumph of skill, perseverance and energy over the seemingly insurmountable difficulties that were encountered in the progress of the work, and we beg to assure him that we hope that the benefits and advantages thus secured to the people of the two nations directly united may be shared by him to an extent commensurate

¹⁷⁸ [Letter from Pastor to Cyrus Field, Dec. 4, 1868], Box 1, General Correspondences 1846-1869, Cyrus W. Field Papers, Manuscripts and Archives Division, The New York Public Library.

¹⁷⁹ [Letter from J.L. O’Sullivan to Cyrus Field, July 6, 1868], Box 1, General Correspondences 1846-1869, Cyrus W. Field Papers, Manuscripts and Archives Division, The New York Public Library.

with the energy and ability that have characterized his connection with the undertaking.¹⁸⁰

These commendations and praises illustrate the admiration from Field's contemporaries. In order to preserve and educate about this legacy in the present day, the conservation of the buildings associated with the trans-Atlantic cables arrival in Heart's Content is crucial.

The Heart's Content Cable Station: A History and Description

In 1874, it was recognized that there was a need for a new office building to house the cable company and its operations. The result of this expansion was the cable station that stands today on the Heart's Content Harbor, one of the few remaining architectural remnants of the cable's presence. The former cable building erected in 1866 proved to be highly inefficient in winter—snow could get into the attic and leaks were common, which was disastrous as it could destroy the expensive telegraph equipment.¹⁸¹ Working in such frigid conditions was also a source of dissatisfaction among the workers, who were frequently afflicted with colds and discomfort. In 1874, Ezra Weedon, the superintendent of the station, convinced the telegraph company to purchase more land in Heart's Content for construction of a new station. The company bought land on the bay from the Hopkins family plantation, and the Southcott firm from St. John's was once again charged with the task of design and construction. Construction began in mid-1875 but took longer than expected, when another harsh winter hit, lasting seven months and delaying progress on the new building. However,

¹⁸⁰ [Resolution from the New York Common Council, Oct. 8, 1866], Box 3, Atlantic Cable/Atlantic Telegraph Mr. Brassey's Letters and Writings, Cyrus W. Field Papers, Manuscripts and Archives Division, The New York Public Library.

¹⁸¹ Rowe, *Connecting the Continents*, 66.

work resumed in the spring and by the fall of 1876 the new cable station was open and operating.¹⁸²

The cable station was seen as outlandish and immensely decorative by those Heart's Content locals who had never seen such a structure in their town. As described in Chapter 1, the architecture of Heart's Content was largely constructed of wood, in a simple, two-story rectangular or saltbox fashion, with little to no decorative features. The Gothic Revival bargeboards characterizing the cable station were reminiscent of English architecture of the time, and it was highly distinctive in the town. Standing at one-and-a-half stories, the station was constructed of red clay brick and a 12:12 pitched roof clad with slate shingles (Fig 4.3). The interior was finished with plaster walls, hardwood floors, and a painted wainscoting.

Several additions were added over the following several decades, including a small rear addition to house more equipment in 1881, a new mess hall and restrooms in 1918 and 1919 to the east façade of the building, and a 1918 addition dwarfing the original construction, but necessary to house new equipment for a rapidly-improving telegraph industry (Fig. 4.4).¹⁸³ Staff increased from eighty to over two hundred between 1916 and 1918. New equipment, including the Kleinschmidt perforator, which sped up the telegraphy transmission process, required much more space. By the summer months of 1918, a new, eighty-foot long L-shaped addition was under construction. The telegraph company, which had been bought and consolidated by the Western Union Telegraph Company, hired local carpenters and other tradesmen, with

¹⁸² Rowe, *Connecting the Continents*, 67.

¹⁸³ *Ibid*, 69, 127.



Figure 4.3. A 2016 photograph showing the original portion of the 1876 cable station at Heart's Content. *From the author.*



Figure 4.4. A 2016 exterior photograph showing the 1918 addition to house new equipment. *From the author.*

an additional coppersmith from New York, to construct the addition. Built with large concrete blocks, the new addition provided the company with the necessary space to house equipment and a growing staff and expand their operations. After a year of work, the addition was opened and equipment was transferred into the new space.¹⁸⁴ The completion of this addition exemplified the height of the telegraph company and its operations in Heart's Content. In 1921, eight new two-and-a-half story staff houses were constructed adjacent to the station, and a small hospital was also built, complete with an operating room, a luxury the small outpost town had never seen within their boundaries.¹⁸⁵

Unfortunately, the Heart's Content cable boom began to subside rapidly after 1921. Telephones and radios became commonplace in households, and other advances in telephone communications grew, surpassing the telegraph in efficiency and productivity. Between 1921 and 1923, cable traffic through Heart's Content had fallen to less than ten percent of its prior volume. By 1930, the Heart's Content cable station had a mere 25 employees left.¹⁸⁶ Despite this drastic decline, the station remained open and operating. When the Newfoundland government was facing bankruptcy and financial ruin in 1933 and control of the island was assumed by officials from London, Heart's Content continued in business. After the British officials announced a program to promote agriculture through a series of provincial fairs, Heart's Content was among the first towns to be selected to host such a fair, bringing exhibitors and citizens alike

¹⁸⁴ Rowe, *Connecting the Continents*, 127.

¹⁸⁵ *Ibid*, 129.

¹⁸⁶ *Ibid*, 131.

from across the province. Despite this influx of people, it was only a singular event, and afterwards the town went back to its steadily declining population trend. By 1938, many of the apartment buildings and company houses had been demolished due to lack of occupancy or use. In 1939, the train had ceased to come to the town, effectively cutting the residents off from St. John's and other luxuries that came with the train's access.

The dawn of World War II brought some business back to the cable industry and Heart's Content, allowing it to continue operating for several more years, but by 1947, all four cable lines had been severed by fishermen whose nets had become entangled with the cables. When Newfoundland became a province of Canada in 1949, a commemorative memorial to "the cable capital of Newfoundland" was erected on the harbor. A bittersweet ceremony recognized the inescapable end to the industry while celebrating the great international accomplishment which the town hosted.¹⁸⁷ In 1965, the company stopped repairing the broken cables, and Superintendent Robert A. Mackey coordinated the closing of the Heart's Content Cable Station, after 99 years of operation.¹⁸⁸ The somber nature of this closure was reflected in the newspaper headlines at the time: "The Cable office is silent now" and "Heart's Content: A bright past but a dim future."¹⁸⁹ One article reminisced about the former glory of the Cable Terrace apartments, noting "all that remains today of [the terrace] is a pile of stone

¹⁸⁷ Rowe, *Connecting the Continents*, 134.

¹⁸⁸ *Ibid*, 137.

¹⁸⁹ Howard Collins, "The cable office is silent now," *Evening Telegram* (St. John's, NL), July 22, 1966.

rubble,” a symbol of the fall of the telegraph industry and Heart’s Content.¹⁹⁰ In the same article, Mackey was interviewed and quoted: “I have no idea what will be done with the office [building] or the equipment here.”¹⁹¹ It was also written:

Heart’s Content, a tranquil, scenic Trinity Bay community which rose from oblivion and prospered for a few decades, is now slowly slipping back into the shadows. One hundred years ago, Heart’s Content was the centre of world attention as the first Trans-Atlantic cable was landed. Today, it is just another fishing community, one with a bright past, but a dim future. Global communications are now taken for granted but not a century ago. It was a major achievement when the first cable was laid between North America and Europe and nothing short of a miracle when it worked. Now the banks of machinery [in] the red brick cable office [are] muted.¹⁹²

Faced with an uncertain future, the cable office sat vacant for the next 9 years.

Restoration and Designation

After lying partially vacant for two years, briefly housing the Department of Public Welfare and town offices, in 1968 a new era began in for the Heart’s Content Cable Station. Bernard Finn, a curator with the Smithsonian Institute, approached the provincial government regarding an exhibit to be curated around the history of telegraphy. Finn visited Newfoundland and determined that the equipment at Heart’s Content and Bay Roberts was desired and requested temporary loan. Because of this, the government called upon several people throughout Newfoundland to serve on a board regarding the matter. On July 24th, 1968 at 2p.m., a small group convened in the

¹⁹⁰ Collins, “The cable office is silent now.”

¹⁹¹ Ibid.

¹⁹² Ibid.

board room the Department of Provincial Affairs in the Confederation Building in St. John's. This meeting established the Cable Commission, a body dedicated to "preserving historic equipment and buildings relative to the early days of telegraphy in Newfoundland and Labrador."¹⁹³ The commission included several former telegraph operators and managers from Heart's Content and Bay Roberts, as well as a museologist and a representative from the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation. The commission unanimously agreed that the loan to the Smithsonian was a high priority and that donations of equipment could be made for the display but that upon the equipment's return, it should be displayed in a proposed cable museum in Newfoundland.¹⁹⁴ Eric Stentafor, a former cable superintendent at Heart's Content made the following argument for the museum to be at Heart's Content:

...principally because of the historic significance attached to this equipment and with Heart's Content being the landfall for the first successful Atlantic subterranean cable that the right and proper locale for the reception of this most valuable [equipment] was at the pioneer cable station at Heart's Content, and that the present building be preserved and restored, along with the refurbishing of the equipment by the Government of Newfoundland and to formally establish the ancient telegraph office as a Cable Museum for Newfoundland.¹⁹⁵

This suggestion was met with much agreement, and the commission, with the support of the provincial government, proceeded with the loans to the Smithsonian. These loans would be overseen by David Webber, the provincial museologist, and while the

¹⁹³ Melvin Rowe, "Cable Commission Meeting Minutes, July 24, 1968," (St. John's: Department of Provincial Affairs, 1968), 1.

¹⁹⁴ *Ibid*, 1.

¹⁹⁵ *Ibid*, 2.

equipment was away, arrangements would be made to establish such a museum in Heart's Content.¹⁹⁶

One year later, on July 30th, 1969, the commission reconvened and was joined by Herbert Coombs, Deputy Minister of Provincial Affairs, and Edward Henley, Newfoundland's Tourist Director. Coombs made an important announcement at this meeting: contingent upon funding availability for the following fiscal year, the government would allocate funds for the restoration of the cable station, an estimated \$12,000-15,000. Henley also noted at this meeting that the cable station and its equipment were of immense importance, and that a restoration and museum could bring great benefit to the area. He then assigned the government photographer to Heart's Content to document the building's existing exterior and interior to begin the process; the government also purchased the building and land after this meeting, which was imperative for its restoration.¹⁹⁷ As planned, in 1970, the commission appealed to the government for \$15,000 to restore the 1873 section of the building.¹⁹⁸ The amount was approved, and by 1971, renovations and restoration efforts were well underway.¹⁹⁹ In August of 1973, as the restoration was largely complete, the commission met once again to finalize the plans for the coming year. Thomas Doyle, the Minister of Tourism, declared that the grand opening take place on July 27th of the following year, on the anniversary of the historic landing at Heart's Content. They also

¹⁹⁶ Rowe, "Cable Commission Meeting Minutes, July 24, 1968," 2.

¹⁹⁷ Melvin Rowe, "Cable Commission Meeting Minutes, Aug. 12, 1969," (Heart's Content, NL: 1969), 1.

¹⁹⁸ Melvin Rowe, letter to Joseph Smallwood, April 14, 1970.

¹⁹⁹ Henry R. Rendell, letter to Herbert Coombs, Jan. 8, 1972.

decided that the commission would continue to exist and aid in the transition, and that a full-time curator and staff would be appointed.²⁰⁰ The time for the Heart's Content Cable Station to exist as a museum had finally come, and it became protected by Provincial Heritage Site designation.

The grand opening of the Heart's Content Cable Museum was a source of great excitement for much of the community, and the commission invited any of Cyrus Field's descendants for whom they could obtain contact information. Government officials, non-profit groups, and fishermen alike were invited to the ceremony. The Mayor of the Town of Heart's Content declared the opening day a local holiday so that all locals could attend as well.²⁰¹ Businesses used their advertisement spaces in the local newspapers to extend their congratulations.²⁰² Press releases were published in newspapers across most of eastern Canada, highlighting the significance of such a restoration. "The cable station of Heart's Content will, in its new purpose, preserve an historic moment in the development of communications and pay due tribute to all those that worked at the station in its 99 years of service," one article in *The Evening Telegram* in St. John's praised.²⁰³ One of the challenges reported by newspapers was not the restoration itself, but how the curation team would address interpreting the highly complex technical equipment they were to display to the public.

²⁰⁰ Melvin Rowe, "Cable Commission Meeting Minutes, Aug. 24, 1973," (Heart's Content, NL: 1973), 1.

²⁰¹ T. M. Doyle, invitation for Heart's Content Cable Museum grand opening, July 27, 1974.

²⁰² "Newfoundland's newest historic site opening in Heart's Content tomorrow," *Evening Telegram* (St. John's, NL), July 26, 1974.

²⁰³ *Ibid.*

...the historic resources division had the task of providing an interesting explanation of the workings of extremely complicated equipment which would be meaningless to average person without some interpretation. Artists and technicians have worked to design and construct displays describing the laying of the cable by the ship...and the operations inside the station itself...Visitors may try their hand at sending a message on the telegraph or reading some of the original messages from tapes remaining in the station.²⁰⁴

Another press article praised, "...Heart's Content represents a watershed in the development of historic sites in Newfoundland. For the first time...[the government has] fashioned a vehicle that will both inform and entertain the visiting public no matter what age, in a manner never before attempted in Newfoundland."²⁰⁵ On the historic opening day, Melvin Rowe, the commission's secretary, wrote that "a vast crowd, upwards of a thousand, representing all facets of Newfoundland Society, the Mainland, and the United States assembled in front of the cable office" to witness the opening of this new museum.²⁰⁶

It is important to note that the establishment of the cable museum, although a triumph and milestone for many, was met with some local opposition from those fishermen who had firm contempt for the cable and its history. During the development of the cable industry in Heart's Content, a clear divide existed between classes in the town, between the fishing families who had lived in the town for generations and the comparatively wealthy, cable company associates. In a place

²⁰⁴ "History comes alive at Heart's Content," *Evening Telegram* (St. John's, NL), July 25, 1974.

²⁰⁵ "Newfoundland's newest historic site opening in Heart's Content tomorrow."

²⁰⁶ Melvin Rowe, "Minutes from the Official Opening, Heart's Content Cable Museum," (Heart's Content: 1974).

where the locals historically relied upon the cod fishery, sealing, and other maritime professions, the introduction of the cable company was not always well-received. For the first ten years of the cable company's presence, all of the cable operators were supplied by the company from England or St. John's; not one man from Heart's Content was hired.²⁰⁷ The cable staff brought with them elements of English society as well as servants, and lived very comfortably comparatively. There was a high degree of animosity between the locals and the company men for the first few decades. However, as the cable station developed and grew prosperous, benefits were seen throughout the area for local residents as well, including better education, a hospital, more visitors spending more money in the town, and the train. These original tensions eventually lessened and a more united Heart's Content emerged, but the opening of the cable station as a museum and heritage site brought back sour memories for some of the older members of the community who retained their resentment toward the company.²⁰⁸

Preservation of the site was, and still is, imperative, as most of the buildings associated with the former company operations in Heart's Content have been demolished. Today, the cable museum remains the centerpiece for the story of the cable's history, and only a handful of the company houses remain, several in disrepair. The Legge House which first housed the operations, Cable Terrace, and the majority of the staff houses are all gone, leaving the cable museum the primary building to represent the history.

²⁰⁷ Rowe, *Connecting the Continents*, 49.

²⁰⁸ Linda Sooley, interview by Shannon N. Cilento, Sept. 30, 2016.

Area Tourism and Development Post-Moratorium

The fishery had always been a cornerstone for the town, employing most of its small population. The first few years after the initial announcement of the moratorium brought both municipal and volunteer actions to address the situation and explore alternatives to allow people to stay in Heart's Content. The Atlantic Groundfish Strategy program brought financial help, but there were few other steady jobs for residents.²⁰⁹ According to Don Blundon, Heart's Content's mayor at the time, the moratorium led to an outmigration of young residents to either other areas of Newfoundland with more jobs, or to mainland Canada. To combat this, Blundon and other local representatives turned to tourism and aquaculture to provide sustainable alternatives to the fishery, which could allow residents to stay. The development of tourism could attract visitors to the area, which would mean more amenities and services would be needed, creating jobs for local people. "We believe our future may lie in tourism and aquaculture," Blundon said in a 1995 interview.²¹⁰

This inclination toward tourism was preceded by the establishment of the Baccalieu Trail in 1992 which runs along the entire coast of the Bay de Verde Peninsula. It was a project of the Baccalieu Trail Chamber of Commerce, whose charge was to create a positive economic environment for the rural communities on the peninsula following the moratorium.²¹¹ The term "Baccalieu" comes from the Basque *baccalos*, which was an historic name for Newfoundland meaning "codfish,"

²⁰⁹ "Steeped in history and tradition," *The Compass* (Carbonear, NL), Nov. 15, 1995.

²¹⁰ *Ibid.*

²¹¹ Chris Pickard, "Baccalieu Trail communities expecting positive changes," *The Evening Telegram* (St. John's, NL), Oct. 30, 1995.

chosen to represent the area's rich fishing heritage, which was in jeopardy after the fall of the cod fishery.²¹² Pamphlets and maps were designed and circulated throughout the province in hopes that tourists and Newfoundlanders alike would drive the Baccalieu Trail, visit its numerous historic sites, eat at its restaurants, and purchase goods from its businesses. Heart's Content was recognized as one of the highlights of this trail because of the Cable Station and Museum, who developed additional exhibits in a response to the growing influx of tourists. Heart's Content mayor Don Blundon also served as the chairperson for the Baccalieu Trail Tourism Association in 1998, furthering the post-moratorium development of the region while supporting growth in his own Heart's Content.²¹³ The Baccalieu Trail Heritage Corporation was founded in 1993 as a nonprofit "whose mission is to identify, preserve, and promote, in cooperation with the Region's residents, the unique heritage resources of the Bay de Verde Peninsula, to instill pride in our Region and ensure quality of life is enjoyed by present and future generations."²¹⁴ The following year, the Mizzen Heritage Society was formed to preserve the built heritage of the immediate Heart's Content region.²¹⁵ The establishment of these various regional organizations in the wake of the moratorium not only further promoted the Heart's Content Cable Museum, but used it as an anchor in Heart's Content to draw visitors to and around the region.

²¹² "Baccalieu Trail: A Visitor's Guide 2002, Excursion around the Bay," *Baccalieu Trail Tourism Association* (Carbonear, NL: Baccalieu Trail Tourism Association, 2002), 6, <http://www.baccalieu.com/graphics/GuideBookIntro.pdf>.

²¹³ "Tour Guide: Baccalieu Trail, Newfoundland and Labrador," *Baccalieu Trail Tourism Association* (Carbonear, NL: Baccalieu Trail Tourism Association, 1998), 1.

²¹⁴ "Baccalieu Trail: A Visitor's Guide 2002, Excursion around the Bay," 4.

²¹⁵ "Home," *Mizzen Heritage Society*.

In 1996, the province continued to create programs for alternative employment for displaced fishermen and others who were having difficulty finding work during the recession. That year, \$10.8 million was pledged to be invested into training programs, specifically in rural areas effected most by the moratorium. Such programs also included employment training and opportunities for women, recent graduates, small business owners and youth.²¹⁶ Most directly impacting the Cable Station and Museum was a two-year provincial heritage conservation training program offered as part of this investment plan. From 1996 to 1997, Heart's Content native Linda Sooley participated in this program after working in a print shop. After going through this government-sponsored program, Sooley gained employment at The Rooms Provincial Archives and then the Commissariat House, a provincial historic site in St. John's. In 2004, an opportunity came for Sooley to transfer to the Heart's Content Cable Station, so she relocated back to Heart's Content with formal heritage preservation training and knowledge that allowed her to assume the role of site supervisor several years later.²¹⁷ As a result of the training program, Sooley was able to provide the Heart's Content Cable Station with valuable and legitimate preservation knowledge, allowing for it to develop further, in turn helping the area develop economically.

The 2000s marked an era of great development and recognition for the Heart's Content Cable Station. On May 31st, 2003, the site was given a plaque by the Historic Sites and Monuments Board of Canada to commemorate the cable landing as an event

²¹⁶ "Province continues major employment generation programs," *Government of Newfoundland and Labrador News Releases* (St. John's, NL), May 17, 1996, <http://www.releases.gov.nl.ca/releases/1996/drr/0517n13.htm>.

²¹⁷ Linda Sooley, interview.

of national historic significance.²¹⁸ The Cable Station also served as the impetus and centerpiece for the 2013 provincial-level Registered Heritage District, designated by the Heritage Foundation of Newfoundland and Labrador. The Cable Station was touted as the gateway to the district. The district included all the associated extant cable structures, the Society of United Fishermen's Lodge, and other commercial and residential structures.²¹⁹ The elevation of Heart's Content's profile on a provincial and national level led to more tourists coming to see the Cable Station, which brought increased revenue for local businesses. This influx of travelers also highlighted the issue that there were no accommodations for those visiting the town. Though visitors would drive along the Baccalieu Trail, they would not stay in Heart's Content. The result was the restoration of two of the late-1870s cable houses that were built to house upper-level management.²²⁰ These architect-designed Second Empire houses were in complete disrepair when Heart's Content resident Ed Woodley and his wife obtained them to save them. Woodley's father-in-law bought the houses after they were condemned in the 1980s and started the restoration work. In 2009, Woodley bought them and spent the following six years completing the restoration, which included replacing sills, joists, clapboard and plumbing. In 2014, one was opened for event rentals and by 2016, the second was opened as an eight-bedroom bed and breakfast.²²¹

²¹⁸ "National historic significance," *The Compass* (Carbonear, NL), May 27, 2003.

²¹⁹ Melissa Jenkins, "Heart's Content earns historical honour," *The Compass* (Carbonear, NL), July 30, 2013.

²²⁰ "History," *Heart's Content Cable House*, 2016, <http://www.heartscontentcablehouse.com/history.html>.

²²¹ Ed Woodley, email message to author, February 2, 2017.

The success of the Cable Station and corresponding historic district also encouraged the preservation of other local structures, such as Uncle Bill Piercey's Store, a historic fishing twine store and gathering place for local fishermen. The store, also given the moniker "House of Commons" as it was locally known as a place for public debate, was closed in 1986 following Piercey's death. In 2010, it was restored through efforts of the Mizzen Heritage Society and the Heritage Foundation of Newfoundland and Labrador, adding yet another restored historic structure to Heart's Content's growing list.²²² Heart's Content for several years has been deemed the winner of the provincial government's Tidy Towns Award, an honorary title which "encourages communities to focus on keeping properties neat and tidy and fostering civic pride."²²³ Two of the criteria used in evaluating potential winners are effort for heritage conservation and community involvement.²²⁴

Outside of the greater Trinity Bay region, the Heart's Content Cable Station made several appearances in provincial initiatives, including the Templeton's Historic Colours of Newfoundland collection and the Broader Palette marketing campaign of Newfoundland and Labrador Tourism. In 2007, when Templeton's and the Heritage Foundation of Newfoundland and Labrador introduced their Newfoundland-inspired heritage color line, Heart's Content was one of the first colors to be created, which

²²² "Piece of Heart's Content history restored," *The Compass* (Carbonear, NL), Oct. 12, 2010.

²²³ "2014 Tidy Towns winners picked in Newfoundland and Labrador," *The Telegram* (St. John's, NL), Oct. 12, 2014, <http://www.thetelegram.com/news/local/2014/10/12/2014-tidy-towns-winners-picked-in-newfou-3901528.html>.

²²⁴ *Ibid.*

featured the dusty red of the Cable Station.²²⁵ Further, when Newfoundland and Labrador Tourism launched their video advertisement series *Broader Palette*, championing the vibrant colors across the province, *Heart's Content* was featured in one of the eight campaign videos. "Out here, there's plenty of love to go around, with names like *Heart's Delight*, *Heart's Desire*, and *Heart's Content*, make no wonder they call it Trinity Bay...a place so beautiful even the sea itself couldn't help but fall in love," the video states.²²⁶ The province is known for having oddly-named places, and Newfoundland and Labrador Tourism utilizes this to attract tourists. The video is filled with scenes from *Heart's Content*, including the Cable Station and lighthouse.²²⁷ The advertisement was shown on televisions nationally, as well as on Newfoundland and Labrador Tourism's various social media and internet platforms, allowing *Heart's Content* to gain recognition and entice more tourists.

Conclusion

The landscape of *Heart's Content* was significantly altered and shaped by the introduction of the trans-Atlantic telegraph industry. The architecture of the cable company was something residents had never seen before in rural Newfoundland. *Heart's Content* features a unique juxtaposition in the landscape of high-style architecture and vernacular fishing structures and homes, both of which need to be preserved and utilized. Although the telegraph industry left *Heart's Content* in the 1960s, its built legacy still remains and has brought tourism and jobs to the town.

²²⁵ "Historic Colours of Newfoundland."

²²⁶ "Colourful Place Names, Trinity Bay, Newfoundland and Labrador," *Newfoundland and Labrador Tourism*, YouTube, 0:43, Feb. 12, 2016, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=oJScjRaCs6g>.

²²⁷ *Ibid.*

There is irony in the fact that the cable company brought new employment opportunities and economic development to the town, as the restoration of the Cable Station and other local structures has led to new employment in heritage in the wake of the moratorium. Between 1992 and the present day, the number of annual visitors to the Heart's Content Cable Station has grown from about 3,000 to over 7,000 in recent years.²²⁸ This growth has allowed for the establishment of new businesses and for people who had to leave the town for work, such as Linda Sooley, to return to Heart's Content. The recent sesquicentennial of the landing of the cable at Heart's Content brought hundreds of people to the town for a week of events from July 25th through the 31st, 2016. In total, over \$70,000 in federal and provincial funds were spent on the event, the largest to occur since the landing of the cable in 1866 itself.²²⁹ A new commemorative park deemed "Transatlantic Park" was also unveiled during the celebrations. Funded by Provincial Historic Sites, Transatlantic Park includes seating, several monuments, and a metal pathway that features the first message sent to Heart's Content in Morse code (Fig. 4.5).²³⁰ The continued investment in both the Heart's Content Cable Station and the town exemplifies the growth since the moratorium. The Cable Station served as an anchor to revitalize the town through heritage tourism and small business development.

²²⁸ Linda Sooley, interview.

²²⁹ "Party in Heart's Content celebrates cable completion 150 years ago," *CBC News*, July 27, 2016, <http://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/newfoundland-labrador/150-anniversary-transatlantic-cable-hearts-content-1.3696973>.

²³⁰ "Design and Plan Portfolio," *Murray's Gardens* 2016, <http://murraysgardens.com/landscape-design-planning/gallery/>.



Figure 4.5. Transatlantic Park, opened in 2016 on the sesquicentennial of the successful cable landing at Heart's Content. The copper plaque along the ground represents the location of the cable and features Morse code engravings. *From the author.*

CHAPTER 5
CASE STUDY: WESTERN UNION CABLE BUILDING
BAY ROBERTS, NEWFOUNDLAND

Bay Roberts was most arguably the town most severely affected by the moratorium, and the restoration of the Bay Roberts Cable Building served as an impetus for heritage conservation and tourism development in the area. This chapter follows the Cable Building's history from its construction to its major restoration that was necessary to save it from demolition. The Cable Building now stands as a testament to the preservation brought about by the moratorium and the ability a project such as this has to rejuvenate a downtown. Further, it illustrates the importance of incorporating the needs of a community into a restoration to ensure its sustainability and success.

Western Union Telegraph Comes to Bay Roberts

In April of 1851, the New York & Mississippi Valley Printing Telegraph Company was established by Hiram Sibley, a businessman from Rochester, New York. Sibley had an array of successful ventures at the time, including a saw mill, foundry, and wool carding factory. Sibley recognized the monopoly on the American telegraph industry by Samuel Morse's patent, and organized local businessmen to create an alternate company which would rival Morse's. The founders intended to construct a line from Buffalo, New York, to St. Louis, Missouri, but due to diminishing funds, the line's construction came to a halt in 1853 near Louisville,

Kentucky.²³¹ Facing the potential failure of the New York & Mississippi Valley Printing Telegraph Company, Sibley took a risk and bought out the remaining investors, sought new investors, and began to buy Midwestern telegraph lines with new funds. Sibley partnered with railroad lines and other existing telegraph companies to grow his company. In 1854, Sibley recognized that the Erie & Michigan Telegraph Company, who had control of the Morse patent immediately west of Sibley's ventures, was an obstacle in his plan. By 1855, after many negotiations, Sibley had entered into a deal with Erie & Michigan's primary shareholders, Jephtha Wade, John J. Speed, and Ezra Cornell, in which they became stockholders in the New York & Mississippi Valley and gave Sibley use of the Morse patent. In order to recognize this massive merger, the men decided a new name was warranted. On April 4th, 1856, the New York State legislature approved a name change to the Western Union Telegraph Company, and the company continued to grow after this.²³²

Throughout the latter half of the nineteenth century, Newfoundland's telegraph lines were monopolized by the Anglo-American Telegraph Company and Cyrus Field's Atlantic Telegraph Company, which merged in 1866. Their monopoly ceased in 1904, leaving the door open to other telegraph companies who wished to invest in Newfoundland, including Western Union.²³³ In 1910, Western Union began examining potential landing sites in Newfoundland's Conception Bay, including Bay

²³¹ Joshua D. Wolff, *Western Union and the Creation of the American Corporate Order, 1845-1893* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2013), 22-23.

²³² Wolff, *Western Union*, 31.

²³³ Flynn, *Historic Bay Roberts*, 72.

Roberts. *The Guardian*, Bay Roberts newly-established local newspaper, wrote regarding the visit:

...representatives of the Western Union Telegraph Co...were in town on Wednesday and Thursday of last week looking at our sites, [and] returned here again on Monday morning and remained till Tuesday evening...They expressed themselves as being favourably impressed with this town, but nothing definite will be known regarding the site selected until after they have made their report to the company in New York...They appreciated the interest and the reception accorded to them by the people of Bay Roberts, and our citizens are very hopeful that before long, this town will have a cable landed within its borders.²³⁴

The Guardian played a substantial role in the selection of Bay Roberts, as the founder and editor Charles E. Russell formed a committee and a campaign to persuade Western Union to lay the cable in their town.²³⁵

Later that summer, Bay Roberts and Russell were successful in their venture, as the town was selected and plans were quickly carried out to establish cable lines and a cable station (Fig. 5.1). Between August and September 1910, the cable was laid from Bay Roberts to Sennen Cove, near Penzance, Cornwall, England, a stretch of just over two thousand miles. In late September, the cable ship *Teleconia* relayed the cable from the larger vessel *Colonia*, which was too large to breach the shallow waters in the bay. Simultaneously, a cable was being laid from Bay Roberts to Coney Island, New York. By September 30th, the entire system was operating and Western Union

²³⁴ *The Guardian* (Bay Roberts, NL), May 8, 1910.

²³⁵ Eric Jerrett, "Road to Yesterday Virtual Museum Exhibit," *Virtual Museum of Canada*, 2014, http://www.virtualmuseum.ca/sgc-cms/histoires_de_chez_nous-community_memories/pm_v2.php?id=record_detail&fl=0&lg=English&ex=00000326&hs=0&rd=134300.

officially began relaying messages from England to the United States via Bay Roberts.²³⁶

Cable Building: Construction and Description

The first cable building constructed took the form of a small, wooden cable hut on the shore, intended to be temporary (Fig. 5.2). Construction began for the cable hut on July 12th, 1910 after Bay Roberts was chosen. Locals from the area provided the design and labor. A.D. Wetmore served as the project supervisor, John Marshall as foreman, and John Bishop provided the construction materials.²³⁷ Three years later in 1913, a new, permanent cable building was erected and the cable hut became a storage unit, and later was converted to a residential property. The new cable building was much larger and much more durable than its predecessor. Constructed with brick and reinforced concrete, the 1913 cable building cost just shy of \$70,000 and was designed by the well-known McKenzie, Voorhees & Gmelin architectural firm in New York City. The general contractor, D.C. Weeks & Son was also a New York-based firm, while the Dominion Bridge Company responsible for steelwork was from Québec. L.K. Comstock, the company responsible for wiring the Empire State Building, was contracted to provide the electrical wiring.²³⁸ The cable building's roof is poured concrete comprised of sand and stone sourced locally in the Conception Bay. Horses were utilized to raise the mixed concrete using a block and tackle system.²³⁹ A

²³⁶ Jerrett, "Road to Yesterday Virtual Museum Exhibit."

²³⁷ Ibid.

²³⁸ Ibid.

²³⁹ Jerrett, Interview by Shannon Cilento.



Figure 5.1. The cable trench leading from the shoreline to the first cable hut, July 22nd, 1910. *From the Road to Yesterday Virtual Museum Exhibit.*



Figure 5.2. A 1910 photograph of the first cable hut in Bay Roberts. Used until 1914, it later became a company storage hut and eventually a dwelling. *From the Road to Yesterday Virtual Museum Exhibit.*

partially subterranean concrete storage building was also built adjacent to the northeast corner of the cable station; it could hold up to one hundred tons of coal to fuel the boilers within the station.²⁴⁰

Completed in November of 1913, the Cable Building was the centerpiece for an entire Cable Avenue that was simultaneously being built (Fig. 5.4). The Cable Avenue District became a small enclave for the Western Union employees and their families. Western Union constructed the avenue itself, which was planned perpendicular to the bay, and planted chestnut trees along the entire length (Fig. 5.5). Sidewalks and streetlamps were also installed. The company also provided modern amenities for the street, including sewer and water systems.²⁴¹ Seven duplex houses for married employees and their families lined the avenue, which culminated in a large staff house, which housed unmarried employees (Fig. 5.6). Completed by 1915, the duplexes were constructed by William Dawe and cost around \$16,000 each.²⁴² The cable superintendent had his own house across the street from the cable building. These residential structures, as with those constructed in Heart's Content, were built in high style compared to the less decorative buildings characteristic of Bay Roberts and other rural outpost fishing towns. Other luxuries, including tennis courts, were included in the Cable Avenue design, providing important social centers for employees and later, Bay Roberts residents.

²⁴⁰ Jerrett, "Road to Yesterday Virtual Museum Exhibit."

²⁴¹ Flynn, *Historic Bay Roberts*, 75.

²⁴² Jerrett, "Road to Yesterday Virtual Museum Exhibit."



Figure 5.3. A photograph taken on October 8th, 1913 showing the construction of the Bay Roberts Cable Building. *From the Road to Yesterday Virtual Museum Exhibit.*



Figure 5.4. A 1918 photograph showing the completed Western Union Cable Building. *From the Road to Yesterday Virtual Museum Exhibit.*



Figure 5.5. A 1930 photograph depicting the Cable Avenue streetscape looking south toward the bay, with its sidewalks and young chestnut trees. *From the Road to Yesterday Virtual Museum Exhibit.*



Figure 5.6. A 1913 photograph of the completed staff house which is no longer extant. *From the Road to Yesterday Virtual Museum Exhibit.*

A gate at the base of Cable Avenue, which sloped gently up a hill leading away from the harbor, was installed upon the completion of the avenue. This gate grew to be a point of contention and tension, like that in Heart's Content, grew between the company workers and the local fishing population. The residents of Bay Roberts saw the gate as a symbol of exclusion, while the Western Union maintained that the gate was to prevent entrance of free-roaming livestock common to the area. It is evident in the local newspaper at the time that hopes were high for Bay Roberts residents to find employment opportunities when the town was originally selected. "[The establishment of the cable] will mean much to this town, as the company is a large one, and it is thought several cables will be landed, which means that a staff of about 40 or 50 operators will be constantly employed. In addition to this, there will be considerable work for carpenters and labourers," *The Guardian* wrote.²⁴³ It must have been soon realized that the company would supply all of their own staff, which incited tension between the company and the existing residents.

The Bay Roberts Cable Building played a significant role in early twentieth century world news which should not be overlooked. The Bay Roberts station was responsible for transmitting several breaking stories to the major American news outlets, including stories such as the sinking of the *RMS Titanic* in April 1912, the assassination of Czar Nicholas and the Romanov family in July 1918, and news relating to both World Wars.²⁴⁴ The Bay Roberts Cable Building was deemed a top priority by the British and Canadian governments during World War II, and they

²⁴³ *The Guardian* (Bay Roberts, NL), May 8, 1910.

²⁴⁴ Flynn, *Historic Bay Roberts*, 80-81.

provided troops to guard the stations at all times, as well as submarine vigilance in the Atlantic to protect the connection between Britain and North America from German forces. Cable communication was crucial in these trans-Atlantic conversations between the Allied forces, as wireless communication was susceptible to interference by enemy forces.²⁴⁵ British Prime Minister Winston Churchill and United States President Franklin Delano Roosevelt maintained a private line of communication which ran through the Bay Roberts station as well.²⁴⁶

As technology continued to improve, the Cable Building would need an addition to accommodate new apparatuses for the telegraph. An extension to the east elevation of the Cable Building was added in 1925 to match the original construction.²⁴⁷ On June 28th, 1926, the Western Union vessel *Cyrus Field* brought a new and improved cable to Bay Roberts. Deemed “the fastest cable in the world,” the cable could process 2,500 letters per minute, an unprecedented speed.²⁴⁸ The Cable Building continued to operate and flourish until the end of World War II, when Western Union made the transition to automation and a staff of one hundred was reduced to fifteen.²⁴⁹ The Bay Roberts Cable Station was finally decommissioned by Western Union in 1960, when telegraphic communications had grown obsolete and

²⁴⁵ Flynn, *Historic Bay Roberts*, 82.

²⁴⁶ Lillian Simmons, “Second cable discovery fitting find for 89th anniversary,” *The Compass* (Carbonear, NL), Aug. 3, 1999.

²⁴⁷ Jerrett, “Road to Yesterday Virtual Museum Exhibit.”

²⁴⁸ “Fastest Cable in the World Landed,” *The Guardian* (Bay Roberts, NL), July 9, 1926.

²⁴⁹ Flynn, *Historic Bay Roberts*, 82.

unprofitable.²⁵⁰ The cable station had served a vital role in global communications during its five decades of operation, and the building and subsequent Cable Avenue buildings had grown to be a major defining feature of the Bay Roberts landscape.

Restoration after the Moratorium

When Western Union closed their doors in Bay Roberts, the local school board, the Avalon North Integrated School Board, converted the space to serve as their offices. However, when the board relocated their offices in the mid-1970s, the building was left vacant and fell into disrepair.²⁵¹ The building remained this way for twenty years, a derelict reminder of the town's past. It was not until the early 1990s when the building was threatened with demolition that the property gained attention. Local community members saw the building as a nuisance and also a threat to public safety, as bricks would frequently fall from the building near the sidewalk below (Fig. 5.7). Although some representatives of the community were pushing for demolition, other Bay Roberts residents recognized the value in the building at a time when the majority fishing community was reeling from the effects of the moratorium. Bay Roberts Heritage Society co-founder Eric Jerrett met with the building owner at the time, Bay Roberts Enterprises, to discuss a transfer. The owner of Bay Roberts Enterprises happened to live in the former cable superintendent's house next door, and agreed that the building was an important aspect of the town's history. Jerrett began advocating for the building's conservation, arguing that the cost to tear down the structure would be even greater than to preserve it. Since the building was

²⁵⁰ Jerrett, "Road to Yesterday Virtual Museum Exhibit."

²⁵¹ "Cable Building Restoration," *Bay Roberts Heritage Society*, 2014, <http://www.bayrobertsheritagesociety.com/cable.html>.



Figure 5.7. A 1994 photograph of the exterior of the cable building. Broken windows and falling bricks were major issues needing repair. *From the Road to Yesterday Virtual Museum Exhibit.*



Figure 5.8. A 1994 photograph showing the interior of the former cable operations room. Mold was one of the biggest issues facing the restoration team. *From the Road to Yesterday Virtual Museum Exhibit.*

becoming a liability, Bay Roberts Enterprises was eager to transfer the building to another party. Jerrett proposed that the corporation donate the building to the Bay Roberts Heritage Society for a tax deduction, as the society was a registered charitable organization. The cable building was then appraised at \$21,000, and the building was successfully transferred to the society in 1995.²⁵²

Financially and economically, this was a perfect time for the proposed restoration. Although when Jerrett received the building in 1995 he had yet to secure any funding, he remained optimistic and began writing to politicians and organizations to solicit the necessary funds. Since this was all following the 1992 moratorium, there was funding available for economic development in Newfoundland that supported conservation projects. In 1994, the town council, along with the Heritage Society and the Royal Canadian Legion Branch 32, formed a campaign and action plan to rejuvenate the town for both tourism growth and local benefit as a direct response to the devastating effects of the moratorium. Almost \$6 million in grant funding was applied for by the aforementioned organizations for five target projects. All of these projects were chosen with the ultimate goal of revitalizing the downtown and waterfront area for locals and tourists alike. Two heritage walks were proposed in this plan, the Shoreline Heritage Walk and the Coish Walk, which would connect both heritage and ecological sites along the coastline in different parts of the town. A Main Street Program Grant was also proposed to revitalize the Water Street area. One of the

²⁵² Jerrett, Interview by Shannon Cilento.

largest budget items however was the restoration of the Cable Building, which requested \$1.2 million.²⁵³

In 1997, the Bay Roberts Heritage Society finally began to secure grants that would ultimately bring the long-awaited project to fruition. The federal Department of Human Resources Development provided several grants for projects in Bay Roberts, including \$400,000 for the restoration of the Cable Building.²⁵⁴ In addition to this, the Atlantic Canada Opportunities Agency (ACOA) and their Strategic Rural Development Association was also willing to provide grant funding, on the condition that Jerrett and the Heritage Society had a plan for intended use pending the successful restoration of the structure. Jerrett then approached the Bay Roberts Town Council with his proposition—with the restoration of the Cable Building, offices could be completed on the ground floor and the council could occupy the space free of rent, as long as they pay for utilities and maintenance. A written agreement was drafted between the town and the Heritage Society, and Jerrett returned to the Atlantic Canada Opportunities Agency to pursue the grant. The agency awarded Jerrett and the society another \$400,000, allowing the restoration to move forward with just over \$800,000 in funding.²⁵⁵ It is important to understand the motivations behind the latter grant. After the moratorium, the ACOA was one of the federal agencies tasked with relief for those displaced fishermen. The restoration of the Cable Building was an opportunity to provide work for those in Bay Roberts who were reeling from the aftermath of the

²⁵³ Michael F. Flynn, “Bay Roberts groups seek funds to rejuvenate, beautify town,” *The Evening Telegram* (St. John’s, NL), Dec. 16, 1994.

²⁵⁴ Michael F. Flynn, “\$1-M boost to Bay Roberts’ past, and future,” *The Evening Telegram* (St. John’s, NL), May 20, 1997.

²⁵⁵ Jerrett, Interview with Shannon Cilento; Flynn, “\$1-M boost.”



Fig. 5.9. The restored exterior of the Western Union Cable Building in September 2016. *From the author.*

moratorium. Since Jerrett was a licensed practicing architect, he had valuable skills necessary for the restoration, but more labor was essential. ACOA provided training in conjunction with the grant to educate local displaced fish plant workers and fishermen in various building trades, including masonry repair and roofing. These trainees were then the labor force for the Cable Building's restoration over the following two years.²⁵⁶

By 1999, the exterior restoration was complete and the first floor was converted to offices for the town as agreed upon. In January 1999, the Bay Roberts Town Council moved into the building and held their first meeting in the chambers on January 12th. Mayor Wilbur Sparkes remarked at the opening that they were “proud and humbled to start off [the New Year] in a building with such history...we're proud to be here.”²⁵⁷ This relocation was seen as a grand improvement from their former offices, which had 1,500 square feet of space. The Cable Building allowed the town to expand to 4,500 square feet and have better chambers and public meeting spaces. This also benefitted the local 50+ Club, a social organization for senior citizens, which previously did not have a home. The club was able to assume the former Town Council space in another building, allowing them to expand and provide more services and programming for local residents.²⁵⁸ The first phase of the Cable Building restoration played a great role in revitalizing the community of Bay Roberts, and the following phase and second floor restoration continued this legacy.

²⁵⁶ Jerrett, Interview with Shannon Cilento.

²⁵⁷ Lillian Simmons, “Bay Roberts Council holds first meeting in new quarters,” *The Compass* (Carbonear, NL), Jan. 19, 1999.

²⁵⁸ *Ibid.*

Six months after the first floor was finished, the second floor was nearing completion when the Cable Building received a high honor—designation by the Heritage Foundation of Newfoundland and Labrador as a provincial historic property.²⁵⁹ At the same time, plans for a second floor art gallery were being realized, as the Heritage Society partnered with nationally-recognized artist Christopher Pratt. Pratt’s mother was a Bay Roberts native and he had always maintained strong ties with the town despite moving away to pursue art. Jerrett had approached Pratt, who had a studio in Bay Roberts, asking if he would be interested in establishing an art gallery in the newly restored Cable Building. Pratt was receptive to the idea and began to help the society in any way possible. He designed a limited edition print which he allowed the society to sell for fundraising. He signed one hundred of these prints, which sold for \$100 each, and the remaining unsigned prints were sold for \$40 each. In addition to this contribution, Pratt donated many of his most significant works to the society for the gallery.²⁶⁰ One decade after Jerrett formed the society with his wife, the gallery opened in Pratt’s name. The reception was positive and the sentiment that bringing art to areas outside of metropolitan St. John’s was important to rural Newfoundland and could bring great benefit to outport communities. “Art is not the exclusive domain of St. John’s,” Pratt had said regarding the opening. Another local artist, Sid Butt, had work on display at the opening and emphasized the importance of

²⁵⁹ Michael F. Flynn, “Cable building’s heritage recognized,” *The Evening Telegram* (St. John’s, NL), June 27, 1999.

²⁶⁰ Jerrett, Interview with Shannon Cilento.

the establishment of the gallery: “It’s about time to have something like this in Conception Bay North.”²⁶¹

The remaining space on the second floor was designated as a museum space for the Bay Roberts Heritage Society. Jerrett and the Heritage Society wanted the museum to follow proper museum protocol and have artifact conservation capabilities. The federal office of Human Resources and Skills Development Canada (formerly Human Resources Development Canada) awarded the Heritage Society a grant to hire six people for sixteen weeks to develop the museum and curate an exhibit.²⁶² A conservator from The Rooms Provincial Archives was hired to come to Bay Roberts to train people in conservation—how to clean various materials, how to document and catalogue them, how to determine what to add to a collection, and more. At the end of this training, one trainee was selected to work for the Heritage Society while the others dispersed to other areas in the province to lend their newly gained expertise to other organizations. A local displaced fish plant worker was also hired as a greeter and gift shop manager.²⁶³ The inaugural exhibit at the museum was a display illustrating the history of the *Bay Roberts Guardian*, which was fitting as the newspaper’s founder, Charles E. Russell, was instrumental in Western Union’s selection of Bay Roberts. By the late 1990s, the Russell family could no longer store the antique printing equipment and *Guardian* artifacts when they planned to relocate to a new building, so the Bay Roberts Heritage Society offered to pay the utilities in the former building for a year

²⁶¹ Michael F. Flynn, “Pratt art gallery opened in Bay Roberts,” *The Evening Telegram* (St. John’s, NL), Aug. 2, 1999.

²⁶² Lillian Simmons, “Bay Roberts Heritage Society still working on museum, artifacts,” *The Compass* (Carbonear, NL), Sept. 21, 1999.

²⁶³ Jerrett, Interview with Shannon Cilento.

until the artifacts could be removed and placed in the museum exhibit.²⁶⁴ The Road to Yesterday Museum opened on October 22nd, 2000 and featured about fifteen exhibits, including the *Guardian* artifacts, a general store replica, a hospital replica, a traditional tea room, and an exhibit dedicated to the cable history.²⁶⁵ Shortly after this opening, the Heritage Society created a space to house their archives as well, to encourage further exploration of the town's past. Just prior to the opening, the Bay Roberts Heritage Society was presented with a prestigious Southcott Award from the Newfoundland Historic Trust for their successful restoration of the former Western Union Cable Building.²⁶⁶

Area Tourism and Development

The restoration served as an impetus for revitalization of the Bay Roberts area and the Heritage Society was leading the cause to promote economic development and tourism through historic preservation. With the success of the Cable Building restoration mostly funded by post-moratorium-related investments, the Bay Roberts Heritage Society capitalized upon this to complete other related projects, most notably the Shoreline Heritage Walk. Implemented along a peninsula jutting into the Bay Roberts Harbour, which was home to several historic fishing hamlets, the Shoreline Heritage Walk was completed with funds from The Atlantic Groundfish Strategy post-moratorium relief program. Displaced fishermen and fish plant workers were hired to rebuild and restore retaining walls along the trail, rebuilding root cellars and

²⁶⁴ Jerrett, Interview with Shannon Cilento.

²⁶⁵ Lillian Simmons, "'Road to Yesterday' ..." *The Compass* (Carbonear, NL), Oct. 31, 2000.

²⁶⁶ Flynn, *Historic Bay Roberts*, 84.

stabilizing other remaining historic structures, and placing picnic areas and interpretive panels throughout the trail.²⁶⁷

While the restoration of the Cable Building signaled a new era in development for the town, the federal government caused a setback in March 2002. Robert Thibault, the Federal Fisheries Minister, issued a ban on Estonian and Faroese fishing vessels entering Canadian ports, accusing them of overfishing. This specifically hurt Bay Roberts, as the town was the primary port of call for vessels from both nations allowing steady traffic of fishermen entering the community and were responsible for millions in revenue each year.²⁶⁸ Despite this, infrastructural improvements were implemented to make Bay Roberts more accessible to Newfoundlanders and external tourists alike. When Route 75 was constructed in 2002 as an offshoot of the Trans-Canada Highway, Bay Roberts was established as the first major exit. This development rendered the municipality much more accessible than before, since previously it could only be reached by a local road that suffered from minimal maintenance.²⁶⁹ After Route 75's completion, Bay Roberts witnessed an unparalleled building boom, in which 41 building permits were issued in 2002 alone. The relocation of the town offices to the Cable Building, coupled with a tax reduction,

²⁶⁷ "Shoreline Heritage Walk," *Bay Roberts Heritage Society*, 2014, <http://www.bayrobertsheritagesociety.com/Shoreline.html>.

²⁶⁸ "Ottawa lifts ban on Estonian fishing vessels," *CBC News* (Ottawa, ON), Dec. 14, 2002, <http://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/ottawa-lifts-ban-on-estonian-fishing-vessels-1.336159>.

²⁶⁹ Michael F. Flynn, "Bay Roberts booming, says town official," *The Telegram* (St. John's, NL), Nov. 5, 2002.

made the building permitting process more accessible so that business development in Bay Roberts was made simpler.²⁷⁰

Additional designations were bestowed upon the Cable Building in the consequent years, including provincial and national honors. In August 2005, the Bay Roberts Heritage Society applied for a national historic site designation with the Historic Sites and Monuments Board of Canada. After rejection and reapplication, the Cable Building was listed as a national historic site in April 2008 and received an honorary plaque in August 2010.²⁷¹ In December 2009, the Cable Building also received Municipal Heritage Site designation, along with the railway station built contemporaneously alongside the Cable Building.²⁷² In August 2013, upon the centennial of the construction of the Cable Building and corresponding Cable Avenue development, the Heritage Foundation of Newfoundland and Labrador formally designated Cable Avenue, including all associated extant structures, as a registered heritage district. The addition of this designation ensured the protection of the residential structures associated with the Cable Building, some of which had been previously lost.²⁷³

Conclusion

The Bay Roberts Cable Building restoration is an excellent example of addressing a community's needs while still paying adequate homage to an historic

²⁷⁰ Flynn, "Bay Roberts booming."

²⁷¹ "National Historic Site," *Bay Roberts Heritage Society*, 2014, <http://www.bayrobertsheritagesociety.com/national.html>.

²⁷² Denise Pike, "Cable and railway stations named as Municipal Heritage sites," *The Compass* (Carbonear, NL), Dec. 22, 2009.

²⁷³ "Bay Roberts street to receive heritage designation," *The Telegram* (St. John's, NL), Aug. 2, 2013.

building. The restoration would not have been successful had they not included municipal offices in the plan and made the building only a museum as the location may not have supported such a principal function. The project is a profound illustration of how the federal government's responses to the moratorium impacted preservation. The restoration would not have happened if there was not available funding for relief and development in rural communities following the 1992 legislation. The Cable Building spurred great development in Bay Roberts following the moratorium, and displaced fishermen and cod plant workers were offered a chance at a new form of employment and training in new skills. Take the story of Shirley, for example. A Bay Roberts native who had spent her entire life working in the fish plant processing cod, Shirley faced an uncertain future following the fall of the industry. Through ACOA funding and the initiative of the Bay Roberts Heritage Society, Shirley was able to receive training and employment as the Road to Yesterday Museum's greeter and gift shop manager.²⁷⁴ Her knowledge of the buildings' history and general area make her an indispensable asset to the museum and visiting tourists alike, while in turn the museum provides her with steady, fulfilling employment. The Road to Yesterday Museum and Christopher Pratt Gallery bring between three and four thousand visitors into the Cable Building each year. A significant portion of these visitors come from outside the Conception Bay area which is a huge benefit to the local businesses as well.²⁷⁵ Despite the fact that the moratorium caused a great deal of Bay Roberts' population to find themselves unemployed, the federal funding

²⁷⁴ Jerrett, Interview with Shannon Cilento.

²⁷⁵ Ibid.

promoting heritage conservation provided a gainful alternative to fishing. Although cod fishing represented a major aspect of the town's heritage, the moratorium allowed for a new outlook to preserve other aspects of their collective history, which has proved greatly beneficial for the architectural fabric and community alike.

CHAPTER 6
CASE STUDY: CABOT TOWER AT SIGNAL HILL
ST. JOHN'S, NEWFOUNDLAND

This chapter explores one of the most prominent sites in St. John's, and Newfoundland. It is impossible to be in St. John's without seeing Cabot Tower on the horizon, towering over a seaside cliff and forming an important part of the landscape. Cabot Tower has persisted as an icon, representing Newfoundland's drive for tourism and has remained such a symbol throughout time. As the most visited tourist destination and historic site in Newfoundland and Labrador, Signal Hill has served as a constant in a dynamic, changing tourism and preservation rhetoric. This chapter provides the history of Signal Hill and Cabot Tower and discusses their role in provincial tourism.

Signal Hill's Beginnings

The entrance to the St. John's Harbour is referred to as the Narrows. It is a narrow strait surrounded by steep cliffs which jut out into the Atlantic Ocean, providing protection for St. John's. These cliffs have shaped the history of the city, as they provided strategic advantage in battles, as well as a position high enough to be useful for wireless communications. The cliffs of the Narrows were used as early as the seventeenth century, when the English built fortifications to protect the harbor from French invasion.²⁷⁶ Conflicts between the French and the British raged throughout the dawn of the eighteenth century. Control of St. John's and its harbor

²⁷⁶ *Signal Hill: An Illustrated History* (St. John's, NL: Newfoundland Historic Trust Cooperating Association, 1982), 15.

shifted back and forth between the two powers until 1713 when the Treaty of Utrecht was signed and Newfoundland was officially brought under English authority. Several British fortifications and batteries were built around the Narrows after this, including Fort William. Watchmen were stationed atop the northeastern point of the Narrows, deemed Signal Hill, to signal down to Fort William should a foreign ship approach the entrance to the harbor.²⁷⁷

Throughout the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, Signal Hill was redeveloped as a military fortification during several war campaigns. After the Seven Years' War, the strategic location of Signal Hill was fully recognized when Lieutenant Colonel William Amherst defeated the French in St. John's. The victory was incredibly difficult as the French had taken Signal Hill and set up an encampment, allowing them to shoot at the British from above. After this battle, Amherst encouraged the government to establish permanent fortifications, but the Crown's defense policy at the time did not rank Newfoundland as a high priority. It was not until the threat of the Napoleonic Wars that Britain began to have a shift in attitude toward defending St. John's. Between 1795 and 1796, officer's quarters, enlisted men's barracks, batteries, storehouses, a stockade, and several other outbuildings were constructed atop Signal Hill. In 1796, the troops stationed at Signal Hill thwarted an attempt by the French to attack St. John's, the final attack of the French on Newfoundland.²⁷⁸ The British military presence at Signal Hill persisted through the middle of the nineteenth century, when the maintenance of the site and its structures

²⁷⁷ *Signal Hill: An Illustrated History*, 17.

²⁷⁸ *Ibid*, 18-19.

was left to the colony rather than in the hands of the British militia. In 1859, a signal station in the form of a tower was constructed on the top of the hill and operating costs were shared by local businesses in St. John's.²⁷⁹ The construction of such a tower had been proposed as early as 1814, but funding had never proved sufficient.²⁸⁰ By 1870, the few guards the military had left behind were relocated, and Signal Hill was left entirely to the colony's jurisdiction. Although the wooden structures built during the 1795 building campaign were considered obsolete and unnecessary, the masonry barracks were evaluated and determined to be valuable. After renovations, the barracks were converted into St. George's Hospital and it then served as a quarantine center. The hospital was unfortunately consumed in the St. John's Fire of 1892.²⁸¹ For several years following the fire, other quarantine hospitals were constructed, but Signal Hill remained largely undeveloped until later that decade when plans for Cabot Tower were devised.

Cabot Tower Description and History

By the early 1870s, the 1859 signal tower had fallen into disrepair due to lack of use and maintenance. In 1872, the Inspector of Public Buildings issued a statement at the Board of Works meeting informing the board that the tower "required repairs to such an extent as would amount almost to the cost of rebuilding it."²⁸² An inspection several years later noted that only some parts of the tower had deteriorated severely

²⁷⁹ *Signal Hill: An Illustrated History*, 27.

²⁸⁰ James E. Candow, *A Structural and Narrative History of Signal Hill National Historic Park and Area to 1945* (St. John's, NL: Environment Canada, 1979), 52.

²⁸¹ *Signal Hill: An Illustrated History*, 32.

²⁸² Candow, *A Structural and Narrative History*, 142.

but not beyond repair; other parts remained in fine condition. With this, the early 1880s brought several projects to rehabilitate the tower's poor components and the tower continued to be utilized. On April 28th, 1894 after a gunpowder explosion, the tower was consumed by fire and completely destroyed.²⁸³ In 1896, a local campaign began for the creation of a monument to commemorate the upcoming 400th anniversary of Cabot's landfall in Newfoundland. This campaign grew as a response to Canadian politics, when the Royal Society of Canada chose Cape Breton, Nova Scotia as the location of such a monument. In response to this, the people of Newfoundland decided to construct their own monument, Cabot Tower.²⁸⁴ This decision however was not without controversy. Many Newfoundlanders at the time felt the allocation of funding for a monument was a frivolous venture and that the government should instead invest in an insurance program for fishermen, or construct a new hospital, market, or other structure for public benefit.²⁸⁵

The plans continued despite opposition and a committee was formed in September 1896 to steer and manage the planning process. Archbishop Michael F. Howley assumed the role as committee president while Judge Daniel Woodley Prowse was elected secretary. The committee reviewed monument proposals and received various ideas, but ultimately chose to construct a new signal tower to replace the one that had burned down in 1894. Because the monument would have a utilitarian purpose as well as a commemorative nature, public support began to grow. The

²⁸³ *Signal Hill: An Illustrated History*, 34.

²⁸⁴ Candow, *A Structural and Narrative History*, 145.

²⁸⁵ *Signal Hill: An Illustrated History*, 34.

committee also decided to dedicate the tower to not only the quadricentenary of Cabot's landfall, but the Diamond Jubilee of Queen Victoria, occurring the same year.²⁸⁶ A special ceremony was held when cornerstone was laid at the summit of Signal Hill on June 22nd, 1897 by Bishop Michael F. Howley.²⁸⁷ Beneath the cornerstone, Newfoundland memorabilia, such as stamps, coins, a history of Newfoundland, and committee members' names, were laid.²⁸⁸ Festivities took place throughout the city for several days after the ceremony. A great display of national pride was noted in local newspapers and flags, bunting, and other patriotic accoutrements were reported to be sold out from every store.²⁸⁹

The cornerstone laid by itself for over a year until a contract was awarded and construction began on the new tower. Architect William Howe Greene's design was selected, Henry J. Thomas of Thomas Brothers was chosen as contractor, and Samuel Garrett was hired as the project's stonemason. Greene's original design featured four Gothic Revival-style turrets constructed of locally quarried red sandstone (Fig. 6.1). However, only one turret was ever built.²⁹⁰ The walls of the tower are two feet thick, and some of the stones are believed to have been salvaged from St. George's Hospital after the fire. Although the old system using various flags to signal to ships was still employed, the placement and height of the tower was expected to be a great improvement from the former towers. After the opening ceremony in June 1900,

²⁸⁶ Candow, *A Structural and Narrative History*, 145-146.

²⁸⁷ *Signal Hill: An Illustrated History*, 34.

²⁸⁸ Candow, *A Structural and Narrative History*, 147.

²⁸⁹ *Signal Hill: An Illustrated History*, 34.

²⁹⁰ *Signal Hill: An Illustrated History*, 35; Candow, *A Structural and Narrative History*, 147.

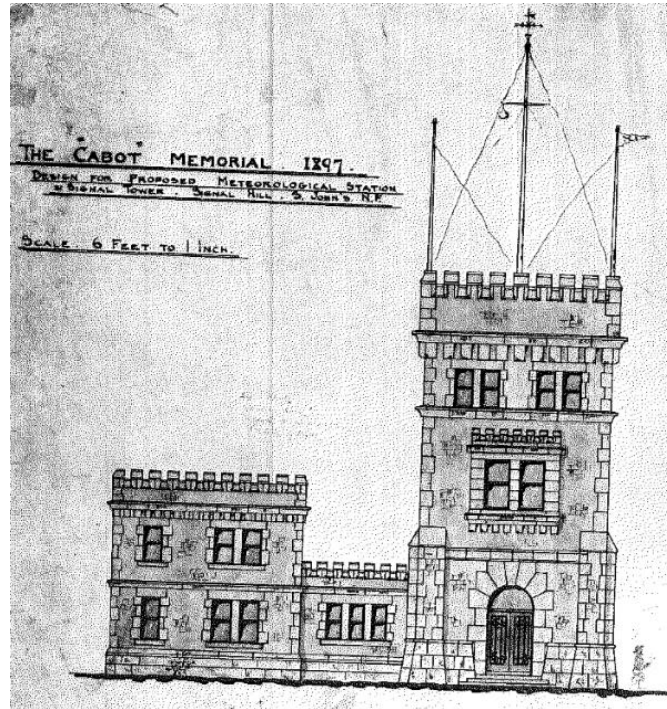


Figure 6.1. One of William Howe Greene's original 1897 sketches of Cabot Tower. Only the turret on the right was ever built. *From A Structural and Narrative History of Signal Hill.*



Figure 6.2. An early photograph taken by S.H. Parsons of Cabot Tower, circa 1900-1910. *From The Rooms Provincial Archives.*

rectangular windows are located on each side of the tower, in ribbons of three, underneath stone lintels. Each corner of the tower and turret is accented with quoins and the stones on the walls are placed in a random ashlar configuration. On the square main section of the tower, the roof level is separated from the second story with rectangular stone dentils. On the turret, this feature is replaced by corbeled stones in each corner. After it was finished, Cabot Tower gave a new definition to the Signal Hill landscape, and has remained a symbol of St. John's and its harbor since.

Marconi and the Transatlantic Wireless Message

Cabot Tower and Signal Hill are most notably associated with the reception of the first transatlantic wireless signal in 1901 by Guglielmo Marconi. Various earlier inventors and scientists had moved on to experimenting with wireless methods of communication. In 1888, Heinrich Hertz was able to generate and locate electromagnetic waves, which then inspired many scientists to experiment with these waves for the purposes of communication. During the last decade of the nineteenth century, advances were made to allow wireless communication over short distances, but a young Marconi from Bologna, Italy had a goal of improving the process to reach greater distances. He relocated to Great Britain where he recognized more opportunity for development of his theories, and obtained the first patent for wireless telegraphy in 1897. The same year, he established the Wireless Telegraph and Signal Company Limited, later Marconi's Wireless Telegraph Company Limited.²⁹¹ Two years later in 1899, Marconi succeeded in sending the furthest wireless message to date—32 miles across the English Channel. After the success of the English Channel transmission,

²⁹¹ *Signal Hill: An Illustrated History*, 36.

Marconi desired to reach the opposite side of the Atlantic. There were two obstacles in his way: the monopoly of British telegraphic communications by the British Post Office and a skeptical scientific community that questioned whether wireless signals were capable of bending with the earth's curvature.²⁹²

Marconi decided to avoid the post office's claims to terrestrial communications in Britain by looking toward the Atlantic. A transmitting tower was constructed at Poldhu Cove, Cornwall, England between late 1900 and early 1901. Upon its completion, Marconi travelled to the United States to seek a site for a similar tower.²⁹³ He chose a site on Cape Cod in Massachusetts, but shortly after storms destroyed the signal masts at both British and American stations, rendering them largely useless. Faced with yet another barrier to success, Marconi ordered the repair of the Poldhu Cove station while abandoning the Cape Cod site. Based on his theory that choosing a location closer than Cape Cod would be a safer bet, Marconi went northeast to Newfoundland. He and his assistants, P.W. Paget and G.S. Kemp, landed in St. John's on December 6th, 1901. Upon visiting Signal Hill, Marconi and his team decided that it was the most ideal spot, as the ground was lacking iron which could interfere with electromagnetic signals.²⁹⁴ On December 12th, 1901, Marconi set up his apparatuses to receive signals atop the hill and began his efforts to communicate with Poldhu Cove (Fig. 6.3). He fastened a copper antenna to a kite and as the kite reached 55 meters

²⁹² Candow, *A Structural and Narrative History*, 149.

²⁹³ *Ibid*, 149.

²⁹⁴ *Ibid*, 150.



Figure 6.3. Marconi and his team get the kite off the ground to receive the first wireless signal on Signal Hill, December 12th, 1901, as photographed by James Vey. *From The Rooms Provincial Archives.*

above Signal Hill, Marconi was able to faintly hear “dot-dot-dot,” a Morse code “S” the predetermined signal which was supposed to be sent from Poldhu Cove.²⁹⁵

News of Marconi’s “great experiment” travelled quickly. “So amazing was the achievement that the papers all insisted upon signed statements by Marconi confirming the reports,” one periodical stated.²⁹⁶ After his success, Marconi wrote, “To what further extent the system may be commercially applied is not easy to foretell. My recent successful experiments between Poldhu and St. John’s, however, give great hopes of a regular transatlantic wireless telegraph service in the not too distant future.”²⁹⁷ On December 17th, 1901, the Anglo-American Telegraph Company approached Marconi to inform him that they had a monopoly on telegraphic communication and enterprise in Newfoundland and that he must take his experiments elsewhere.²⁹⁸ After this, Marconi entered negotiations with the government of Nova Scotia, who agreed that he could establish stations in this province. Marconi built a station on Nova Scotia’s Cape Breton Island and continued to operate there through the World War I. Marconi was allowed to return to Newfoundland to establish stations there in 1915, when he promptly ordered for the construction of a tower at Mount Pearl, near St. John’s. In 1920, the Canadian Marconi Company returned to Signal Hill and set up a temporary station in Cabot Tower. The same year on July 23rd, another milestone event occurred atop Signal Hill: Marconi received the first wireless voice transmission from the *R.M.S. Victorian* departing from a port in England. On

²⁹⁵ “Dot-dot-dot,” *The Beaver*, December 2001, 5.

²⁹⁶ C. R. Watson, “The Experiments at St. John’s,” *Frank Leslie’s Popular Monthly*, March 1902.

²⁹⁷ Guglielmo Marconi, “Prefatory Note,” *Century Illustrated Magazine*, March 1902.

²⁹⁸ “Marconi Signals Across the Atlantic,” *The Cyclopedic Review of Current History*, Feb. 1, 1902, 11.

August 12th, 1933, the Canadian Marconi Company established a permanent station on Cabot Tower's second floor, which would serve to inform local ships of weather and directions, as well as receive distress calls. By 1937, ten stations had been built in Labrador, along with several more along the Newfoundland coast. Fishermen in Labrador and rural Newfoundland would send messages to Cabot Tower in order to disseminate news and make requests for supplies. This wireless operation on Signal Hill continued until 1960, coexisting with the preexisting flag system which had been employed at Signal Hill since the 1700s.²⁹⁹ In 1951, Parks Canada declared Signal Hill a National Historic Site, covering 106 hectares of land on the hillside.³⁰⁰ Since the 1960 cessation in wireless operation, Signal Hill has existed solely as an historic site.

Tourism and Development

One of the earliest mentions of Signal Hill and Cabot Tower being touted as a recreational and tourist destination comes from a 1901 *Evening Telegram* article, noting that Signal Hill was one of “the most frequented resorts of the many tourists who visit our city.”³⁰¹ Although it was not yet an historic site and was still an active communications station, the hill was known as a popular spot for locals to visit and picnic, hike, and ice skate on the ponds.³⁰² This continued through the designation of the National Historic Site, when organized programming and tourism marketing efforts began to take shape. As described in Chapter 3, the government of

²⁹⁹ Candow, *A Structural and Narrative History*, 152-153.

³⁰⁰ *Signal Hill National Historic Site of Canada Management Plan* (St. John's, NL: Parks Canada, 2007), 2.

³⁰¹ *Signal Hill: An Illustrated History*, 31.

³⁰² *Ibid*, 31.

Newfoundland and Labrador organized a Come Home Year in 1966 to coincide with the completion of the Newfoundland extension of the Trans-Canada Highway. Cabot Tower became the symbol for the tourist publications created to market the event (Fig. 6.4). As an icon which was built to literally lead people to the island through its signal station, the use of Cabot Tower as an image to figuratively guide expatriates back to Newfoundland was particularly powerful. The official map and guide for Come Home Year published by the government had Cabot Tower placed on the front, while other publications from various departments also featured Cabot Tower. Regardless of how the symbol was presented, it remained present in tourism marketing following the Come Home Year.³⁰³

As cultural and heritage tourism surged after the moratorium, Cabot Tower and Signal Hill served as an anchor for local marketing efforts. 1997 marked the 500th anniversary of John Cabot's historic landing in Newfoundland. A coalition was established in late 1992 with the goal of planning commemorative events that would "stimulate [the province's] tourism industry; celebrate its cultural links and uniqueness; [and] develop an events product that will be marketable in the future."³⁰⁴ This led to the creation of the John Cabot Corporation. Its primary concern was stimulating the economy and developing "a sense of pride and accomplishment in the province's heritage" in the wake of the fall of one of the province's economic and

³⁰³ Higgins, "Tourism after Confederation."

³⁰⁴ "1997 – The 500th Anniversary of John's Cabot's Voyage," *The Economy*, March 1995, 43, <http://www.economics.gov.nl.ca/archives/E1995/1997%20-%20The%20500th%20Anniversary%20of%20John%20Cabot's%20Voyage.pdf>.



Figure 6.4. The cover of the official 1966 Come Home Year pamphlet, distributed by the provincial government, featuring Cabot Tower. *From Newfoundland and Labrador Heritage.*

cultural mainstays.³⁰⁵ The result was Cabot 500, a year of special events dedicated to the explorer and his voyage, all which paraded Cabot Tower as the emblem of the celebration. The provincial tourism bureau reported after the year was over that Newfoundland saw a record high in tourists that year, recording a 22% increase, or 69,000 more visitors, from the previous year. Almost 400,000 non-resident visitors contributed over \$204 million in expenditures in Newfoundland during Cabot 500. One of the main reasons for this drastic increase was the marketing and planning effort put forth by the government, or “increased tourist awareness.”³⁰⁶ Although the province anticipated a steep decline in tourism for 1998 following Cabot 500, they were pleasantly surprised when the numbers were actually sustained and in some areas grew.³⁰⁷

With the increased visitation to Signal Hill in the 1990s, a necessity arose for more visitor amenities. The Signal Hill Visitor Information Centre was built in the 1960s with a reception area, restrooms, and museum exhibit spaces. By the late 1990s however, it had quickly become too small to accommodate the number of tourists. In 1998, an addition was constructed to house additional programming activities and exhibit expansion and a gift shop and café were added.³⁰⁸ In 2002, Signal Hill was also the site of another major development: the Johnson Geo Centre, an educational center showcasing the rich geological history of Newfoundland and Signal Hill. Developed

³⁰⁵ “1997 – The 500th Anniversary of John’s Cabot’s Voyage,” 43.

³⁰⁶ “Tourism,” *Newfoundland and Labrador* (Government Website), 1998, <http://www.gov.nl.ca/publicat/EcoDec98/tourism.htm>.

³⁰⁷ *Ibid.*

³⁰⁸ *Signal Hill National Historic Site of Canada Management Plan*, 25.

and funded by Paul Johnson and the Johnson Family Foundation, the Johnson Geo Centre was one of the foundation's largest projects. The Johnson Family Foundation had been investing in the province's built and natural heritage conservation in the years prior to the Geo Centre initiative. In the late 1990s, Johnson began securing funding from the province as a result of moratorium relief, including the Human Resources Development Corporation, the Atlantic Canada Opportunities Agency, and the Canada Millennium Partnership Program, which was providing funding for community development projects. The Johnson Family Foundation provided half of the \$11 million for the establishment of the Geo Centre while the other organizations filled the remaining funding gap.³⁰⁹ The construction of the Geo Centre allowed for additional programming for the site, drawing in even more visitors and creating more jobs.

The prominence of Signal Hill and Cabot Tower has only grown since the early 2000s. In 2007, it became clear the original 1986 site management plan needed updating. The 2007 management plan outlined three major goals as part of a fifteen-year plan: "heritage protection, public education, and visitor experience."³¹⁰ The plan articulates that Signal Hill "crowned by Cabot Tower, will remain a distinctive landmark and symbol of St. John's, of Newfoundland and Labrador, and of Canada."³¹¹ This clearly displays the site's commitment to keeping Cabot Tower and Signal Hill's profile at the forefront, as Newfoundland's most visited historic site. In

³⁰⁹ "History," *Johnson Geo Centre*, 2017, <https://www.geocentre.ca/about/history/>.

³¹⁰ *Signal Hill National Historic Site of Canada Management Plan*, vii.

³¹¹ *Ibid*, 29.

2016, several major infrastructural improvements began at Signal Hill to further accomplish the vision set forth in 2007, with particular regard for the visitor experience. With approximately 750,000 visitors each year, Signal Hill needs to keep addressing the high number of outsiders.³¹² Starting in 2016, Parks Canada pledged to invest \$2.6 billion in infrastructural improvements in parks and historic sites across the country. On July 25th, 2016, construction on the Visitor Centre's annex addition began to renovate and update the structure, which was anticipated to last nine months. The parking lot adjacent to Cabot Tower at the top of Signal Hill also underwent expansion and reconstruction, which began in September 2016 (Fig. 6.6). The project included parking lot layout alterations, improved water drainage systems, electrical improvements, and the installation of directional signage and guardrails.³¹³ These projects are crucial for the future of Signal Hill, as the continuing investment allows for increased visitor capacity and marketing capabilities which bring people and revenue into St. John's. Costing between \$600,000 and \$700,000, Superintendent Bill Brake said the parking lot layout changes were most important, as vehicular traffic to the top of the hill continues to increase and traffic flow patterns needed to be addressed to ensure environmental safety and adequate visitor access.³¹⁴

³¹² Laura Howells, "Heritage Shop on Signal Hill reopens after four-month closure," *CBC News* (Ottawa, ON), Aug. 1, 2015, <http://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/newfoundland-labrador/heritage-shop-on-signal-hill-reopens-after-four-month-closure-1.3176903>.

³¹³ "Parks Canada Infrastructure Program," *Signal Hill National Historic Site of Canada, Parks Canada*, Aug. 30, 2016, <http://www.pc.gc.ca/eng/lhn-nhs/nl/signalhill/visit/infra.aspx>.

³¹⁴ Anna Delaney, "Unavoidable inconvenience: Signal Hill parking lot repairs needed now, Parks Canada says," *CBC News* (Ottawa, ON), Sept. 3, 2016, <http://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/newfoundland-labrador/signal-hill-parking-lot-closed-cabot-tower-open-1.3566629>.



Figure 6.5. A September 2016 photograph showing Cabot Tower as it exists today, largely unchanged from its original state. *From the author.*



Figure 6.6. The parking lot expansion in progress, September 2016. *From the author.*

Destination St. John's is the primary tourism operator for the city of St. John's. Destination St. John's has followed the lead of Newfoundland and Labrador Tourism in the trend of using color to promote St. John's. Cabot Tower has become one of their icons to promote tourism. Their motto, "Colourful Experiences. Colourful Characters. Colourful Encounters." serves as a testament to this thematic marketing strategy.³¹⁵ Throughout their publications, both Cabot Tower and colorful scenes serve to characterize the city. In 2016, they published a video advertisement called "Feeling Up, Up, Up!" which features Cabot Tower and Signal Hill in the majority of shots, viewed from various perspectives.³¹⁶ The 2017 Visitors' Guide published by Destination St. John's also boasts a cover with Cabot Tower, framed with colorful wildflowers (Fig. 6.7).³¹⁷ The marriage of the image of Cabot Tower and the vibrant colors popularized by Newfoundland and Labrador Tourism exemplifies the current marketing efforts made by Destination St. John's. Cabot Tower remains a prominent feature for marketing to entice tourists to visit, as it has since its debut as the icon of the 1966 Come Home Year.

Conclusion

As Brake said in an interview, "If you look at the value that Canadians, and certainly the people of this province, place on Signal Hill in particular, I think it's an

³¹⁵ "Why St. John's," *Destination St. John's*, 2017, <http://destinationstjohns.com/why-st-johns/>.

³¹⁶ "Feeling Up! Up! Up!," *Destination St. John's*, YouTube, 2:03, Oct. 3, 2016, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=n-pUgYKLTio>.

³¹⁷ *Visitors' Guide 2017* (St. John's, NL: Destination St. John's, 2017), cover, http://destinationstjohns.com/wp-content/uploads/2017/02/Visitors_Guide_2017-WEBSITE.pdf.



Figure 6.7. The cover of the 2017 St. John's Visitors' Guide featuring Cabot Tower and the Destination St. John's logo "Colourful Encounters." *From Destination St. John's.*

investment that's appreciated.”³¹⁸ Although referring to the most recent infrastructural investments, Brake’s words resonate, describing the sense of Newfoundland identity that intersects with Cabot Tower and Signal Hill. The presence of Cabot Tower was a constant before and after the moratorium, and it served to invite hundreds of thousands of visitors, both from and outside the province. Signal Hill acted as an anchor onto which the provincial and local tourism campaigns could hold during such an uncertain time in the 1990s and Cabot Tower has stood as an emblem for the revitalization of heritage-based tourism in the decades following the moratorium.

³¹⁸ Delaney, “Unavoidable inconvenience.”

CONCLUSION

Two major industries shaped Newfoundland's course in history: the cod fishery and telecommunications. Although both have been largely abandoned due to legislation and obsolescence, their legacy remains in the culture, the architecture, and the landscape. Losing the cod fishery especially meant losing something so quintessential and so embedded within Newfoundland culture that devastation seemed inescapable. The people of Newfoundland were faced with the potential disintegration of an entire lifestyle. Their built environment had been shaped by the fishery—fish flakes, stages, and other associated buildings had become synonymous with the landscape. Heritage tourism and preservation of both tangible and intangible heritage allowed Newfoundlanders to salvage something that had so clearly defined them while also providing employment in the wake of the moratorium.

The presences of the Cable Station at Heart's Content, the Cable Building in Bay Roberts, and Cabot Tower in St. John's were renewed after the moratorium. Although the Cable Station and Cabot Tower existed as historic sites before 1992, they were in no way immune to the effects of the moratorium. All of these buildings, as well as the associated organizations which advocated for their preservation, played a great role in bringing heritage tourism to the forefront of the provincial economy in a post-moratorium era. Cabot Tower fulfilled the most prominent role with regard to international reach and tourism marketing, whereas the two examples in outport communities served to revitalize the small towns as a whole. There are a copious amount of extant telecommunications sites across the Avalon Peninsula, in addition to

those presented in this thesis. They need to be utilized to the fullest extent if a community wishes to revitalize. The study in Bay Roberts provides the powerful idea that an adaptive reuse that marries both tourism and individual community needs can be an anchor in a given place. If a telegraph station does not hold the same international significance as Heart's Content, it should not exist solely as a museum. Rather, the Bay Roberts model proves that the coexistence of a museum and town offices that fulfill a great need in the community can work very well. This balance can greatly assist in a restoration's sustainable success.

Omissions and Limitations

More research should be done to explore the restoration of fishery-related structures alone and the work the Heritage Foundation of Newfoundland and Labrador has supported. Further, there are other outport communities who have completed projects similar to those in Bay Roberts, which could provide more insight into the power which an adaptive reuse could have on a rural outport town. This thesis was further limited by an outside point of view. This study could be enhanced by more time spent in the respective communities to gain further insight into the ways in which preservation has helped the economy. Perhaps more quantitative data collected firsthand could have strengthened this thesis to accompany the large amount of qualitative data, as the latter allows more room for interpretation. Availability of more substantial quantitative data would have allowed for additional conclusions, such as income levels in areas seeing the most tourists. Many questions still remain about the future of the economy in Newfoundland, as it presently stands in the balance as its once lucrative off-shore oil industry is slowly declining. What role tourism will play in

the future is uncertain, but it can be assumed that should the economy face another setback like the 1992 moratorium, tourism will be a possible economic anchor.

What's next for Newfoundland?

James Overton wrote in 1996 that in Newfoundland, “there is a hunger for heritage and a quest for quaintness” after positing that tourism could perhaps be “the means by which rural Newfoundland survives economically.”³¹⁹ A more recent study would suggest that “tourism alone cannot save the outports,” and it certainly cannot save the province as a whole.³²⁰ This thesis sides with the latter. Tourism can certainly provide an important economic cornerstone, but it should remain part of the broader equation in diversifying Newfoundland’s economy. With that said, the outports specifically offer a relatively small amount of ways tourists can spend their time and money, as opposed to St. John’s. More investment needs to be made into rural Newfoundland so that tourism can remain an economic driver, but other industry and opportunities need to be introduced as well. Tourism and other industrial investment would allow people to stay in their towns across Newfoundland, rather than needing to relocate for employment. This population retention will indirectly support historic preservation efforts. The equation is simple. If people leave their already small towns, the people will not be left to preserve their buildings. If people stay in their towns, St. John’s included, preservation and adaptive reuse are necessitated.

³¹⁹ Overton, *Making a World of Difference*, 39.

³²⁰ Natalie Springuel, “Fishing for Tourists: The Newfoundland Cod Crisis and the Role of Tourism in Community Revitalization: Lessons for Maine,” *Marine Research in Focus* 5 (April 2010), http://www.seagrant.umaine.edu/files/Catherine%20Schmitt/MSG-E-10-06_NwfnldRIF_040210.pdf.

Presently, Newfoundland's economy outside of tourism, like much of Canada, is resource-driven. As explained in Chapter 3, the oil industry soon replaced the cod fishing industry as a driving force in the economy. However, this off-shore oil supply is non-renewable, and has already been projected to run out in several years. For a sustainable economy in which tourism and preservation can continue to thrive, investment needs to be made in renewable resources or technology-related industries. A recollection of H.M. Mosdell's 1920 publication is relevant and important here. It was primarily a tourist guide, but the title was indeed *Newfoundland: Its Manifold Attractions for the Capitalist, the Settler and the Tourist*. The inclusion of the Capitalist and the Settler are crucial. Newfoundland needs to revive this sentiment to attract investment and settlement. Further, not just new settlement needs to be marketed, but current residents of Newfoundland need to have incentives and motivations to stay.

There is great potential in agricultural development to expand the economy. Newfoundland Premier Dwight Ball recently announced the Way Forward strategy, which aims to improve domestic food production and employment. Presently, there are 22,000 hectares of land being used for agricultural activities.³²¹ Ball's new plan will establish an additional 64,000 hectares and 62 new agricultural areas. According to Ball, the extra land should "increase food self-sufficiency by 20 per cent by

³²¹ "Grow your own: How N.L. plans to produce more of its own food," *CBC News* (Ottawa, ON), Feb. 20, 2017, <http://www.cbc.ca/beta/news/canada/newfoundland-labrador/crown-land-farming-food-security-young-farmers-1.3990939>.

2022.”³²² The areas are spread throughout the province and are expected to help people stay in Newfoundland, especially young farmers.³²³ This could allow for greater exports from Newfoundland as well. Europe’s recent vegetable shortage is a reminder that food shortages can occur anywhere due to a myriad of reasons and having another market from which one can purchase vegetables is important.³²⁴ Newfoundland can help fill this gap, through the increased farmland or exploring the implementation of hydroponic farming perhaps. Agricultural development is just one of the many ways in which the economy could be diversified, in return supporting preservation and local stability when people have reason to remain in their communities.

It is also pertinent to mention the current state of preservation legislation in Canada today, as it will undoubtedly affect the future of preservation in the future after the completion of this thesis. On December 1st, 2016, Member of Parliament Peter Van Loan introduced a Private Member’s Bill (Bill C-323) to the House of Commons which would create an amendment to the Income Tax Act. This amendment would be similar to the current American historic rehabilitation tax credit system, allowing for a twenty percent tax credit for eligible costs for rehabilitation projects on nationally-

³²² Crops on Crown countryside: N.L. farmers get access to more land,” *CBC News* (Ottawa, ON), Feb. 16, 2017, <http://www.cbc.ca/beta/news/canada/newfoundland-labrador/more-crown-land-farmers-premier-dwight-ball-1.3985567>.

³²³ “Grow your own.”

³²⁴ Sam Dean, “What is causing the 2017 vegetable shortage and what does it mean for consumers?” *The Telegraph* (London, UK), Feb. 3, 2017, <http://www.telegraph.co.uk/business/2017/02/03/causing-2017-vegetable-shortage-does-mean-consumers/>.

designated sites, both commercial and owner-occupied residential.³²⁵ The inclusion of owner-occupied residential allows for a broad array of uses, since the property on which the credit would be applied need not be income-producing. Bill C-323 also proposes a streamlined process for property owners who wish to write off heritage spending on their properties.³²⁶ Although presently tabled, should this bill be passed, there would be great potential for its use in Newfoundland, in both outport and metropolitan settings. These tax credits could prove vital for projects which otherwise may have not come to fruition. With federal relief funding for the moratorium no longer available as it was in the 1990s and early 2000s, these federal historic rehabilitation tax credits could replace the former as a means through which communities could save their buildings, whether fishery-associated, telecommunications-associated, or other.

Present data shows the cod stocks are indeed rising as a result of the moratorium.³²⁷ Although this is true, it is unlikely that Newfoundland will ever be able to fully rely on the fishery alone as the basis of their economy again. However, preservation should continue to be encouraged in communities across the province to address needs and promote tourism and employment. The past of the industries that defined Newfoundland for so long need not be forgotten, but rather need to be

³²⁵ “Voice Your Support—Federal Incentives for the Rehabilitation of Canada’s Historic Places,” *National Trust for Canada*, 2017, <https://www.nationaltrustcanada.ca/get-involved/hcf-news/voice-your-support-federal-incentives-rehabilitation-canadas-historic-places>.

³²⁶ “New Bill would limit destruction and encourage rehabilitation of Canadian heritage buildings,” *Canadian Architect*, 2016, <https://www.canadianarchitect.com/heritage-adaptive-reuse/bill-tax-credit-heritage-buildings/1003736566/>.

³²⁷ Garrett Barry and Lukas Wall, “‘The news is good’: Northern cod stocks slowly increasing,” *CBC News* (Ottawa: ON), May 19, 2016, <http://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/newfoundland-labrador/cod-stocks-slowly-increasing-1.3588906>.

preserved for future generations; the future generations need to be encouraged to stay in Newfoundland, to appreciate, recognize, and preserve their past, and to utilize these structures to their fullest extent for a sustainable and promising future.

Bibliography

- “[1880s St. John’s Waterfront.]” Photograph. St. John’s, NL: 1880s. From St. John’s, Newfoundland and Labrador, Canada (City government website): *Old St. John’s*. <http://www.stjohns.ca/photo-gallery/old-st-johns>.
- “1997 – The 500th Anniversary of John’s Cabot’s Voyage.” *The Economy*, March 1995, 43. <http://www.economics.gov.nl.ca/archives/E1995/1997%20-%20The%20500th%20Anniversary%20of%20John%20Cabot's%20Voyage.pdf>.
- “2014 Tidy Towns winners picked in Newfoundland and Labrador.” *The Telegram* (St. John’s, NL), Oct. 12, 2014. <http://www.thetelegram.com/news/local/2014/10/12/2014-tidy-towns-winners-picked-in-newfou-3901528.html>.
- 2016 Traveller’s Guide: Lost and Found*. St. John’s, NL: Newfoundland and Labrador Tourism, 2016.
- “About the Program.” *Provincial Historic Commemorations Program*. <http://commemorations.ca/about/>.
- “About Provincial Historic Sites.” *Provincial Historic Sites*. <http://www.seethesites.ca/about-provincial-historic-sites.aspx>.
- “About Us.” *Canada’s Historic Places*. <http://www.historicplaces.ca/en/pages/about-a-propos.aspx>.
- “About Us.” *National Trust for Canada*. <http://www.nationaltrustcanada.ca/about-us/vision>.
- Advertisement. *Atlantic Guardian* 3, no. 2 (February 1947): back cover. <http://collections.mun.ca/cdm/ref/collection/guardian/id/2510>.
- “Accomplishments.” *Mizzen Heritage Society*, 2016. <http://mizzenheritagesociety.com/members--accomplishments.html>.
- “Architecture, TV Ad, Newfoundland and Labrador Tourism.” *Newfoundland and Labrador Tourism*. YouTube, 1:00, Nov. 18, 2014. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=8U1DrQrDeFI>.
- “Baccalieu Trail: A Visitor’s Guide 2002, Excursion around the Bay.” *Baccalieu Trail Tourism Association*. Carbonear, NL: Baccalieu Trail Tourism Association, 2002. <http://www.baccalieu.com/graphics/GuideBookIntro.pdf>.

- Barry Garrett, and Lukas Wall. “‘The news is good’: Northern cod stocks slowly increasing.” *CBC News* (Ottawa: ON), May 19, 2016.
<http://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/newfoundland-labrador/cod-stocks-slowly-increasing-1.3588906>.
- “Bay Roberts street to receive heritage designation.” *The Telegram* (St. John’s, NL), Aug. 2, 2013.
- Becker, J. “[Trinity Bay and Heart’s Content, Newfoundland, the locality where the western end of the Atlantic Cable was to have been laid.]” Drawing. New York: 1861. From the New York Public Library: *The Miriam and Ira D. Wallach Division of Art, Prints and Photographs: Print Collection, Emmet Collection of Manuscripts Etc. Relating to American History, Booth’s History of New York*. <https://digitalcollections.nypl.org/items/510d47da-27f9-a3d9-e040-e00a18064a99>.
- Biggar, Henry Percival. *The Precursors of Jacques Cartier, 1497-1534: A Collection of Documents Relating to the Early History of the Dominion of Canada*. Ottawa, ON: Ottawa Government Printing Bureau, 1911.
- Blake, Raymond B. *Canadians at Last: Canada Integrates Newfoundland as a Province*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1994.
- Bowers, Brian. “Scanning Our Past: The First Atlantic Telegraphs.” *Proceedings of the Institute of Electrical and Electronics Engineers* 88, no. 7 (2000): 1131-1133.
- “Built Heritage Experts Panel.” *City of St. John’s*, 2016.
<http://www.stjohns.ca/council-committee/built-heritage-experts-panel>.
- Bull, Natalie and Tom Urbaniak. “Bringing Heritage to Life, Annual Report 2015-2016.” *National Trust for Canada*, 2016.
http://www.nationaltrustcanada.ca/sites/www.nationaltrustcanada.ca/files/Communications_Annual%20Report_2015-2016_FINAL.pdf.
- “Cable Building Restoration.” *Bay Roberts Heritage Society*, 2014.
<http://www.bayrobertsheritagesociety.com/cable.html>.
- Cadigan, Sean T. *Newfoundland & Labrador: A History*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2009.
- “The Case for Heritage: Six Heritage Projects of the Heritage Foundation of Newfoundland and Labrador.” St. John’s, NL: Heritage Foundation of Newfoundland and Labrador, 2004.

- “Chasing Colours in Brigus South, Newfoundland and Labrador.” *Newfoundland and Labrador Tourism*. YouTube, 1:37, Feb. 29, 2016.
<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=xE4HM2mejUc>.
- “City of St. John’s Municipal Plan.” City of St. John’s Department of Planning. St. John’s, NL, 2003.
<http://www.stjohns.ca/sites/default/files/files/publication/St.%20John's%20Municipal%20Plan%20May%202015.pdf>.
- Collins, Howard. “The cable office is silent now.” *Evening Telegram* (St. John’s, NL), July 22, 1966.
- “Colourful Place Names, Trinity Bay, Newfoundland and Labrador.” *Newfoundland and Labrador Tourism*. YouTube, 0:43, Feb. 12, 2016.
<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=oJScjRaCs6g>.
- Come Home Year 1966*. Map. St. John’s, NL: Department of Highways, 1966.
- “Community Profile.” *Town of Bay Roberts* (Government website), 2016.
http://www.bayroberts.com/?page_id=878.
- “Completed Fisheries Heritage Preservation Program Projects.” *Heritage Foundation of Newfoundland and Labrador*.
[http://www.heritagefoundation.ca/programs/fisheries-heritage-preservation-program-\(fhpp\)/completed-fhpp-projects.aspx](http://www.heritagefoundation.ca/programs/fisheries-heritage-preservation-program-(fhpp)/completed-fhpp-projects.aspx).
- “Crayons, TV Ad, Newfoundland and Labrador Tourism.” *Newfoundland and Labrador Tourism*. YouTube, 1:31, Jan. 14, 2016.
<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=mQpwDtIn4ec&t=21s>.
- Creative Newfoundland and Labrador: The Blueprint for Development and Investment in Culture*. St. John’s: Government of Newfoundland and Labrador, 2006.
- Crops on Crown countryside: N.L. farmers get access to more land.” *CBC News* (Ottawa, ON), Feb. 16, 2017.
<http://www.cbc.ca/beta/news/canada/newfoundland-labrador/more-crown-land-farmers-premier-dwight-ball-1.3985567>.
- Dean, Sam. “What is causing the 2017 vegetable shortage and what does it mean for consumers?” *The Telegraph* (London, UK), Feb. 3, 2017.
<http://www.telegraph.co.uk/business/2017/02/03/causing-2017-vegetable-shortage-does-mean-consumers/>.
- Delaney, Anna. “Unavoidable inconvenience: Signal Hill parking lot repairs needed now, Parks Canada says.” *CBC News* (Ottawa, ON), Sept. 3, 2016.

<http://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/newfoundland-labrador/signal-hill-parking-lot-closed-cabot-tower-open-1.3566629>.

“Design and Plan Portfolio.” *Murray’s Gardens* 2016.

<http://murraysgardens.com/landscape-design-planning/gallery/>.

Doyle, T. M. Invitation for Heart’s Content Cable Museum grand opening, July 27, 1974.

“Early History of Bay Roberts.” *Newfoundland’s Grand Banks Genealogical and Historical Data*, 2016. <http://ngb.chebucto.org/Articles/early-history-bay-roberts-hg.shtml>.

“Fastest Cable in the World Landed.” *The Guardian* (Bay Roberts, NL), July 9, 1926.

“Feeling Up! Up! Up!” *Destination St. John’s*. YouTube, 2:03, Oct. 3, 2016.

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=n-pUgYKLTio>.

Flynn, Michael F. “\$1-M boost to Bay Roberts’ past, and future.” *The Evening Telegram* (St. John’s, NL), May 20, 1997.

—. “Bay Roberts booming, says town official.” *The Telegram* (St. John’s, NL), Nov. 5, 2002.

—. “Bay Roberts groups seek funds to rejuvenate, beautify town.” *The Evening Telegram* (St. John’s, NL), Dec. 16, 1994.

—. “Cable building’s heritage recognized.” *The Evening Telegram* (St. John’s, NL), June 27, 1999.

—. *Historic Bay Roberts: Not Your Typical Small Town*. St. John’s: Flanker Press, 2011.

—. “Pratt art gallery opened in Bay Roberts.” *The Evening Telegram* (St. John’s, NL), Aug. 2, 1999.

Gosse, William. “[Bay Roberts Harbour, Conception Bay.]” Drawing. Bay Roberts, NL: c. 1838. From The Rooms Provincial Archives: *Sketches in Conception Bay, Newfoundland (1838-1841)*. http://gencat1.eloquent-systems.com/webcat/systems/panl_public/resource/6000_1038_32165_1.jpg.

“Grant Program.” *Fisheries Heritage Preservation Program*.

[http://www.heritagefoundation.ca/programs/fisheries-heritage-preservation-program-\(fhpp\)/grant-program.aspx](http://www.heritagefoundation.ca/programs/fisheries-heritage-preservation-program-(fhpp)/grant-program.aspx).

- “Grow your own: How N.L. plans to produce more of its own food.” *CBC News* (Ottawa,ON), Feb. 20, 2017. <http://www.cbc.ca/beta/news/canada/newfoundland-labrador/crown-land-farming-food-security-young-farmers-1.3990939>.
- Gullage, Peter. “A Look Back.” *CBC News*, Ottawa, ON: CBC Radio-Canada, Nov. 27, 2005. <http://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/newfoundland-labrador/programs/hereandnow/a-look-back-to-celebrate-50-years-since-completion-of-the-tch-in-newfoundland-1.3340419>.
- Harbour Grace Standard* (Harbour Grace, NL), Jan. 14, 1898.
- Harvey, Moses. *Newfoundland as it is in 1894: A Hand-book and Tourists' Guide*. St. John's, NL: J. W. Withers, 1894.
- “Heart’s Content Mizzen Heritage Society.” *Legendary Coasts Eastern Newfoundland*, 2013. <http://legendarycoasts.com/Users/view/150>.
- “Heritage.” *City of St. John's*, 2016. <http://www.stjohns.ca/living-st-johns/building-renovation-and-repairs/heritage>.
- “Heritage Society.” *Bay Roberts*. http://www.bayroberts.com/?page_id=909.
- Higgins, Jenny. “Cod Moratorium.” *Newfoundland & Labrador Heritage*, 2009. <http://www.heritage.nf.ca/articles/economy/moratorium.php>.
- . “Economic Impacts of the Cod Moratorium.” *Newfoundland & Labrador Heritage*, 2008. <http://www.heritage.nf.ca/articles/economy/moratorium-impacts.php>.
- . “Oil Industry and the Economy.” *Newfoundland & Labrador Heritage*, 2009. <http://www.heritage.nf.ca/articles/economy/oil-economy.php>.
- . “Tourism after Confederation.” *Newfoundland & Labrador Heritage*, 2012. <http://www.heritage.nf.ca/articles/economy/tourism-post-confederation.php>.
- . “Tourism before Confederation.” *Newfoundland & Labrador Heritage*, 2012. <http://www.heritage.nf.ca/articles/economy/tourism-pre-confederation.php>.
- Hiller, J. K. “Newfoundland and Canada: 1864-1949.” *Newfoundland & Labrador Heritage*, 1997. <http://www.heritage.nf.ca/articles/politics/confederation-1864-1949.php>.
- “Historic Colours of Newfoundland.” *Heritage Foundation of Newfoundland and Labrador and Templeton's*. St. John's, NL: 2007.

- “History.” *Heart’s Content Cable House*, 2016. <http://www.heartscontentcablehouse.com/history.html>.
- “History comes alive at Heart’s Content.” *Evening Telegram* (St. John’s, NL), July 25, 1974.
- “History.” *Johnson Geo Centre*, 2017. <https://www.geocentre.ca/about/history/>.
- “History of St. John’s.” *St. John’s, Newfoundland and Labrador* (Government website), 2016. <http://www.stjohns.ca/living-st-johns/your-city/st-johns-history/history-st-johns>.
- “Home.” *Mizzen Heritage Society*, 2016. <http://mizzenheritagesociety.com/index.html>.
- House of Assembly, Newfoundland and Labrador. *Historic Resources Act*, RSNL 1990, c. H-4. St. John’s, NL, 1985. <http://www.assembly.nl.ca/legislation/sr/statutes/h04.htm>.
- Howells, Laura. “Heritage Shop on Signal Hill reopens after four-month closure.” *CBC News* (Ottawa, ON), Aug. 1, 2015. <http://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/newfoundland-labrador/heritage-shop-on-signal-hill-reopens-after-four-month-closure-1.3176903>.
- Irish, Paul. “Parks Canada Celebrates a Century of Discovery.” *The Toronto Star*. Toronto, ON, May 13, 2011. https://www.thestar.com/life/travel/2011/05/13/parks_canada_celebrates_a_century_of_discovery.html.
- “Jellybean Row, Newfoundland and Labrador.” *Newfoundland and Labrador Tourism Broader Palette Series*. YouTube, 1:07, Jan. 18, 2016. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=iwJuiXyaMAQ&list=PLVGFVYO2PrDxv53mfxvj15z9T50V1IUHb&index=2>.
- Jenkins, Melissa. “Heart’s Content earns historical honour.” *The Compass* (Carbonear, NL), July 30, 2013.
- Jerrett, Eric. Interview by Shannon N. Cilento, September 30, 2016. Transcript.
- . “Road to Yesterday Virtual Museum Exhibit.” *Virtual Museum of Canada*, 2014. http://www.virtualmuseum.ca/sgc-cms/histoires_de_chez_nous-community_memories/pm_v2.php?id=record_detail&fl=0&lg=English&ex=0000326&hs=0&rd=134300.

- [Letter from J.L. O’Sullivan to Cyrus Field, July 6, 1868]. Box 1, General Correspondences 1846-1869, Cyrus W. Field Papers. Manuscripts and Archives Division. The New York Public Library.
- [Letter from Pastor to Cyrus Field, Dec. 4, 1868]. Box 1, General Correspondences 1846-1869, Cyrus W. Field Papers. Manuscripts and Archives Division. The New York Public Library.
- MacCharles, Tonda. “Cod Fishing and ‘The biggest layoff in Canadian history.’” CBC News. Ottawa, ON: CBC Radio-Canada, July 2, 1992.
<http://www.cbc.ca/player/play/1769461892>.
- MacEachern, Alan. *Natural Selections: National Parks in Atlantic Canada, 1935-1970*. Montreal: McGill-Queens University Press, 2001.
- Morine, H. A. *Fishing and Shooting in Newfoundland and Labrador: Their Attractions for Tourists and Sportsmen*. St. John’s, NL: Passenger Department of the Reid Newfoundland Company, 1903.
- Mosdell, H. M. *Newfoundland: Its Manifold Attractions for the Capitalist, the Settler and the Tourist*. St. John’s, NL: The Executive Government of Newfoundland, 1920.
- Mullaly, John. *A Trip to Newfoundland; Its Scenery and Fisheries; with an Account of the Laying of the Submarine Telegraph Cable*. New York: T.W. Strong, 1855.
- “National historic significance.” *The Compass* (Carbonear, NL), May 27, 2003.
- “National Historic Site,” *Bay Roberts Heritage Society*, 2014,
<http://www.bayrobertsheritagesociety.com/national.html>.
- “New Bill would limit destruction and encourage rehabilitation of Canadian heritage buildings.” *Canadian Architect*, 2016.
<https://www.canadianarchitect.com/heritage-adaptive-reuse/bill-tax-credit-heritage-buildings/1003736566/>.
- “Newfoundland—The Cod-fishery at Heart’s Content—Extracting the Livers of the Fish.” *Frank Leslie’s Illustrated Newspaper* (New York, NY), Oct. 31, 1885.
- “Newfoundland and Labrador Tourism Home Page.” *Newfoundland and Labrador Tourism*, 2016. <http://newfoundlandlabrador.com/>.
- “Newfoundland’s newest historic site opening in Heart’s Content tomorrow.” *Evening Telegram* (St. John’s, NL), July 26, 1974.

- O'Dea, Shane. "Newfoundland: Development of Culture on the Margin." *Newfoundland Studies* 10, no. 1 (1994): 73-81.
- O'Flaherty, Patrick. *Leaving the Past Behind: Newfoundland History from 1934*. St. John's: Long Beach Press, 2011.
- . *Lost Country: The Rise and Fall of Newfoundland, 1843-1933*. St. John's: Long Beach Press, 2005.
- . *Old Newfoundland: A History to 1843*. St. John's: Long Beach Press, 1999.
- O'Neill, Paul. *The Oldest City: The Story of St. John's Newfoundland*. Portugal Cove-St. Philips, NL: Boulder Publications Ltd., 2008.
- "Ottawa lifts ban on Estonian fishing vessels." *CBC News* (Ottawa, ON), Dec. 14, 2002. <http://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/ottawa-lifts-ban-on-estonian-fishing-vessels-1.336159>.
- "Our Community." *Town of Heart's Content*, 2013. <http://www.heartscontent.ca/our-community.html>.
- Overton, James. "A Future in the Past? Tourism Development, Outport Archaeology, and the Politics of Deindustrialization in Newfoundland and Labrador in the 1990s." *Urban History Review* 35, no. 2 (2007): 60-74.
- . *Making a World of Difference: Essays on Tourism, Culture and Development in Newfoundland*. St. John's, NL: Memorial University of Newfoundland Institute for Social and Economic Research, 1996.
- Panoramic View of St. John's, Newfoundland, 1879*. Ottawa: 1879.
- "Parks Canada Infrastructure Program." *Signal Hill National Historic Site of Canada, Parks Canada*, Aug. 30, 2016. <http://www.pc.gc.ca/eng/lhn-nhs/nl/signalhill/visit/infra.aspx>.
- Parsons, S.H. and Sons. "[Cabot Tower, Signal Hill.]" Photograph. St. John's, NL: 1900-1910. From The Rooms Provincial Archives: *Parsons Family Collection*.
- . "[Heart's Content: Cable Station and Staff Houses.]" Photograph. St. John's, NL: early 1900s. From The Rooms Provincial Archives: *Parsons Family Collection*.
- "Party in Heart's Content celebrates cable completion 150 years ago." *CBC News* (Ottawa, ON), July 27, 2016. <http://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/newfoundland-labrador/150-anniversary-transatlantic-cable-hearts-content-1.3696973>.

- Pickard, Chris. "Baccalieu Trail communities expecting positive changes." *The Evening Telegram* (St. John's, NL), Oct. 30, 1995.
- "Piece of Heart's Content history restored." *The Compass* (Carbonear, NL), Oct. 12, 2010.
- Pike, Denise. "Cable and railway stations named as Municipal Heritage sites." *The Compass* (Carbonear, NL), Dec. 22, 2009.
- Pittman, F. E. *Map Showing Newfoundland Government Railway and Steamship System*. St. John's, NL: Newfoundland Government Railway, 1924.
- Pope, Peter E. and Stephen F. Mills. "Outport Archaeology: Community Archaeology in Newfoundland." In *Past Meets Present: Archaeologists Partnering with Museum Curators, Teachers, and Community Groups*, edited by John H. Jameson, Jr. and Sherene Baugher, 169-186. New York: Springer, 2007.
- "Population Estimates, July 1, 2001 to 2015, Census Divisions and St. John's Census Metropolitan Area (CMA), Newfoundland and Labrador." *Statistics Canada*, 2016.
http://www.stats.gov.nl.ca/statistics/population/PDF/Population_Estimates_CD_CMA.pdf.
- "Province continues major employment generation programs." *Government of Newfoundland and Labrador News Releases* (St. John's, NL), May 17, 1996.
<http://www.releases.gov.nl.ca/releases/1996/drr/0517n13.htm>.
- Rendell, Henry R. Letter to Herbert Coombs, Jan. 8, 1972.
- [Resolution from the New York Common Council, Oct. 8, 1866]. Box 3, Atlantic Cable/Atlantic Telegraph Mr. Brassey's Letters and Writings, Cyrus W. Field Papers. Manuscripts and Archives Division. The New York Public Library.
- Rowe, Melvin. "Cable Commission Meeting Minutes, July 24, 1968." St. John's: Department of Provincial Affairs, 1968.
- . "Cable Commission Meeting Minutes, Aug. 12, 1969." Heart's Content, NL: 1969.
- . "Cable Commission Meeting Minutes, Aug. 24, 1973." Heart's Content, NL: 1973.
- . Letter to Joseph Smallwood, April 14, 1970.

- . “Minutes from the Official Opening, Heart’s Content Cable Museum.” Heart’s Content: 1974.
- Rowe, Ted. *Connecting the Continents: Heart’s Content and the Atlantic Cable*. St. John’s: Creative Publishers, 2009.
- . *Heroes and Rogues and the Story of Heart’s Content*. St. John’s: Creative Publishers, 2011.
- Rusted, Joan. *St. John’s: A Brief History*. St. John’s: Breakwater Books Ltd., 2011.
- Seary, E. R. et al. *The Avalon Peninsula of Newfoundland: An Ethno-linguistic Study*. Ottawa: National Museum of Canada, 1968.
- Senate and House of Commons of Canada. *Canada National Parks Act*, S.C. 2000, c. 32. Ottawa, ON, 2000. <http://laws-lois.justice.gc.ca/PDF/N-14.01.pdf>.
- Senate and House of Commons of Canada. *Historic Sites and Monuments Act*, R.S.C., 1985, c. H-4. Ottawa, ON, 1985. <http://laws-lois.justice.gc.ca/PDF/H-4.pdf>.
- Signal Hill National Historic Site of Canada Management Plan*. St. John’s, NL: Parks Canada, 2007.
- Simmons, Lillian. “Bay Roberts Council holds first meeting in new quarters.” *The Compass* (Carbonear, NL), Jan. 19, 1999.
- . “Bay Roberts Heritage Society still working on museum, artifacts.” *The Compass* (Carbonear, NL), Sept. 21, 1999.
- . “‘Road to Yesterday’ ...” *The Compass* (Carbonear, NL), Oct. 31, 2000.
- . “Second cable discovery fitting find for 89th anniversary.” *The Compass* (Carbonear, NL), Aug. 3, 1999.
- “Shoreline Heritage Walk,” *Bay Roberts Heritage Society*, 2014. <http://www.bayrobertsheritagesociety.com/Shoreline.html>.
- Smith, Philip E. L. “In Winter Quarters.” *Newfoundland and Labrador Studies* 3, no. 1 (1987).
- Sooley, Linda. Interview by Shannon N. Cilento, Sept. 30, 2016.
- Springuel, Natalie. “Fishing for Tourists: The Newfoundland Cod Crisis and the Role of Tourism in Community Revitalization: Lessons for Maine.” *Marine Research in Focus* 5 (April 2010).

http://www.seagrant.umaine.edu/files/Catherine%20Schmitt/MSG-E-10-06_NwfnldRIF_040210.pdf.

Standard Map of Newfoundland. 1:1,204,000. Chicago: Rand McNally & Company, 1927.

“Statistics Canada, 2006.” *Statistics Canada*, 2010.

<http://www12.statcan.gc.ca/census-recensement/2006/dp-pd/hlt/97-550/Index.cfm?TPL=P1C&Page=RETR&LANG=Eng&T=101>.

“Steeped in history and tradition.” *The Compass* (Carbonear, NL), Nov. 15, 1995.

Stoddart, Mark C. J., Howard Ramos, and David Chafe. “The Intangible Impacts of Tourism: The Battle Harbour National Historic District as a Tourism Anchor.” St. John’s, NL: The Harris Centre Memorial University, 2014.

https://www.mun.ca/harriscentre/reports/Stoddart_13_14_ARF_Final.pdf.

Sweet, Barb. “Province’s history reflected in new paint colours.” *The Telegram* (St. John’s, NL), June 13, 2007.

<http://www.thetelegram.com/living/2010/6/30/province-s-history-reflected-in-new-pain-1440793.html>.

Tarrant, Donald R. *Atlantic Sentinel: Newfoundland’s Role in Transatlantic Cable Communications*. St. John’s: Flanker Press Limited, 1999.

“The Board.” *Historic Sites and Monuments Board of Canada*, 2014.

<http://www.pc.gc.ca/clmhc-hsmbc/comm-board.aspx>.

The Evening Telegram (St. John’s, NL), March 3, 1896.

The Guardian (Bay Roberts, NL), May 8, 1910.

“The Parks Canada Charter.” *Parks Canada*, 2011.

<http://www.pc.gc.ca/eng/agen/chart/chartr.aspx>.

“The Sites.” *Provincial Historic Sites*. <http://www.seethesites.ca/the-sites.aspx>.

The Times (London, England), Oct. 14, 1796.

Thomson, Janet and Manmeet Ahluwalia. “Remembering the mighty cod fishery 20 years after moratorium.” *CBC News* (Ottawa, ON), June 29, 2012.

<http://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/remembering-the-mighty-cod-fishery-20-years-after-moratorium-1.1214172>.

- “Tour Guide: Baccalieu Trail, Newfoundland and Labrador.” *Baccalieu Trail Tourism Association*. Carbonear, NL: Baccalieu Trail Tourism Association, 1998.
- “Tourism.” *Newfoundland and Labrador* (Government Website), 1998.
<http://www.gov.nl.ca/publicat/EcoDec98/tourism.htm>.
- Traveller’s Map*. St. John’s, NL: Newfoundland and Labrador Tourism, 2016.
- “Uncommon Potential: A Vision for Newfoundland and Labrador Tourism.”
Newfoundland and Labrador Tourism, 2016.
<http://www.btcrd.gov.nl.ca/tourism/pdf/uncommonpotential-2016.pdf>.
- Vey, James. “[Launch of the kite-supported aerial by Guglielmo Marconi and his assistants, Signal Hill, St. John’s.]” Photograph. St. John’s, NL: 1901. From The Rooms Provincial Archives: *James Vey Collection*.
- Visitors’ Guide 2017*. St. John’s, NL: Destination St. John’s, 2017.
http://destinationstjohns.com/wp-content/uploads/2017/02/Visitors_Guide_2017-WEBSITE.pdf.
- “Voice Your Support—Federal Incentives for the Rehabilitation of Canada’s Historic Places.” *National Trust for Canada*, 2017.
<https://www.nationaltrustcanada.ca/get-involved/hcf-news/voice-your-support-federal-incentives-rehabilitation-canadas-historic-places>.
- “[Water Street Store in Ruins, 1892.]” Photograph. St. John’s, NL: 1892. From Memorial University Newfoundland: Archives and Special Collections.
<http://www.heritage.nf.ca/articles/politics/st-johns-fire-1892.php>.
- “[Water Street, St. John’s. View looking east with the O’Dwyer block to the right, pre-1899.]” Photograph. St. John’s, NL: c. 1893-1898. From Memorial University Newfoundland: Archives and Special Collections.
http://collections.mun.ca/cdm/singleitem/collection/arch_geog/id/2695/rec/5.
- “[Water Street, St. John’s. View of south side of Water Street and Sclater’s Store pre-1892.]” Photograph. St. John’s NL: pre-1892. From Memorial University Newfoundland: Archives and Special Collections.
http://collections.mun.ca/cdm/singleitem/collection/arch_geog/id/2700/rec/10.
- “Why St. John’s.” *Destination St. John’s*, 2017. <http://destinationstjohns.com/why-st-johns/>.
- Wolff Joshua D. *Western Union and the Creation of the American Corporate Order, 1845-1893*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2013.

Woodley, Ed. Email message to author, February 2, 2017.