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G. E. Panting

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THE FISHERMEN'S PROTECTIVE UNION OF NEWFOUNDLAND AND THE FARMERS' ORGANIZATIONS IN WESTERN CANADA

G. E. Panting
Memorial University

Professor Vernon Fowke has written: "The clearest and most significant uniformity regarding Canadian agriculture for more than three hundred years has been its deliberate and consistent use as a basis for economic and political empire."[1] The late Harold A. Innis has explained how economic and political empire has been built upon the codfish, as well.[2] This paper is an attempt to set out some comparisons between organizations which arose among some of the farmers and fishermen who have provided support for those empires.

For the North Atlantic region, a period of economic growth closed out the nineteenth century and ushered in the twentieth. Steam, petroleum and eelectricity, when combined with iron and steel, produced the great industrial and urban areas which constituted markets for raw foods and raw materials. As primary producers, Western Canadian farmers and Newfoundland fishermen were caught up in this expansion of modern industrial techniques. A world-wide movement toward the cultivation of new grain growing territory[3] created a frontier of investment[4] in the Canadian West. In Newfoundland, mining and forestry operations provided a field for new investment. The first two decades of the new century, with which this paper is concerned, fell within this period of expanding markets.

At the opening of the twentieth century, Newfoundland society, although changing slowly, still bore the impress of the long established fisheries. Not only the prosecution of the inshore fishery but also the distribution of the returns among the fishermen were carried out by custom. Few fishermen reached the station of merchant because the accumulation of capital was a slow and arduous process. In the local

[1] Vernon C. Fowke, *Canadian Agricultural Policy: The Historical Pattern* (Toronto: The University of Toronto Press, 1946) p. 3.

[2] Harold A. Innis, *The Cod Fisheries, The History Of An International Economy* (Toronto: The University of Toronto Press, 1954).

[3] Wilfred Malenbaum, *The World Wheat Economy, 1885-1939* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1953) pp. 29-30, 150-1.

[4] See Fowke, *Agricultural Policy* (1946) pp. 107-8, 118 for a discussion of the idea of a "frontier of investment."

fish trade, a credit system was deeply entrenched.[5] It was at the level of the great Water Street mercantile establishments in St. John's that the fish trade meshed with the spheres of banking and international trade. Following the Newfoundland bank crash of 1894, Canadian banks, independent of the Water Street merchants, entered the island. This disturbance of the "conventional"[6] society of Newfoundland was carried further by new techniques in transportation and industry. Steam, applied to shipping, led to a concentration of ownership in the carrying trade and the seal fishery. The railway opened the way to the exploitation of forest resources by British enterprise, while North American enterprise linked Bell Island iron ore to Cape Breton smelters.[7]

If tradition shaped Newfoundland, growth and buoyancy were the characteristics of Western Canada. People, machines and money were attracted to North America's last agrarian frontier. Farmers acquired such items as mechanical reapers and threshers as well as steam and gasolene tractors, and made a substantial collective investment in land, despite the provisions for free homesteads.[8] A burst of railway building began and with it came the construction of the country and terminal elevators required to handle the swelling grain harvest. Farm implement companies, wholesale houses, commercial banks, loan companies and mortgage companies established themselves in the new market centres growing up along the spreading railway lines.

Although differences in their social surroundings existed, there were fundamental similarities in the relationship of farmers and fishermen to production and marketing activities. Both inshore fishing berths and grain farms were carried on with family labor. Those prosecuting the inshore fishery received shares of the catch rather than fixed wages. This was not the position of wage workers in industry who were supplied with raw materials and equipment; required to turn out a finished product under supervision; and received a fixed scale of wages.[9] Indeed, farmers, and skippers among the fishermen, had to

[5] On the economy of a fishing village, see the short description by J. R. Smallwood, "Life In Newfoundland," in Smallwood, *ed., The Book of Newfoundland,* 2 vols. (St. John's: Newfoundland Book Publishers, Ltd., 1937) Vol. I, pp. 12-8. For the credit system and its effects, see *Report of the Newfoundland Royal Commission, 1933* (London: His Majesty's Stationery Office, 1933) pp. 78-80.

[6] Burton Seely Keirstead, *Capital, Interest and Profits* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1959) pp. 126-7 describes Newfoundland as a "conventional" society in economic terms. See the definition of the term on p. 85.

[7] For these changes, see Innis, *The Cod Fisheries* (1954) pp. 459-60, 462-3; R. A. MacKay *Newfoundland, Economic, Diplomatic, and Strategic Studies* (Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1946) pp. 61-2; *Newfoundland Report* (1933) pp. 23-8; and Captain Abram Kean, *Old and Young Ahead* (London: Heath Cranton, Ltd., 1935) pp. 134, 141-3.

[8] Kenneth Buckley, *Capital Formation In Canada, 1896-1930* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1955) p. 13.

[9] But, see Harald S. Patton, *Grain Growers' Cooperation In Western Canada* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1928) p. 19, for the opposite viewpoint.

make some decisions about production and marketing like other businessmen.[10] But, unlike most businessmen, farmers and fishermen labored physically and faced erratic natural conditions which affected their products. Therefore, in modern industrial terms, they were neither wage workers nor businessmen.

Grain growing had reached Western Canada after a migration across North America. As a concomitant of this movement, a series of organizations arose which bequeathed to the sectionally conscious Canadian West a tradition of revolt. From such soil the grain growers' associations grew. In Newfoundland, one can see some evidence for sectional consciousness as well as a possible working model of organization for the inshore fishermen. Despite the dispersal of the population among the fishing settlements on the northeastern coast, the inshore cod fishery formed an economic whole with the Labrador fishery and the seal fishery. A predominantly Protestant population carried on all three activities. Because denominational ties were important,[11] and because there was a similarity between the formal proceedings and ceremonial regalia of the Orange Order and of the Fishermen's Protective Union (F.P.U.), it has been suggested that the former provided a model for the latter. Certainly, the founder of the F.P.U. was an Orangeman.[12]

Seemingly, among the Newfoundland fishermen, leaders were scarce, respite the attempt to provide for a higher level of education in the fishing settlements which began in 1893.[13] William F. Coaker, the organizer of the F.P.U., was not a fisherman. After growing up in St. John's, he came into contact with the fishermen of the northeastern shore while acting as agent for a firm of merchants. In addition, he had organized a telegraphers' union. While spending eighteen years as a farmer, he had thought through the problems of organization in

[10] Smallwood, "Life In Newfoundland," (1937) I, pp. 12-4, deals with the operation of the inshore fishery. See also Smallwood, *Coaker of Newfoundland* (London: Labour Publishing Company, Ltd., 1927) pp. 11-2, 50. Sealers went out on speculation.

[11] *Newfoundland Report* (1933) p. 88.

[12] For a discussion of these points, see John Feltham, "The Development of the F.P.U. In Newfoundland (1908-1923)" (Unpublished Master's Thesis, Memorial University of Newfoundland, St. John's, 1959) pp. 10-1, 27-8 and especially pp. 29-30, 130-1 on the Orange connection. The Protestant population is dealt with on pp. 36-7. See also the statement by W. F. Coaker in *Proceedings Of the House of Assembly and Legislative Council, 1914* (St. John's: Robinson and Company Press, Ltd., 1914) p. 159, concerning the training in speaking received by F.P.U. members who were also Orangemen.

[13] F. W. Rowe, *The History of Education In Newfoundland* (Toronto: The Ryerson Press, 1952) pp. 102-3. See also the comment, about the stirring of "intellectual life among the toilers of the deep," in Reverend Moses Harvey, *Newfoundland In 1900* (St. John's: S. E. Garland, 1900) p. 152.

order to become a leader.[14] Other potential leaders may have been those new local merchants who emerged following the bank crash of 1894.[15] Because the grain growers' associations of Western Canada were part of a series of similar farmers' movements, they could find experienced leaders. From a growing society, they could develop others.

These Western agrarian leaders inherited the view that the rest of society gained its wealth from the products of the farmer. Similarly, a committee of F.P.U. members noted that "the fishermen of the Colony... produce four fifths of its wealth."[16] Although ready to pay for the services of trading groups, farmers and fishermen could still ask whether the toll paid was commensurate with the service performed. After the hectic grain shipping seasons of 1901 and 1902, the grain growers' associations were formed to focus attention upon the services provided by the grain dealers and the Canadian Pacific Railway.[17] In Newfoundland, the credit system created hostility between fishermen and merchants.[18] At the same time, the traditional society of the outports linked them together. This conflict was resolved when the adverse culling or grading by the agents of the fish merchants, in the Black Fall of 1908, was followed by the appearance of the F.P.U. In 1909, W. F. Coaker expressed his suspicion of the Newfoundland Board of Trade, and in 1911, he spoke of his desire to destroy the credit system in the fish trade.[19]

It was evident that farmers and fishermen were to be something other than another organized business interest. Once organization began, Coaker had the F.P.U. incorporated as a trade union because he wished to bind together the "toiling masses" — *i.e.* the fishermen, sealers and loggers. In 1911, Union local councils were allowed to request "any member engaged in business" to withdraw.[20] Similarly, in Western

[14] For this biographical note on Coaker, see Hon. Sir W. F. Coaker, K.B.E., *comp., Twenty Years Of The Fishermen's Protective Union From 1909-1929. Containing The Records Of The Supreme Council Since The Union's Inception, And Other Matter Of Interest To Members Of This Great Organization* (St. John's: Advocate Publishing Company, Ltd., 1930) pp. 147; P. K. Devine "Memories Of The F.P.U. In The Early Days Of Its Organization," in *ibid.*, p. 141; and T.E.C., "The F.P.U. And Its Leader," in *ibid.* p. 182.

[15] See the statement by W. F. Coaker on the rise of these new merchants, in *Proceedings of the House, 1914,* pp. 559-60.

[16] Coaker, *comp., Twenty Years Of The F.P.U.* (1930) p. 42. See also *ibid.* p. 87 for the statement by a committee dealing with the sealing disaster of 1914.

[17] The protests of the farmers against the railways and grain dealers, as listed in the report of the Saskatchewan Elevator Commisison of 1910, are set out in S. M. Lipset, *Agrarian Socialism, The Cooperative Commonwealth Federation In Saskatchewan* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1950) pp. 49-51.

[18] *Newfoundland Report* (1933) pp. 80-1.

[19] For Coaker's remarks on the Black Fall, see Coaker, *comp., Twenty Years of the F.P.U.,* p. 9. For the other points, see *ibid.* pp. 2, 16, 33.

[20] Coaker, *ibid.* p. 16, 39 and Sir W. F. Coaker, K.B.E., *Past, Present, and Future, Being A Series Of Articles Contributed To The Fishermen's Advocate* (1932) unpaginated.

Canada, the Territorial Grain Growers' Association refused to accept government sponsored agricultural societies as local associations while the Manitoba Grain Growers' Association (M.G.G.A.) excluded all but actual grain farmers from its executive body.[21] Because it was believed that the existing newspapers stated only the viewpoint of the established commercial and financial people, the *Grain Growers' Guide* was founded, in 1908, and the *Fishermen's Advocate,* in 1910.

Along with agitation, the organized primary producers took up trading in produce and supplies. In Western Canada, the appearance of the Grain Growers' Grain Company (G.G.G.C.) in 1906, was followed by ventures into elevator operation, the handling of farm supplies and equipment, and the buying of livestock.[22] In Newfoundland, the distribution of supplies by F.P.U. local councils was followed by the incorporation of the Union Trading Company (U.T.C.) with local stores selling for cash; and of a fish exporting company, in order to "make every fisherman his own importer, trader and exporter."[23] Because these commercial ventures were to be cooperatives, it followed that control of them should be retained by farmers and fishermen. Only farmers could hold shares, and therefore, voting rights, in the farmers' companies.[24] F.P.U. members were expected to buy the bulk of the shares in their enterprises, even though some outside capital might be required to supplement the carefully hoarded savings of the fishermen.[25]

Potentially, the new companies were a means of replacing the orthodox trading system. The mass membership of the producers' organizations seemed to guarantee to the producers' companies a mass patronage. Sensing this threat to the whole commercial system based upon staple products, the existing traders reacted sharply. Between 1906 and 1910, the G.G.G.C. had to fight the Winnipeg Grain Exchange over the patronage dividend and grain commissions in order to become established in the grain trade. As late as 1915, the Retail Merchants' Association of Saskatchewan felt that co-operative trading was disturb-

[21] *Brandon Sun,* March 12, 1903, and the *Virden Advance,* March 12, 1903. Members of the Grain Exchange and the Grain Dealers' Association were explicitly excluded from membership in the M.G.G.A. On the Territorial Grain Growers' Association, see Patton, *Grain Growers' Cooperation* (1928) pp. 36-7.

[22] These commercial operations are discussed in Patton, pp. 41-152.

[23] Coaker, *comp., Twenty Years of the F.P.U.* (1930) p. 83. See Feltham, "Development Of The F.P.U." (1959) pp. 83-8 for the development of the "cash stores."

[24] See Patton, *Grain Growers' Cooperation* (1928) pp. 422-8 for the act incorporating the Saskatchewan Co-Operative Elevator Company and pp. 45-6 for a discussion of the structure of the Grain Growers' Grain Company. On the Alberta company, see pp. 119-122 in Patton and the discussion in L. G. Thomas, *The Liberal Party In Alberta* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1959) pp. 135-6. Fowke, *The National Policy and the Wheat Economy* (University of Toronto Press, 1957) pp. 137-8, 146-9 discusses the farmers' companies.

[25] Coaker, *comp., Twenty Years Of The F.P.U.* (1930) pp. 83, 101, 106. Coaker exhorted fishermen to invest rather than bank money. The tendency to hoard cash and use credit is noted in *Newfoundland Report* (1933) p. 29.

ing trade conditions.[26] W. F. Coaker, when seeking business premises in St. John's, had difficulty in obtaining them. As he said, "The whole body of businessmen are bitterly hostile to the Union." Speaking of wholesalers' discounts, he noted that they would come "out of the large retail firms' pockets who trade at St. John's and the outports."[27] Because they represented an unorthodox kind of business venture, the organized producers, acting as traders, collided with the established system.

Another aspect of the organizations of farmers and fishermen which appeared to threaten the established order, was the close connection between the commercial and educational bodies. Coaker was both President of the F.P.U. and head of the F.P.U. business concerns. Clerks of the U.T.C. were made eligible for office in local and district councils of the F.P.U. so that they could help with administration.[28] In Western Canada, there was considerable interlocking of both leadership and membership between educational and commercial organizations.[29] Both the G.G.G.C. and its successor, the United Grain Growers (U.G.G.), gave financial aid to the farmers' associations. Now, the F.P.U. and the farmers' associations provided forums in which discussion focussed attention upon the grievances of farmers and fishermen, thereby creating self-conscious mass pressure groups. Demands for the redress of grievances were distilled into legislative programs. The Bonavista Platform of the F.P.U., which appeared in 1912, and the Farmers' Platform of the Canadian Council of Agriculture which evolved during the years 1910 to 1919, were the results. Besides calling for measures which would benefit their own business activities, the farmers and fishermen also called for such political reforms as direct democracy, and for public control of transportation.[30] Believing themselves to be confronted by a community of interest which allied commerce, press and politics, the leaders of farmers and fishermen created movements in which these spheres of activity were even more closely allied.

By World War I, the F.P.U. had become a political machine, almost indistinguishable from its creation, the Union Party. This entry

[26] On the struggle with the Grain Exchange, see Fowke, *National Policy* (1957) pp. 137-8 and Patton, *Grain Growers' Cooperation* (1928) pp. 50-61, 73-6. On the question of co-operative trading in Saskatchewan, see J. Castell Hopkins, F.S.S., F.R.G.S., *comp., The Canadian Annual Review of Public Affairs, 1915* (Toronto: The Annual Review Publishing Company, Ltd., 1916) pp. 684-5.

[27] Coaker, *Past, Present and Future* (1932) unpaginated, and Coaker, *comp., Twenty Years Of The F.P.U.* (1930) pp. 4-5, 17.

[28] Coaker, *comp., Twenty Years Of The F.P.U.* (1930) p. 46.

[29] For example, see the structure of the Canadian Council of Agriculture set out in Patton, *Grain Growers' Cooperation* (1928) p. 420.

[30] The Bonavista Platform appears in Coaker, *comp., Twenty Years Of The F.P.U.* (1930) p. 50 while its evolution is discussed pp. 2, 40. The evolution of the Farmers' Platform is noted in W. L. Morton, *The Progressive Party in Canada* (Toronto: The University of Toronto Press, 1950) pp. 297-305.

into politics was necessary because the sole centre of political power in Newfoundland was in St. John's. The Members of the House of Assembly, especially those on the government side, formed an important link between the structure of parliamentary government in St. John's and the traditional economic and religious society of the outports. In these fishing settlements, the school funds were distributed through the church organizations. There were some local road boards to handle funds allocated by the authorities in St. John's.[31] Therefore, in order to acquire any kind of political power beyond that of dependent local boards, the F.P.U. had to take the step from pressure group to political party. But, after 1914, the F.P.U. made no headway beyond its predominantly Protestant strongholds on the northeastern coast. The venture into politics demonstrated the sectional nature of the support for the F.P.U. by providing a denominational issue.[32] Although the political activities of the Union Party cannot be dealt with here,[33] it should be noted that even as part of the opposition, the members obtained greater powers for the local boards, which the F.P.U. could control, as well as legislation to provide for better conditions aboard sealing ships and in logging camps, where F.P.U. members sought part-time employment.[34]

Unlike the F.P.U., the farmers' associations could continue to act as pressure groups. In local rural politics, the interests of farmers were paramount. Provincial governments were sympathetic to farmers from whom they derived both electoral support and personnel and upon whom the development of the provincial economies rested. Under pressure, the Manitoba government operated a line of country elevators. In Alberta and Saskatchewan, the farmers received aid from governments when establishing co-operative elevator companies. The Saskatchewan government took steps to protect farmers from the questionable practices of implement companies. All three prairie governments obtained legislation to provide for a supply of money, at low interest rates, for farm mortgages.[35] In addition, the Dominion government,

[31] For local government during this period, see J. C. Crosbie, "Local Government in Newfoundland," *Canadian Journal of Economics and Political Science,* Vol. 22, No. 3 (August 1956) p. 38.

[32] Feltham, "Development Of The F.P.U." (1959) p. 37 and Coaker, *comp., Twenty Years Of The F.P.U.* (1930) pp. 68, 70. Coaker spoke of this issue in *Proceedings of the House, 1914* p. 34.

[33] The development of the Union Party is discussed in Feltham, "Development Of The F.P.U." (1959) pp. 60-81, 102-118, as well as in Smallwood, *Coaker of Newfoundland* (1927) pp. 34-46, 65-90 and in Alfred B. Morine, "Second Draft of Morine's History of Newfoundland," (Unfinished and unpublished manuscript in the *Papers of Alfred Bishop Morine,* Provincial Archives of Newfoundland, undated) chapter 13, *passim.*

[34] Smallwood, *Coaker of Newfoundland* (1927) pp. 40-1.

[35] Hopkins, *Annual Review 1912* pp. 109-10, 552; *ibid. 1914* pp. 619-20, 628, 658; *ibid. 1915* p. 655; *ibid. 1917* pp. 730-1, 750, 797; and Paul F. Sharp, *The Agrarian Revolt In Western Canada, A Survey Showing American Parallels* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1948) p. 69.

by 1912, had demonstrated a willingness to give favorable consideration to the wishes of the grain farmers in such matters as railway rates and the regulation of the grain trade, because grain production was the driving force behind the Canadian national economy.[36]

Beginning as vehicles for education and indoctrination, the F.P.U. and the farmers' associations had launched commercial ventures and had taken on political activities. During World War I, prices on the international markets were rising[37] and the commercial ventures were thriving until 1920.[38] Indeed, these companies, formed to challenge the established order, began to take on some of the characteristics of their orthodox counterparts. The farmers' grain companies came to accept the premises and the practices of the established grain trade as well as to exert a powerful influence upon it.[39] From 1908-9, the Home Bank in Winnipeg was linked through mutual directors to the G.G.G.C. Besides this investment, the U.G.G., itself a merger which absorbed the Alberta co-operative elevator company, had such subsidiaries as a sawmill operation in British Columbia and the Public Press.[40] As for the F.P.U., a committee, in 1911, could "see no reason why the shareholders should not benefit considerably and receive a fair return upon their investment," in the U.T.C.[41] Coaker's business adviser, from 1912 to 1916, was Alfred B. Morine, former legal counsel to the Reid Newfoundland Company,[42] which operated the transinsular railway and had large holdings of forest lands. During this period, Coaker progressed from the idea that fish prices responded to the interplay of supply and demand to the opinion that "investing money . . . creates progress and industry." On behalf of the U.T.C., he requested and received financial aid from a group of St. John's businessmen, in 1918.[43] The *Fishermen's Advocate* expanded into a publishing venture and the settlement of Port Union, established on Trinity Bay as a base for the F.P.U. enterprises, was

[36] Fowke, *Agricultural Policy* (1946) p. 245 and Fowke, *National Policy* (1957) p. 93.

[37] Patton, *Grain Growers' Cooperation* (1928) p. 413 and *Report Of The Commission Of Enquiry Investigating The Seafisheries Of Newfoundland And Labrador Other Than The Sealfishery* (1937) in *Newfoundland Economic Bulletin (Fisheries) 1931-41* (St. John's: Newfoundland Fishery Research Commission) p. 25.

[38] Patton, *Grain Growers' Cooperation* (1928) p. 327; Morine, "Second Draft", chapter 13 p. 12 and Coaker, *Past, Present, and Future* (1932) unpaginated.

[39] Fowke, *National Policy* (1957) pp. 149-50.

[40] Patton, *Grain Growers' Cooperation* (1928) pp. 66-7, 66 n. 1, 173-7, 335-6, 335 n. 2 and 3.

[41] Coaker, *Twenty Years Of The F.P.U.* (1930) p. 36.

[42] Morine, "Second Draft," chapter 13, p. 28 for his connection with Coaker. For Morine's connection with the Reid Newfoundland Company, see his "The Railway Contract, 1898, And Afterwards, 1883-1933," (photostatic copy in *Papers of Alfred Bishop Morine,* Provincial Archives of Newfoundland.) p. 33.

[43] Coaker, *Twenty Years Of The F.P.U.* (1930) pp. 30, 109; Coaker, *Past, Present, and Future* (1932). The date may have been 1917 rather than 1918.

an analogue of Grand Falls, in the Exploits Valley, created as a base for the Anglo-Newfoundland Development Company.[44]

From this situation came a conflict of interest between the producing and trading sides of the movements of farmers and fishermen. Not all the members of either the farmers' associations or the F.P.U. could afford to be, or chose to be, shareholders in the trading operations. Some were merely patrons and for a number of reasons, the companies had not adopted the patronage dividend. Therefore, while shareholders did receive dividends, the patrons received only the beneficial results of competition with established firms through higher prices for produce and lower prices for supplies. The relations of these two groups to the producers' companies were different, and therefore, their interests could conflict. Coaker constantly had to defend himself against charges that he was profit seeking and had to exhort the F.P.U. members to stand together and support the fishermen's companies.[45] In Western Canada, the leaders came under fire because it was charged that the farmers' grain companies were "big business" with a "capitalistic structure."[46]

As producers, the farmers and fishermen continued to operate by the old individualistic methods, but, as traders, they had created large-scale enterprises. These enterprises had made a partial accommodation with the existing marketing system. An alternative to both the commercial system and the producers' companies was to organize all producers and create a trading monopoly, which was another trend within the orthodox economic system.[47] As early as 1907, Fred W. Green, secretary of the Saskatchewan Grain Growers' Association, stated that the whole grain trade should be brought under one agency, controlled by the farmers, which could "market the entire product in the best interests of the whole."[48] One of the aims of the F.P.U. was to obtain the standardization of fish grades.Writing later about this period, W. F. Coaker noted the lack of "a pooling arrangement" or "compulsory regulating of shipments of fish."[49] The rising prices on the international markets during the war years, raised the question of centralized marketing and focussed attention upon these issues of long standing. Britain, France and Italy began joint purchasing of grain, in 1916, while the Italian government began the centralized buying of fish, in 1918. Between 1917 and 1920, the Canadian government

[44] For Port Union, see *ibid.* and Coaker, *Twenty Years Of The F.P.U.* p. 106. For Grand Falls, see P. T. McGrath, *Newfoundland In 1911* (London: White-Morris and Company, Ltd., 1911) pp. 84-5, 88.

[45] Coaker, *Twenty Years Of The F.P.U.* (1930) pp. 46, 83, 100, 121.

[46] Patton, *Grain Growers' Cooperation* (1928) p. 191 n. 2 cites letters in the *Grain Growers' Guide,* April 14, 1915 and January 17, 1917.

[47] See Fowke, *National Policy* (1957) pp. 100-1 concerning industrial monopolies.

[48] Quoted in J. F. C. Wright, *Saskatchewan: The Story Of A Province* (McClelland and Stewart, Ltd., 1955) pp. 197-8.

[49] Coaker, *Twenty Years Of The F.P.U.* (1930) pp. 68, 109 and Coaker, *Past, Present, and Future* (1932).

responded with centralized selling. In Newfoundland, W. F. Coaker, as Minister of Marine and Fisheries, imposed regulations for the selling of fish, in 1919; obtained legislation drafted by members of the Board of Trade, in 1920; and was forced to relinquish regulation of fish sales because of the resistance of some fish exporters, in 1921.[50] Although the voluntary wheat pools followed the disappearance of the Canadian Wheat Board, the old individualistic system continued to operate in Newfoundland.

Both farmers and fishermen had been tied to the commercial systems of metropolitan centres for more than a century. On the one hand, the expansion of metropolitan areas, coupled with the desire to perpetuate an agricultural society, had driven grain growing across the North American continent and forced the farmers to adopt both a commercial outlook[51] and mechanical equipment. On the other hand, the fishing settlements of Newfoundland had gone through a long painful struggle in order to exist at all, because originally, they were not considered necessary for the production of fish. Therefore, the techniques of the wider community of cities, mechanized industry and high finance had a different significance for the two groups of producers. Whereas steam and gasolene were accepted by the farmers as aids to increased production, their use in the Labrador fishery made members of the F.P.U. uneasy.[52] At the same time, however, the gasolene engine was adopted, as a labor saving device, in the inshore fishery where that could be done. Railways, reaching out from metropolitan areas, were essential to the farmers of Western Canada, while in Newfoundland, they signified a search for alternative resources to those of the fisheries. Hence, on the one hand the F.P.U., by fostering trading operations which introduced the fishermen to the techniques and the attitudes of an urbanized commercial system, accelerated the disruption of the traditional ways of the fishing settlements which was in progress. On the other hand, the Western agrarian associations gathered together the farmers and heightened their awareness of the unfolding economic and social possibilities of a buoyant and growing society.

Yet, both farmers and fishermen were a pre-industrial form of labor. Their callings originated in forms of society which pre-dated the rise of modern industrial society. Despite their dependence upon the wider world for markets and supplies, these primary producers, during the early years of the twentieth century, were organized to protect against their relationship to that wider community. The Farmers' Platform of 1910 contained an attack upon the protective tariff because

[50] On the fish regulations in Newfoundland, see *ibid.* and Morine, "Second Draft," chapter 13, pp. 24-6.

[51] Buckley, *Capital Formation* (1955) pp. 19-20 and W. A. Mackintosh, *Economic Problems Of The Prairie Provinces* (Toronto: The Macmillan Company of Canada, Ltd., At St. Martin's House, 1935) pp. 3-5.

[52] Coaker, *Twenty Years Of The F.P.U.* (1930) p. 101.

it tended to draw people into "great centres of population" whereas the greatest problem was declared to be the retention "of our people on the soil."[53] The organized farmers did not wish to provide an investment frontier which in turn would provide the foundation for a transcontinental nation-state cast in an urban and industrial mold. In Newfoundland, while the government drew its sustenance from the fisheries, revenues were used to support the exploitation of forest resources and mines. As W. F. Coaker put the case for the fishermen, in 1910: "Too much attention is being paid by our rulers to matters in connection with the [sic] speculations and interior development and too little attention given to reforms and requirements of the outports and fisheries."[54] The Farmers' Platform and the F.P.U. leader were giving voice to protests against the use of grain farming and the fisheries "as a basis for economic and political empire."

[53] Quoted in W. L. Morton, *Progressive Party* (1950) p. 298.

[54] Coaker, *Twenty Years Of The F.P.U.* (1930) p. 18. Keirstead, *Capital, Interest and Profits* (1959) p. 130, points out that the new enterprises were "alien" to the island.