

farming, agriculture and stock-raising. The knowledge gained by the "bug-hunters" and the "long-haired professors" form the foundation of development.

The establishment of a Canadian Government research station at Baker Lake opens up new possibilities for research

in that area. It is an earnest of future scientific expansion in the north. We will need more stations, more ships, more money, and above all more trained field-workers if this ignorance of our own north is to be wiped out. It is a truly Canadian responsibility.

## The Old Colony: A Review Article

By A. G. HATCHER

**S**TUDENTS of economics and government, especially in Canada, must long have felt the need of such a survey of Newfoundland as Professor R. A. MacKay and his fellow-contributors have made and now published under the title "Newfoundland: Economic, Diplomatic and Strategic Studies."<sup>1</sup> To the Royal Institute of International Affairs, under whose auspices the volume is issued, to the Newfoundland Branch and to the Canadian Institute, and to others represented on the supervisory committee are due the thanks of all who are interested in public affairs today. For Newfoundland's importance in the modern world is quite out of proportion to her small population and her moderate economic status, not only because of the Island's unique geographic position and that of its Labrador dependency, both so skilfully exploited in the Allied strategy of the recent war, but for at least two other main reasons.

One reason is economic. When the Great Depression began to cast its dark shadow over the world of the late 1920's, its numbing effects were soon felt in Newfoundland. This country sells abroad mainly primary products and must import—or does import—most of its own necessities of life and industry. Its economy is therefore very sensitive to changes in world conditions. While the sad tale of reduced national income, falling public revenues, loss of govern-

mental credit, near approach to default on public debts, and the like, is not peculiar to Newfoundland, yet the remedy proposed for these ills seems a peculiar one, for it was nothing less than a complete change; not a change of economic practice or a revolution in industrial methods, but a change in the form of government. The experiment of a political remedy for economic distress is one reason why the recent history of Newfoundland affairs appears worth some attention.

A second reason is therefore political. For nearly twelve years this Dominion has been governed by a commission, appointed by the British Government and presided over by His Excellency the Governor. The commission consists of six men, of whom three are Newfoundlanders and three are British civil servants. Many will wish to know how a once self-governing dominion of the British Commonwealth fares when in the position of a special ward of the United Kingdom. Newfoundland is thus a sort of political as well as an economic laboratory where a unique experiment is now in progress. This book, in the chapters written by Dr. MacKay and Dr. S. A. Saunders, gives at least a glimpse of the experiment under way.

Now an experiment asks questions of its material. Perhaps the Newfoundland experiment may pose such questions as these: what is the influence of size on the success of self-government in the Empire? How large must a self-governing unit be if it is to prosper? Since dominions

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1. Toronto, Oxford University Press, 1946. Price \$7.50.

evolve from colonial status, and are not created *de novo*, can or ought provision be made for any of them which may run into serious economic or political difficulty? Is the question, "Am I my brother's keeper?" one which England must answer in the affirmative while other partners in the Commonwealth remain silent?

With respect to the Colonies, as distinct from the Dominions, there has grown up the view, accepted by the Government of Great Britain and clearly expressed by such measures as setting up the Colonial Development Fund, that colonies are a trust. In the Colonies of the Empire, which include areas as large as Nigeria and as small as Pitcairn Island, there live more than sixty million people, many of whom lie in sore need of economic and educational assistance in order to raise their level of life and to develop their natural resources. For such people and their homelands some form of trusteeship is a clear necessity. One may observe that some British Dominions are themselves colonial powers, even Canada herself in some respects.

But what of the one-time colonies, settled by British and other Europeans, which now have become self-governing? Must it be assumed that when one of them has become mistress in her own house, as in Kipling's phrase, she is thereafter unlikely to get into trouble, and if she should it is no concern of her big sisters? Ought not the member states of the Commonwealth, and not only the Dominions or the Colonial Office of the United Kingdom, have an interest in the social and economic welfare of all parts of the Empire? Some people would go still further, for at last year's Conference of the Institutes of International Affairs held at Chatham House in London it was "agreed that as an integral part of the future world organization there should be a social and economic council which should interest itself in colonial as well as in self governing areas because . . . the colonial problem is part of a much wider international

problem—the problem of poverty and low standards of living throughout the world."<sup>2</sup>

It will be seen, I believe, that the peculiar problem of Newfoundland has a close bearing on the general question of a better world economic order and that the survey made by Dr. MacKay and his associates may well throw some light on this vital but perplexing matter.

### The Economy

The story of Newfoundland as an economic unit is told by Professor MacKay and Dr. S. A. Saunders in twelve interesting chapters. This is no mean achievement in view of the absence of previous studies of this kind and the lack of some necessary statistics. There is an account of the directions in which the Islanders' way of life has changed during the past few decades and an estimate of the causes of economic set-back. One notes, by the way, a comparison of the position of Newfoundland with that of the western provinces of Canada when the depression hit both, a comparison in favour of the federated as against the isolated political unit.

In the chapter on employment, labour and population some interesting comparisons are given with Canada and the United States. In connection with emigration this reviewer would mention—the book does not—the resentment felt by many Newfoundlanders in the pre-war years when at the same time Canadians were allowed to enter the country to occupy posts—often the highest posts—in business and industry, yet Newfoundlanders who wished to go to Canada were treated like immigrants from Japan or Bulgaria.

As the chapter on the External Trade of Newfoundland shows, Canadians have a vital interest in the Ancient Colony for she is a good customer as well as a good neighbour. Figures before me as I write show that of Newfoundland's imports nearly two-thirds are bought from Canada, the bill for last year

1. "The British Commonwealth and the World," by R. Frost. R. I. A. 1945. p. 5

(1495-1946) amounting to more than 41 million dollars. Canadians all wish to see Newfoundland prosper, but not all realize how her prosperity would help Canada's. While Canada does not patronize her small neighbour's wares in anything like a reciprocal ratio, there is of course the good reason that the things which Newfoundland wishes to sell are, most of them, such as Canada herself wishes to export.

Newfoundland's provisions for Education and Public Health are the subjects of two chapters of this book. Both are, of course, matters of the utmost concern. Health services proceed on lines familiar to most Canadians. As to Education, there are two principal differences between Newfoundland's system of public schools and that of most of the provinces of Canada. One is that, instead of local taxation for education, funds are disbursed to local boards from a central government department. Canadians no doubt prefer their own system, but it tends to give poorer school services to the poorer communities, whereas Newfoundland makes an equal per caput grant to schools in all areas of the country. Another difference is the denominational system which prevails generally at elementary and high school level, and to this the writers devote several interesting pages.

Readers will turn with interest to what the book has to say about the Commission Government, since this is a unique form of administration for a British dominion. Its constitution is outlined and its principal policies and measures are described, both its prewar and its wartime doings. The book, while offering no ill-considered criticism, makes the suggestion that in the early 1930's more careful planning on a broader scale might have been made. But if such a long-term policy of economic reconstruction had been adopted, it would have to be carried out by someone. Just as for the War a Department of Defence was set up and placed under a Commissioner, so for the lean pre-war years a Department of

Rehabilitation with a specially assigned commissioner at its head would seem to be indicated.

This economic survey of Newfoundland seems to assign her a passive role in that sphere since her economy is so much dependent on conditions of world trade which she can do little to affect. This is one reason why some thoughtful people hoped, following Mr. Churchill's famous offer to France in 1940 and subsequent agitation for the federal union idea, that after the War some sort of union embracing Britain, Canada and the United States might be set up and in this group the Island Dominion would find a useful and welcome place. Dismissing these hopes and turning now to Newfoundland's experience in the sphere of international political diplomacy since she became self-governing, we find that a passive acquiescence has by no means marked her attitude to the problems she faced in the past century.

### Diplomatic History

The principal diplomatic parleys of the period have been treated in a detailed but attractive study by Professor A. M. Fraser in eleven chapters of the book. They include the French Shore dispute, the various fishing negotiations with the United States, the Labrador Boundary case, and the conferences on Confederation with Canada. What dull matters they seem at first sight, these rights in fishing areas, lobsters and cod-seines, bait-fish and herring, that they should demand on the parts of the diplomats of Britain, France, Canada and Newfoundland such careful and farsighted attention! But in fact they make a very readable story and we see marching over these pages such figures as Palmers-ton, Chamberlain, Salisbury, Tupper, Macdonald and Foster, as well as American and French negotiators of no mean skill—and among them the representatives of the Island Colony who, perhaps to our surprise, seem to exhibit as much resource, purpose and vision as any.

The French Shore problem, whose

roots go back to the early eighteenth century, has been admirably surveyed by Professor Fraser. When, by the Treaty of Utrecht (1713), France ceded Newfoundland to Great Britain some rights were granted to the French to fish over a long stretch of the coast of the Island. These rights were confirmed by the Treaty of Paris (1763), but, being the cause of confusion and bickering, were altered by the Treaty of Versailles (1783) and again by the Treaty of Paris (1814, 1815). But up to as recent a date as the end of the nineteenth century these rights were the cause of incident after incident. There were differences of opinion over the extent of the area involved, whether buildings could be erected on the treaty shore, the purchase of bait-fish in Newfoundland waters, mineral grants on the shore, the presence of the French Navy in these parts, and the extent to which the British Government could control Newfoundland fishery legislation. Add the fact that the Newfoundland squares were not the only part of the chess-board Downing Street had to have an eye on and you have all the material for very pretty diplomatic end-plays. When, however, a British naval post-captain had to side with the French and force Newfoundland merchants to close their premises, as in the Baird-Walker case of 1890, it was seen that an intolerable situation would sooner or later have to be altered. This was done (in 1940) by adjustments of French dominion over a large area on the continent of Africa.

A significant by-product of the disagreements and negotiations between the Newfoundland government and that of the Mother Country in the French Shore disputes was the "Labouchere Despatch" of 1857, in which that brilliant young diplomat wrote "that the consent of the community of Newfoundland is regarded by Her Majesty's Government as the essential preliminary to any modification of their territorial or maritime rights." Fraser calls this the "Magna Carta of Newfoundland."

In this long struggle of the Island Colony for the full ownership of the shores and coastal waters of her own country she had, at least on occasion, the sympathy and support of her sister colonies on the mainland. When, however, we turn to look into the story, given us by Professor Fraser in four chapters of this book, of fishing negotiations with the United States we find Canadian influence exerted as often as not strongly contrary to Newfoundland's vital interests.

### Fishery Disputes

When the New England colonies had won their independence they still wished to fish in British waters. This right was given them by treaty in 1783 and renewed at various times thereafter. The extent of American fishing rights off the Newfoundland coast involved several knotty questions, such as what should be the range of the fishing grounds, could adjacent lands be used for fish curing or like purposes, what kinds of seines and other fishing gear were permissible, and similar matters for which local laws might have to be made. These questions were more or less bound up with prospects of reciprocal trade between the States and Newfoundland and also Canada. Other contingent issues were the dislike of Americans fishing in Newfoundland bays to submit to Newfoundland fishing laws and also the efforts of Great Britain to control, or at least influence, colonial legislative action in fishery matters affecting United States nationals.

A lively source of controversy, which developed into a four-handed contest, was the attempt of the Newfoundland government to act alone—or at least apart from Canada—when negotiating for trade agreements with the American government. The conversations of 1890 between Bond (later Sir Robert) and James G. Blaine, the U. S. Secretary of State, were strenuously opposed by Sir John A. Macdonald, the Canadian Prime Minister, and by Sir Charles Tupper, who remonstrated so strongly

with the British Government that the latter refused to allow the Bond-Blaine convention to be ratified. Diplomatic relations between Canada and Newfoundland were further strained in the years 1890 to 1892 when the enforcing of the Newfoundland Bait Act, which made Canadian fishermen pay licenses before obtaining bait-fish, was regarded by Canada as a simple matter of retaliation.

The various moves in this rather complicated contest are interestingly set out in Professor Fraser's account. One is struck by the force and debating skill of such a man as Bond in all this. We see, not for the first time, that a small country can produce statesmen of the very highest quality. As to relations between Canada and Newfoundland, we quote Fraser: "It was not until 1901, when the government of Sir Wilfrid Laurier adopted a conciliatory attitude on the question of Bond's negotiations for a separate fisheries treaty with the United States, that an improvement in Newfoundland-Canadian relations developed."

The history of disputes over American fishing rights in North American waters, as against the rights of Canada and Newfoundland, shows, one is glad to observe, an increasing trend towards peaceable settlements. Whereas in 1818 Henry Clay fears that such disputes may prove "a nest-egg for another war," we find in 1910 the Governments of the United States and Great Britain, on behalf of Canada and Newfoundland, carrying these differences to the Tribunal of the Hague Permanent Court and, by accepting its decisions, ending the quarrels of nearly a century.

### Canada-Newfoundland Issues

Chapters XI-XIII give us the story of two highly important Canada-Newfoundland issues, one the question of union between the Island Colony and the Confederation of Canada, and the other the Labrador-Canada Boundary dispute. These are comparatively recent matters, it is true, but I do not know of any work

which gives so good an account of them as we find here. They are also timely. As these lines are being written an elected National Convention sitting in St. John's is discussing the matter of federal union with Canada, although no negotiations have taken place. The last conversations took place in 1895 and, in the view of the author of Chapter XII, was marked by a lack of foresight and skill on the part of Sir Mackenzie Bowell and his Canadian colleagues, while the Imperial government might have done more to make real "the vision of the 1860's of Canada as a great North American nation under the British Crown."

The account of the Labrador Boundary case is a careful one. It may serve to correct the view, not infrequently expressed, that in 1927 Labrador was taken from Quebec and given to Newfoundland. Actually of course no such transfer did or could take place. The Privy Council, on request of the two Dominions, heard the arguments of learned counsel for both governments and decided where, according to the documents in the case, the boundary between Newfoundland and Canada in the Labradorian peninsula actually lies. This case may perhaps illustrate the value of the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council as a still useful part of imperial machinery.

From Fishing Station to Atlantic Bastion" is the apt title chosen by the editor for the part of these studies dealing with the Island's strategic role and her diplomatic efforts. The period from the Discovery to the nineteenth century has been surveyed, from the point of view of British strategy, by Professor G. S. Graham. Professor MacKay himself contributes a general conspectus of the period which, as described above, Professor Fraser has covered in detail respecting Newfoundland's diplomatic manoeuvres. Professor A. R. M. Lower has had, one imagines, no easy assignment, for he has written on Newfoundland's strategic part in the Hitler War and the island's position in the

light of changes of modern warfare. Undertaking his studies presumably at the moment when the island was being rapidly prepared as a great fighting base for naval, airborne and, if necessary, military operations of a decisive character, he is unlikely to have wished to observe and describe local strategic arrangements, absorbingly interesting as they might be. He has taken a broader sweep and his interesting chapter will help us to appreciate the important role which, as he puts it, destiny has thrust upon this country.

Other writers than those mentioned above have contributed to this volume.

Mr. G. S. Watts, of the Bank of Canada's research division, has written the chapter on the Impact of the War on Newfoundland. There is also an estimate, by one whose name, like that of the author of the Book of Numbers, is not given us, of the national income of Newfoundland. He reckons the pre-war figures as below the levels of income of the Maritime Provinces of Canada. Beside relevant tables, the book contains useful maps and diagrams, some of them the work of Mr. H. H. Cummings, M. A. To the whole work the chairman of the supervisory committee, Sir Campbell Stuart, has given a friendly foreword.

## Regionalism: A Development in Political Geography

By F. KENNETH HARE

**L**ITTLE attention seems to have been paid in Canada to the developing cult of regionalism, which has occupied much of the time of American social scientists in recent years. Regionalism is a concept of the geographers (of whom there have hitherto been few in the Dominion), but the importance of regional factors has been widely recognized by other social scientists, notably the economists, the sociologists, and those interested in public administration.

The importance of this subject in public affairs lies in its relation to government and political structure, especially in federal countries. The creation of planning authorities, for example, by the federal government of the U. S. A. has posed entirely new problems of boundary-drawing and political geography. Boundary-drawing in the Old World since the Congress of Vienna has

been primarily a question of reconciling the complex facts of nationality with the conflicting demands of the parties for economic and strategic advantages. In North America strategic and economic factors have been relatively less significant since the final demarcation of the Canadian-U. S. boundary. The Canadian provinces and the states of the Union, once created, have remained little changed; there has been no widespread need of or call for revision of boundaries. In many cases these federal units have been given boundaries which bear no relation to the facts of the terrain over which they were created.<sup>1</sup> This discordance of political boundaries with the regions into which the continent is divided geographically has led in recent years to the creation (or attempted creation) of authorities whose limits are defined more carefully with respect to geography, and whose powers lie intermediate between those of the federal and state governments. The drawing of boundaries

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<sup>1</sup>Except, of course, for the division of the huge pioneer territories.