

***The Gibraltar of America:***

The Establishment of American and Canadian Military Bases in Newfoundland during  
the Second World War and Their Impact on the People and Future of the Province of  
Newfoundland and Labrador

© Paul W Collins, PhD.  
[www.drpaulwcollins.com](http://www.drpaulwcollins.com)

Prepared for:  
The Provincial Historic Commemorations Program  
Department of Business, Tourism, Culture, and Rural Development  
Government of Newfoundland and Labrador  
Box 8700, St. John's, NL  
A1B 4J6  
September 18, 2015

“The time will come when England will regard this island as the Gibraltar of America.”<sup>1</sup>  
-Sir Robert Bond  
Newfoundland Prime Minister 1890

The Second World War and the subsequent arrival of thousands of American and Canadian military personnel marked a tremendous turning point in Newfoundland’s history. On the day the war began in September 1939, Newfoundland was a dispirited British *dominion-in-abeyance* off the east coast of Canada. The Colony was ruled by a London-appointed Commission of Government and kept afloat by loans and grants from the British Treasury.<sup>2</sup> However, Newfoundland’s standing changed dramatically in the spring of 1940 with Nazi Germany’s victorious *Blitzkrieg* through Western Europe. Only Britain stood defiant, and on the other side of the Atlantic, Newfoundland was now viewed, not only as Canada’s “first line of defence,” but actually “the key to the western defence system.”<sup>3</sup> In a very short time, Newfoundland boasted five military and civilian

---

<sup>1</sup> Bond to the House of Assembly, 30 May 1890, as recorded in *Proceedings*, the St. John’s *Evening Telegram*, 13 June 1890. He is, of course, referring to the strategically invaluable British outpost at the Western entrance to the Mediterranean Sea.

<sup>2</sup> Newfoundland’s situation was somewhat ambiguous during the first half of the 20th Century. Along with most of the British Commonwealth, Newfoundland was granted Dominion status in 1907. However, it retained and continued to refer to itself both formally and informally as The Colony of Newfoundland. Furthermore, it did not send a delegation to the Paris Peace Conference in 1919, despite its contribution towards the Great War, or ratify the Statutes of Westminster in 1932, granting legislative independence, as did the other dominions, and gave up responsible government altogether in 1934 in favour of a London-appointed Commission of Government. Consequently, Newfoundland was both a colony and a dominion in suspension, and entered the Second World War automatically with Britain’s declaration on 3 September 1939. William C. Gilmore, “Law, Constitutional Convention, and the Union of Newfoundland with Canada,” *Acadiensis*, Vol. XVIII, No. 2 (Spring 1989), 111-126. See also Greg Malone, *Don’t Tell the Newfoundlanders: The True Story of Newfoundland’s Confederation with Canada* (Toronto: Alfred A Knopf Canada, 2012), 1-32; JK Hiller (ed.), *Debates of the Newfoundland Legislature 1932 & 1933* (2 vols. St. John’s: Queen’s Printer, 2010); Chris Brookes, *Not Fit For It: How Newfoundland Gave up Elective Democracy in 1934* (St. John’s: Battery Radio, 2004, 3-CD Audio Documentary); and John Edward Fitzgerald, (ed.), *Newfoundland at the Crossroads: Documents on Confederation with Canada*, (St. John’s: Terra Nova Publishing, 2002) 1-20.

<sup>3</sup> Secretary of State for External Affairs to Dominions Secretary, March 2, 1941 in Paul Bridle (ed.), *Documents on Relations between Canada and Newfoundland* (2 vols., Ottawa: Department of External Affairs, 1974-1984), I, 103; and Joseph Schull, *Far Distant Ships: An Official Account of Canadian Naval Operations in World War II* (Ottawa: Edmond Cloutier, 1950; 2nd ed., Toronto: Stoddart Publishing, 1987), 68.

aerodromes, two naval bases, two seaplane bases, plus five army bases, and tens of thousands of Canadian and American military personnel were posted throughout Newfoundland and in Labrador. As the Colony's entire population stood at less than 300,000 and Newfoundland's capital (and largest) city boasted a mere 40,000 souls, this "friendly invasion"<sup>4</sup> held tremendous economic, social, and political repercussions for Newfoundland - many still felt today.<sup>5</sup>

Canada made a commitment to defend Newfoundland even before that country entered the war against Germany. Whereas once Ottawa considered Newfoundland nothing but a "liability<sup>6</sup>," Canada now saw its neighbour as an "essential Canadian interest" and an important part of the "Canadian orbit." Indeed, Prime Minister Mackenzie King argued in September 1939 that not only was the defence of Newfoundland "essential to the security of Canada" but guaranteeing the colony's integrity would actually assist Britain's war effort.<sup>7</sup> Regardless, the Canadian government did not act on that promise until the German victory in Europe. After the fall

---

<sup>4</sup>John N Cardolis, *A Friendly Invasion: The American Military in Newfoundland, 1940 to 1990* (St. John's: Breakwater Books, 1990). Cardolis is referring to the American military (as does Steven High), but the phrase now commonly also includes the Canadians.

<sup>5</sup>For an overall view of Newfoundland's Second World War experience, visit *Heritage Newfoundland and Labrador* at <http://www.heritage.nf.ca/browser/subject/Second%20World%20War>. See also GWL Nicholson, *More Fighting Newfoundlanders: A History of Newfoundland's Fighting Forces in the Second World War* (St. John's: Government of Newfoundland, 1969).

<sup>6</sup>During a meeting with Liberal Prime Minister William Lyon Mackenzie King at Hyde Park in April 1941, US President Franklin Delano Roosevelt suggested that Canada should take over Newfoundland. Mackenzie King replied that Newfoundland had not been included in Confederation because it was just a liability but Canada would make it into an asset. JW Pickersgill, *The Mackenzie King Record*, Vol. I (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1960), 202.

<sup>7</sup>High Commissioner for Newfoundland to Secretary of State for External Affairs, 3 December 1941, in Bridle (ed.), *Documents*, I, 115; Minutes of a Meeting of War Cabinet Committee, 17 September 1940, in Bridle (ed.), *Documents*, I, 99; Minutes of a Meeting of War Cabinet Committee, 10 June 1941, in Bridle (ed.), *Documents*, 571; High Commissioner in Newfoundland to Secretary of State for External Affairs, 3 December 1941, in Bridle (ed.), *Documents*, I, 115; and Secretary of State for External Affairs to Dominions Secretary, 2 March 1941, in Bridle (ed.), *Documents*, 103. See also David Mackenzie, *Inside the Atlantic Triangle: Canada and the Entrance of Newfoundland into Confederation, 1939-1949* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1986), 65. For a further examination of Newfoundland's strategic importance, see ARM Lower, "Transition to Atlantic Bastion," in RA MacKay (ed.), *Newfoundland: Economic, Diplomatic, Strategic Studies* (Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1946), 484-508.

of France in June 1940, Ottawa dispatched the 1st Battalion of the *Black Watch of Canada* (on board the SS *Antonia*) to Newfoundland to protect the Botwood seaplane base and the *Newfoundland Airport* (Gander), plus stationed five Douglas Digby bombers from RCAF No. 10 Squadron (with personnel) at the latter.<sup>8</sup> Shortly thereafter, Canadian contractors started building Camp *Lester* on the outskirts of St. John's and the newly appointed *Commander, Combined Newfoundland and Canadian Military Forces*, Brigadier P. Earnshaw arrived in November. By the end of 1940, close to 800 men from the Canadian 53<sup>rd</sup> Infantry Battalion were spread throughout Newfoundland's capital city and area, ready for any German air or sea attack. Canadian Army personnel eventually also protected Lewisporte (seen as the most likely insertion point for an enemy attack on the *Newfoundland Airport*), Rigolet (at the entrance to Lake Melville, Labrador) and *Goose Bay Air Station* (the largest airport in the world by 1943), plus manned numerous artillery and radar installations along the coast of Newfoundland and Labrador.<sup>9</sup>

The *Royal Canadian Navy* (RCN) also arrived in Newfoundland during 1940 and set up a Naval Examination Service to control shipping entering St. John's Harbour. By summer 1942, the Canadians had turned St. John's into a well-defended harbour and home base for not only the *Newfoundland Defence Force* (NDF) - comprising five

---

<sup>8</sup> The two facilities had been developed jointly by the British and Newfoundland governments during the mid-1930s in response to the tremendous strides being made in civil aviation. Military authorities feared that if the Germans captured either or both, the whole east coast of Canada and the United States could be threatened. Paul Collins, "Fortress Newfoundland: How the Fear of Nazi Attack Turned Newfoundland into an Armed Camp During the Second World War," *Newfoundland and Labrador Studies*, XXVI, No. 2, (Fall 2011), 198-199. See also Peter A Henderson, *Guarding the Gates: A History of Canadian Forces Station St. John's* (St. John's: Canadian Armed Forces, 1992), 17-18.

<sup>9</sup> The Canadians fortified Rigolet with a 200-man garrison, and leased part of the Goose Bay Air Station to the US for 25 years in 1942. William C Parrott and Christopher A Sharpe, "Swords Into Ploughshares: The Legacy of the Military Occupation of Newfoundland 1939-1945" (Unpublished paper given to the Annual Meeting of the *Canadian Association of Geographers*, Waterloo, Ontario, May 1994), 5; Robert Kavanagh, "W Force: The Canadian Army and the Defence of Newfoundland in the Second World War" (Unpublished Masters' thesis, *Memorial University of Newfoundland*, 1995); Collins, "Fortress Newfoundland," 200; CP Stacey, *Six Years of War: The Army in Canada, Britain and the Pacific* (Ottawa: Queen's Printer, 1956), 178-180; and Henderson, *Guarding the Gates*, 17-18.

corvettes (when available), two minesweepers and four Fairmile patrol boats - but also the *Newfoundland Escort Force* (NEF), renamed the *Mid-Ocean Escort Force* (MOEF) in February 1942. This force protected the vital trans-Atlantic convoys to Britain, and numbered approximately 70 warships, including British escorts based out of the US naval base at Argentia. By 1943 there were some 5,000 RCN personnel at St. John's, not including the thousands of ships' crew that were billeted at the *Buckmasters' Field Naval Barracks*. The RCN eventually developed facilities at Harbour Grace, Bay Bulls, Botwood, Corner Brook, and Red Bay and Goose Bay in Labrador. HMCS *Chambly* and HMCS *Moose Jaw* scored the NEF's first U-boat kill in September 1941.<sup>10</sup>

At the same time, the *Royal Canadian Air Force* (RCAF) started constructing its air base near the community of Torbay just outside St. John's. These aircraft would protect St. John's and Bell Island, as well as patrol the convoy routes east of Newfoundland. During the summer of 1941, Group Captain CM McEwen established Group 1 Headquarters at the *Newfoundland Hotel* in St. John's alongside the *Royal Canadian Navy* (moving to the new joint RCN/RCAF Headquarters on Plymouth Road the following year). *RCAF Air Station Torbay* opened in October 1941 with two runways, and patrols commenced when four Hudson bombers from No. 2 (British) Squadron arrived from Nova Scotia the following month. In February 1942, due to the dramatic increase in passenger traffic between Canada and Newfoundland (and congestion on the "Newfy Bullet" as the *Newfoundland Railway* was known), the Commission of

---

<sup>10</sup> Paul W Collins, *The "Newfyjohn" Solution: St. John's, Newfoundland as a Case Study of Second World War Allied Naval Base Development During the Battle of the Atlantic* (Calgary, AB: WriteAdvice Press, 2014); and WAB Douglas, *et al*, *No Higher Purpose: The Official Operational History of the Royal Canadian Navy in the Second World War, 1939-1945, Volume II, Part I* (St. Catharines: Vanwell Publishing, 2002), 151-263. See also Gilbert Tucker, *The Naval Service of Canada*, (2 vols., Ottawa: King's Printer, 1952), II, 186-205 ; and Joseph Schull, *Far Distant Ships*, 65-69.

Government approved a regular *Trans-Canada Airlines* (TCA) service between the two dominions. The RCAF developed additional facilities at Gander and Goose Bay, and utilized the two American aerodromes on the Island. RCAF personnel also manned radar stations at Torbay, Cape Bauld (at the tip of the Great Northern Peninsula), Port-aux-Basques, and Spotted Island and Brig Harbour in Labrador. As well, the RCAF operated an early warning system at Cape Ray on the west coast, and took over the five US radar stations on the Island in 1944.<sup>11</sup> The Americans had arrived at St. John's in January 1941 on board the Army Transport Ship (ATS) *Edmund B Alexander*, thanks to the (in)famous *Anglo-American Leased Bases Agreement* (signed March 17, 1941).<sup>12</sup>

Reeling from the speed and success of German forces on the Continent in the spring/summer 1940, the British were dangerously short of destroyers for North Atlantic convoy escort duty. The *Royal Navy* (RN) lost a significant number of these warships during the ill-fated Norwegian campaign the previous winter and the May evacuation at Dunkirk, with still more being sunk or damaged while held in port to counter the expected German invasion of Britain. Prime Minister Winston Churchill appealed to American President Franklin D. Roosevelt in May 1940 for “forty or fifty of [his] older destroyers” to fill the breach until new construction replaced the losses. Roosevelt was more than willing, but at this time, the United States was still officially neutral, and such a transfer would both contravene international law and inflame isolationist sentiment in the US. As a solution, Churchill proposed that Britain - as a gesture of friendship - lease

---

<sup>11</sup> WAB Douglas, *et al*, *The Creation of a National Air Force: The Official History of the Royal Canadian Air Force*, Volume II (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1986), 373-399, 468-567. *Trans-Canada Airlines* became *Air Canada* in 1965, and was privatized in 1988.

<sup>12</sup> For the most recent investigation into the Anglo-American Leased Bases Agreement see Steven High, “Rethinking the Friendly Invasion,” in Steven High, (ed.) *Occupied St. John's: A Social History of a City at War, 1939-1945* (Montreal/Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2010), 151-190, and *Base Colonies in the Western Hemisphere, 1940-1967* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009), 17-42. See also Henderson, *Guarding the Gates*, 25-35.

base sites on British territory in the Western Hemisphere to the Americans, and the United States reciprocate with the requested destroyers. Unfortunately, such a remedy was a bit too subtle for American policymakers, who preferred a more direct and documented swap. This presented the British with difficulties of their own as a straight exchange of assets could alienate the territories concerned, as well as upset many in the United Kingdom. British Minister of Supply Lord Beaverbrook (New Brunswick newspaper magnate Max Aiken) opined that if Britain had to make a bargain, it could not be a bad one. He felt that granting British territory to the United States for ninety-nine years in exchange for fifty Great War-vintage destroyers was a bad deal.<sup>13</sup>

The answer involved a compromise that gave the British their gesture and the Americans their business deal. Leases were given “freely and without consideration” in Newfoundland and Bermuda, while similar facilities were traded in Jamaica, Trinidad, British Guiana, St. Lucia, and Antigua for the fifty destroyers.<sup>14</sup> This solved the problem, and the “destroyers for bases” deal - as it became known - was announced on 3 September 1940. Ultimately, the United States developed facilities in Newfoundland at St. John’s (Fort *Pepperell*/Camp *Alexander*), Argentia (*Argentia Naval-Air Station*/ Fort *McAndrew*), Gander, Stephenville (*Harmon Air Force Base*/Camp *Morris*), and eventually Goose Bay, Labrador, as well as manned numerous artillery/radar sites throughout the Island. By war’s end, tens of thousands of American servicemen were stationed throughout Newfoundland and Labrador, and hundreds of thousands of US

---

<sup>13</sup> Philip Goodhart, *Fifty Ships that Saved the World: The Foundation of the Anglo-American Alliance* (New York: Doubleday and Co., 1965), 172.

<sup>14</sup> This distinction had more to do with race than gestures of friendship. See High, *Base Colonies*, 25 & endnote 48, 213-214, and “Rethinking the Friendly Invasion,” endnote 2, 271.

military personnel and passengers had passed through the various US facilities throughout the colony.<sup>15</sup>

The most stunning impact of all this military activity was economic. During the fall of 1943 (the peak year of construction) over 20,000 Newfoundlanders were employed in building the various facilities. Over the course of the war years, the US invested \$114,000,000 (USD) on their facilities in Newfoundland, and the Canadians \$65,000,000 (CAD).<sup>16</sup> Further, military personnel rose to upwards of 29,000 (13,000 US, 16,000 CA) in 1943, all of whom purchased local goods and services. This infusion of cash into the Newfoundland economy had a huge impact on the people of Newfoundland both directly and indirectly.<sup>17</sup>

---

<sup>15</sup> Peter Neary, *Newfoundland in the North Atlantic World, 1929-1949* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1988; 2nd ed., Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1996) 135-153, "Newfoundland and the Anglo-American Leased Bases Agreement of 27 March 1941," *Canadian Historical Review*, LXVII, No. 4 (1986), 491-519, and "'A Mortgaged Property': The Impact of the United States on Newfoundland, 1940-1949," in *Twentieth Century Newfoundland: Explorations*, James Hiller and Peter Neary, (eds.) (St. John's, NL: Breakwater Books, 1994) 179-193. See also David Mackenzie, "A North American Outpost: The American Military in Newfoundland, 1941-1945," *War & Society*, XXII, No. 2 (October 2004), 51-74; Stetson Conn, Rose C. Engelman and Byron Fairchild, *Guarding the United States and Its Outposts* (Washington, DC: Office of the Chief of Military History, 1964; reprint, Washington, DC: US Government Printing Office, 2000), 354-408; and Henderson, *Guarding the Gates*, 25-35.

The US seriously considered annexing some or all of its "destroyers for bases" facilities outright at war's end but felt that doing so would seriously damage its relationship with Britain (not to mention Canada vis-à-vis Newfoundland). Crane Brinton, *The United States and Britain* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1945), 189-192.

It is also noteworthy that the American presence is still felt today in the environmental cleanups that are ongoing at Argentia, Stephenville and Goose Bay. See *Stephenville (Harmon) Industrial Area Environmental Audit, Abandoned Facilities Investigation* prepared by AGRA Earth and Environmental Ltd for the Newfoundland and Labrador Housing Corp., 23 May 1997, available at the Centre For Newfoundland Studies (CNS), Memorial University of Newfoundland; *List of Environmental Reports on Areas Around Stephenville and/or Harmon Air Force Base*, requested through Access to Information legislation. Accessed 15 August 2015 at [www.atipp.gov.nl.ca/info/completed/2015/pdf/env\\_22\\_2015.pdf](http://www.atipp.gov.nl.ca/info/completed/2015/pdf/env_22_2015.pdf); "Pinetree Radar Base: Environmental Concerns" *Heritage Newfoundland and Labrador Website*, accessed 15 August 2015 at <http://www.heritage.nf.ca/articles/society/environmental-concerns.php>; and "Environmental Clean-up Agreement Between the United States of America and Canada," signed 7-9 October 1996. Accessed 17 August 2015 at <http://www.state.gov/documents/organization/68039.pdf>.

<sup>16</sup> \$1USD = \$1.10 CAD (1942).

<sup>17</sup> It is very hard to nail down exactly how many armed forces personnel were stationed in Newfoundland and Labrador at any given time. Estimates change with the sources used. So, the best I can do is approximate that there were *around* 13,000 American and *roughly* 16,000 Canadian military personnel in Newfoundland and Labrador at their peak in 1943. See Christopher A Sharpe and AJ Shawyer, "Building a



In 1939, nearly 50,000 Newfoundlanders received some form of government assistance; by 1942, for the first time since the Commission of Government replaced the Alderdice Government in 1934, unemployment was virtually wiped out.<sup>18</sup> Tens of thousands of Newfoundlanders were working not only on base construction but also employed in their support and supply.<sup>19</sup> While the Americans tended to provide for their bases through direct shipments from the US, the Canadians generally obtained their supplies and services from local sources. Further, as the cost of living rose dramatically during the war years and the Commission of Government tried to implement wage and price controls, local employers were still forced to match wages paid by the two occupying forces or lose workers (the resource sector was hit particularly hard by employee shortages during the war). Whereas pre-war, only the merchant, professional and political/bureaucratic elite of the Colony could afford a comparable standard of living to that of the United States and Canada<sup>20</sup>, by 1942, most residents of Newfoundland now tasted the benefits of the booming wartime economy.<sup>21</sup>

---

Wartime Landscape,” in High, (ed.) *Occupied St. John's*, endnote 5, 275; Collins, *The “Newfjohn” Solution*, 81-82; Fitzgerald, “The Difficult Little Island,” 24; Parrott and Sharpe, “Swords Into Ploughshares,” 6; William Cole, “An Economic and Financial Review of Newfoundland during the Second World War;” David Mackenzie, (ed.) *Newfoundland and Labrador Studies* 8, 1 (1992), 76-78; Allan M Fraser, “History of the Participation of Newfoundland in World War II,” Peter Neary and Melvin Baker, (eds.) (St John’s: Centre for Newfoundland Studies, 2010), 105-120; Cardolis, *A Friendly Invasion*, 19; and *A Friendly Invasion II: A Personal Touch* (St. John’s: Creative Publishers, 1993), 66.

<sup>18</sup> Frederick Alderdice was Newfoundland’s last Prime Minister and a member of the first Commission of Government. Doug Letto, *Newfoundland's Last Prime Minister: Frederick Alderdice and the Death of a Nation* (St. John’s: Boulder Publications, 2014); Hiller, *Debates of the Newfoundland Legislature 1933*; Brookes, *Not Fit For It*; Parrott and Sharpe, “Swords Into Ploughshares,” 6; Cole, “An Economic and Financial Review of Newfoundland during the Second World War,” 77; and Fraser, “History of the Participation of Newfoundland in World War II,” 105-120.

<sup>19</sup> By way of example, in a letter dated 5 February 1946, Nfld Command Maintenance Commanding Officer, A/ Lt-Commander. WA Ramsay RCNVR, estimates that approximately 900 civilians were employed with his department during the Second World War (copy on file).

<sup>20</sup> Cole, “An Economic and Financial Review of Newfoundland during the Second World War,” 77, and Seantel Anaïs, “(Mal)Nutrition and the ‘Informal Economy’ Bootstrap: The Politics of Poverty, Food Relief, and Self-Help,” *Newfoundland and Labrador Studies*, 24, 2(2009), 1719-1726, 240-260.

<sup>21</sup> Wages at the various base sites were as much as five times those that could be made at the fishery pre-war. Melvin Baker, “Commission of Government, 1934-1949” (*Memorial University of Newfoundland*,

Government revenues - mainly from Customs and Excise taxes - also rose considerably during the war years, from an expected \$4,000,000 deficit in 1939, to a surplus of \$796,531 on revenues of \$16,287,505 in the 1940-1941 fiscal year; \$7,211,182 on revenues of \$23,294,296 in 1941-1942; \$3,681,200 on \$19,514,000 in 1942-1943; \$6,372,963 on \$28,552,363 in 1943-1944; and a \$6,991,753 surplus on revenues of an astounding \$33,310,000 in the 1944-1945 fiscal year. By the end of the Second World War, the Newfoundland government had a cumulative budgetary surplus of some 29 million dollars (\$430,000,000 current CAD).<sup>22</sup>

Government expenditures rose correspondingly, resulting in new investments in education (free and compulsory to those under 14 yrs), infrastructure, healthcare, pensions for disabled veterans and their families, and even loans and gifts to Great Britain. During the 1943 fiscal year, the Newfoundland Government purchased 7500 quintals of salt fish from local suppliers and shipped it to the UK as a gift from the people of Newfoundland.<sup>23</sup>

The Newfoundland Government also inherited a tremendous amount of military property and infrastructure at war's end. In St. John's, this included two hospitals, the *RCN/RCAF Headquarters*, the Naval Barracks complex at Buckmasters' Field and on Blackhead, the *Tactical Training Centre* on the Southside, as well as numerous other

---

1994). Accessed 16 August 2015 at <http://www.ucs.mun.ca/~melbaker/COMGOV.htm>; Cole, "An Economic and Financial Review of Newfoundland during the Second World War," 74-79; and Fraser, "History of the Participation of Newfoundland in World War II," 105-120. It should be noted that the community of Happy Valley-Goose Bay (pop. 7500) is the direct result of the development and operation of the Goose Bay Air Station from 1942.

<sup>22</sup> Fraser, "History of the Participation of Newfoundland in World War II," 105-120; and Cole, "An Economic and Financial Review of Newfoundland during the Second World War," 74.

<sup>23</sup> Fraser, "History of the Participation of Newfoundland in World War II," 105-120; and Cole, "An Economic and Financial Review of Newfoundland during the Second World War," 77. The Newfoundland Government also purchased the land for the RCN's Bay Bulls overflow/repair facility at a cost of \$300,000 as a contribution to the Allied war effort. Collins, *The "Newfjjohn" Solution*, 125.

properties within the city limits.<sup>24</sup> *RCAF Air Station Torbay* eventually became what is now *St. John's International Airport*, serving 1.6 million domestic and international passengers annually.<sup>25</sup>

*St. John's Harbour* was also transformed. Whereas, the waterfront was a tangle of decrepit wharves and finger-piers when they arrived, the RCN brought all the moorings along the Southside to naval standards (most times also improving the owners' property with paving, fencing, access, etc.), and constructed new facilities such as *HMC Dockyard* (now the *Port of St. John's Shipping Terminal*) and the fuel tank farm, which was sold to *Imperial Oil* in 1946.<sup>26</sup>

Three hospitals in Gander, Botwood and Lewisporte were added to the health care system. A fourth, the *US Memorial Hospital* in St. Lawrence, was officially opened 6 June 1954 – the 10<sup>th</sup> Anniversary of D-Day - by the United States Government as a gift to the people of St. Lawrence and Lawn who rescued and cared for the survivors of the *USS Pollux/US Navy Truxtun* disaster, 18 February 1942. Hundreds of miles of roads were laid during the war, and the *Newfoundland Railway* was enlarged with new rail lines and rolling stock. Further, modern communication systems were installed and/or augmented throughout the Island and in Labrador, navigational beacons were improved, and LORAN (Long Range Aid to Navigation) added. This list lengthened continually over the next few decades as the Americans (and to some degree the Canadians) closed their

---

<sup>24</sup> Collins, *The "Newfyjohn" Solution*; DC Miller (ed.), *St. John's Naval Guide Book* (St. John's: Robinson Blackmore, circa 1942).

<sup>25</sup> Bridle (ed.), *Documents*, 1418-1425; and *St. John's International Airport Authority*, accessed 16 August 2015 at <http://stjohnsairport.com/>.

<sup>26</sup> Collins, *The "Newfyjohn" Solution*; Henderson, *Guarding the Gates*, 23-24; and *The Port of St. John's* at <http://www.sjpa.com/default.aspx>.

various facilities at St. John's, Argentia, Botwood, Lewisporte, Gander, Stephenville, and Goose Bay, passing title to federal, provincial, and/or municipal governments.<sup>27</sup>

The social impact of the "friendly invasion" was also substantial. With the arrival of thousands of young men in communities throughout Newfoundland, many away from home for the first time, social interaction between the genders was inevitable. Scores of local women attended the various functions both on the bases themselves (in the Americans' case) and also at local entertainment facilities and hostels that sprang up at St. John's and communities across the Island. *The Caribou Hut* in St. John's - probably the most famous - served more than 1,500,000 meals, rented in excess of 250,000 beds, showed over 1500 movies, and held close to 500 dances, with a total attendance of more than of 700,000 people over the five years it operated.<sup>28</sup>

Some people suggest that the arrival of the Americans and Canadians heralded the introduction of modern North American culture to Newfoundland. Conversely, historians argue that it was actually the other way around in many cases. Both the United States and Canada were extensively agrarian nations pre-Second World War, and a large number of the servicemen that arrived in Newfoundland came from small rural communities throughout both countries. To many of these young men, St. John's, or any of the other substantial settlements in Newfoundland, were the largest cities/towns they had ever

---

<sup>27</sup> Stephenville Airport is one of five sites along eastern North America designated as an alternate landing site for the Space Shuttle, and Goose Bay, until recently, was a NATO training base. *Stephenville Airport* accessed 18 August 2015 at <http://www.cyjt.com/>. See also Parrott and Sharpe, "Swords Into Ploughshares, 6-8; and William C Parrott, "On The Perimeter: A Reconstruction of the Military Geography of Newfoundland and Labrador During the Second World War" (Unpublished Masters' Thesis, *Memorial University of Newfoundland*, 1993), 219-231.

<sup>28</sup> Margaret Duley, *The Caribou Hut* (Toronto: Ryerson Press, 1949), 28; and Kenneth Tam, "The Caribou Hut: Newfoundlanders, Servicemen, and the St. John's Home Front During the Second World War" (Unpublished Masters Thesis, *Wilfrid Laurier University*, 2008); See also Collins, *The "Newfyjohn" Solution*, 112-114.

experienced.<sup>29</sup> Nevertheless, the young women of Newfoundland were very impressed with the health and apparent wealth of the thousands of young men who flooded their local streets and venues. Marriages and pregnancies (and incidents of venereal disease) increased dramatically during the first few years, to the point that the American authorities - fearing that the local women were only interested in snaring a husband - prohibited local marriage, even condemning some love-struck young men to prison terms for doing so. The Canadians, while not encouraging such unions, did not prohibit them, and seldom did a week go by that the St. John's *Evening Telegram* did not announce an engagement or marriage between "a local girl" and a visiting serviceman. At war's end, many local women (and men, as there was also a large women's forces presence in Newfoundland during the war<sup>30</sup>) joined their spouse in Canada or the United States, but some Americans and many Canadians returned to Newfoundland and raised families, and this assimilation within the community, no doubt, played a part in Newfoundland's integration into the Canadian federation in 1949.<sup>31</sup>

---

<sup>29</sup> Steven High, "Rethinking the Friendly Invasion," 151-190; and Jeff A Webb, "Gate Keeping and Newfoundland Popular Culture" in High, (ed.), *Occupied St. John's*, 191-219.

<sup>30</sup> Paul W Collins, "*Their Best, And What Was Required: The Women's Royal Canadian Naval Service (WRCNS) at St. John's, Newfoundland During the Battle of the Atlantic.*" Presentation to the *Crow's Nest Officers' Club*, 8 March 2014. See <http://drpaulwcollins.com/wp-content/uploads/2015/01/Their-Best-and-What-was-Required-The-WRCNS-at-St.-Johns-During-the-Battle-of-the-Atlantic-Presentation.pdf>. See also Gene Quigley (ed.), *Voices of World War II: A Collection of Oral Histories* (St. John's: Jespersen Publishing, 2006), 70-78; Verity Sweeny Purdy, "*As Luck Would Have It: Adventures With the Canadian Army Show 1943-1946*" (St. Catharine's: Vanwell Publishing Limited, 2003); Lisa Bannister (ed.), *Equal to the Challenge: An Anthology of Women's Experiences during World War II* (Ottawa: Department of National Defence, 2001); and Barbara Winters, "The Wrens of the Second World War: Their Place in the History of Canadian Service Women," in Michael L Hadley, Rob Huebert, and Fred W Crickard (eds.), *A Nation's Navy: In Quest of Canadian Naval Identity* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1996), 280-296.

<sup>31</sup> Steven High, "Rethinking the Friendly Invasion," 151-190, and *Base Colonies in the Western Hemisphere*, 1-16; Webb, "Gate Keeping and Newfoundland Popular Culture," 191-219, and *The Voice of Newfoundland: A Social History of the Broadcasting Corporation of Newfoundland* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2008), 112-141; Sean T. Cadigan, *Newfoundland and Labrador: A History* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2009), 227-228; Daniel Burgsma, "Sex in Newfoundland: A U.S. Army View" in *First Drafts*, JL Granatstein and Norman Hillmer, (eds.) (Toronto: Thomas Allen Publishers,

The military presence in Newfoundland also had the most profound political ramifications for the Colony. When Newfoundland relinquished democratic rule for Commission of Government in 1934, it was on the premise that political corruption and incompetence were the root causes of Newfoundland's near bankrupt finances. The 1933 *Newfoundland Royal Commission Report* proposed that Newfoundlanders needed "a rest from politics" for a few years.<sup>32</sup> Thus, the somewhat vague promise was made to return responsible government when the colony was once again on its financial feet. A Commission of Government followed the next year, made up of three Britons and three Newfoundlanders, headed by the Governor. Unfortunately, the *Amulree Report's* supposition as to the causes of Newfoundland's woes (the general moral failure and ignorance of Newfoundlanders) was flawed. The real reason was the collapse of the fishing industry due to the Great Depression (not to mention the "Great Big Sea" of 1929<sup>33</sup>), and the Colony's dependence on a resource-based economy, which led to a dramatic drop in Government revenues at the same time that demand for poor relief

---

2003), 281-282; Peter Neary, "A Garrison Country: Newfoundland and Labrador" in *Dispatches*, Issue 4 (Ottawa: Canadian War Museum, 1999), 1-4; and Cardolis, *A Friendly Invasion II*, 67-73.

One could also argue that Newfoundlanders' Second World War experience played a part in the extraordinary reception American airline passengers received in Newfoundland and Labrador immediately after the 9/11 attacks, and the profound shock and sorrow Newfoundlanders (especially at Gander) experienced after the *Arrow Air* crash on 12 December 1985. See Jim Defede, *The Day The World Came To Town: 9/11 in Gander, Newfoundland* (New York: Harper Collins, 2002); and Gary Collins, *Where Eagles Lie Fallen: The Crash of Arrow Air Flight 1285, Gander, Newfoundland* (St. John's: Flanker Press, 2010).

<sup>32</sup> More commonly referred to as the "Amulree Report" as British peer Warrender Mackenzie, Lord Amulree, headed the Inquiry. *Newfoundland Royal Commission Report 1933* (London: His Majesty's Stationary Office, 1933), 195; Malone, *Don't Tell the Newfoundlanders*, 1-32; Hiller, *Debates of the Newfoundland Legislature 1933*; and Brookes, *Not Fit For It*.

<sup>33</sup> The tsunami wiped out the entire fishery on the Burin Peninsula, leaving residents destitute. See Maura Hanrahan, "Report on the Newfoundland Tsunami of 1929" (*Provincial Historic Commemorations Program*, Dept of Tourism, Culture and Recreation, Government of Newfoundland and Labrador, September, 2009) at <http://www.seethesites.ca/media/47476/1929%20tsunami.pdf>. See also Paul W Collins, "No Other Choice: Industrial Disease and the St. Lawrence Fluorspar Mines, 1933-2011" (*Provincial Historic Commemorations Program*, Dept of Tourism, Culture and Recreation, Government of Newfoundland and Labrador, 2014), 1-7. Available at <http://commemorations.ca/wp-content/uploads/2014/11/St-Lawrence-Miners-Commemorations-Paper-by-Paul-W-Collins-PhD.pdf>.

increased exponentially. Consequently, many of the Commission of Government's social engineering experiments over the next five years did not succeed.<sup>34</sup> As a result, the Commission was left (as were previous Newfoundland governments) with courting foreign capital - usually at the expense of local workers and their families.<sup>35</sup> Ultimately, the solution to "The Problem of Newfoundland" was the start of the Second World War and the arrival of the Canadian and American military.<sup>36</sup>

As previously mentioned, Newfoundlanders were promised (albeit imprecisely) that elected government would return once the Colony was able to manage by itself. By mid-war, with government surpluses in the millions of dollars, cries for London to make good on its vow became more strident. In response, Deputy Prime Minister and Dominions' Secretary Clement Attlee arrived in St. John's in September 1942 on a fact-finding tour. A further parliamentary mission comprised of three British MPs followed in June 1943. While not a formal Commission of Enquiry, but an informal "goodwill" tour, they did submit their findings to the Dominions Office in November 1943 and issued a more formal report in December. Both observed that while people did not want a return to the party politics of 1932, Newfoundlanders did not want Confederation with Canada, either.<sup>37</sup>

---

<sup>34</sup> The model community of Markland, between Whitbourne and Colinet, St. Mary's Bay, is probably the best known. During the peak of base construction, the residents simply abandoned the community to partake of the better paid work with the American base contractors in Argentia, not returning until after the boom, if at all (although Markland still remains a community and home to the Rodrigues Markland Cottage Winery). Neary, *Newfoundland in the North Atlantic World*, 64-65; and Cadigan, *Newfoundland and Labrador*, 212-213.

<sup>35</sup> Cadigan, *Newfoundland and Labrador*, 213-214; and Collins, "No Other Choice", 5-7.

<sup>36</sup> RA MacKay, "The Problem of Newfoundland" in MacKay, RA (ed.) *Newfoundland: Economic, Diplomatic and Strategic Studies* (Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1946), 3-38.

<sup>37</sup> Cadigan, *Newfoundland and Labrador*, 233-234; Malone, *Don't Tell the Newfoundlanders*, 33-58; Peter Neary, "Clement Attlee's Visit to Newfoundland, September 1942," *Acadiensis*, XIII, No. 2 (Spring 1984), 101-109; Great Britain, The National Archives (TNA/PRO), Premier 4/44/3, "Memorandum by Secretary of State for Dominion Affairs to the War Cabinet," November 1943 and "Newfoundland Past and Present: Addresses by Members of the Parliamentary Mission to Newfoundland," 2 December 1943. For an

With the end of the war, and a new Labour government under Clement Attlee in Whitehall, the question of Newfoundland's political future became unavoidable. The answer was a National Convention of elected delegates to recommend what forms of government were presented to the Colony in a national referendum. By this time, fearful of American entrenchment, Ottawa worried that if it did not entice Newfoundlanders to join Canada, it could end up with an American protectorate at its doorstep - a bookend for Alaska. While it would have been counterproductive for the Canadian government to blatantly interfere in the process, that did not prevent Ottawa from making resources available to Confederation champion (former broadcaster and failed pig farmer) Joseph R Smallwood. The Attlee government also favoured Confederation and made sure that this option appeared on the final referendum ballot even though the National Convention had rejected it, as most delegates favoured the return to responsible government before all else. Ultimately, the Confederate side won by a narrow margin after a very divisive campaign, and on 11 December 1948, the victorious Smallwood, along with Canadian Prime Minister Louis St. Laurent, signed the *Terms of Union* in Ottawa. Newfoundland became the tenth province of Canada at 11:59 PM, 31 March 1949 (the timing was most important, as Smallwood did not want this solemn event to occur on April Fools' Day!).<sup>38</sup>

Ultimately, Prime Minister Sir Robert Bond's prediction came true, although it was sixty years after he made it, and concerned war rather than commerce. But it

---

interesting review of the history/state of Canada-Newfoundland relations see EG Forward, "Leadmark to Confederation: The Second World War Militarization of Newfoundland" (Unpublished Masters' thesis, *Canadian Forces College*, 2008), 75-80, at <http://www.cfc.forces.gc.ca/259/290/295/286/forward.pdf>.

<sup>38</sup> Cadigan, *Newfoundland and Labrador*, 235-240; Malone, *Don't Tell the Newfoundlanders*, 79- 207; Webb, *The Voice of Newfoundland*, 142-169; Neary, *Newfoundland in the North Atlantic World*, 278-345; and Gilmore, "Law, Constitutional Convention, and the Union of Newfoundland with Canada," 111-126. A very good discussion of the various conspiracy theories surrounding the National Convention and Newfoundland's joining Confederation is found in Jeff A Webb, "Confederation, Conspiracy and Choice: A Discussion," *Newfoundland Studies* 14, 2 (1998), 169-187.



nevertheless had the same impact on Newfoundland and its people. When the Second World War started in September 1939, Newfoundland was bankrupt and helpless. Five years later, it was prosperous and well defended. Further, Newfoundland was no longer the poor relative of the British Empire, but actually the centre of a tug-of-war between Canada and the United States for influence. Whereas pre-war, Canada considered the Colony nothing but a liability and nuisance, and Newfoundlanders looked at their western neighbour as the “Canadian Wolf,” ten years later they merged into an improbable union.<sup>39</sup>

This would have been considered absolutely impossible in the 1930s. But the militarization of Newfoundland precipitated tremendous economic, social, and political changes and transformed Newfoundland’s future. The military activity completely reversed the financial disasters that led to the loss of Responsible Government in 1934. Further, this and the infusion of thousands of young, healthy Canadian and American servicemen introduced a standard of living to the people of Newfoundland that had previously been unavailable to most. People were not willing to return to the “Dirty Thirties” after the war, with its class inequities and barriers, and when offered the chance to join the Canadian confederation, the majority of Newfoundlanders decided to take it (although St. John’s was decidedly anti-confederate).

The campaign was heated, divisive, and religious, and pitted community against community, family against family, and might have erupted into sectarian violence at an earlier time, but Canada was no longer seen, at least by 52% of the population, as a land-

---

<sup>39</sup> “Come near at your peril, Canadian Wolf!” from “The Anti-Confederation Song,” *Old-Time Songs and Poetry of Newfoundland* (St. John's: Gerald S. Doyle, 1940), 69. Available at *Heritage Newfoundland and Labrador* at <http://www.heritage.nf.ca/articles/politics/anti-confederate-song.php>. See also Fitzgerald, “The Difficult Little Island,” 26, and Bridle (ed.), *Documents I*, “Report on Visit by GS Watts [Bank of Canada] to Newfoundland, April 1943,” 1312.

grabbing, resource-stealing interloper.<sup>40</sup> Newfoundlanders had lived (and died) alongside Canadians – in Europe and at home - and many married military personnel. The connections between the two neighbours were now as much shared experience as commercial or strategic, and this no doubt played a role in Newfoundland's relatively smooth transition to Canada's tenth province in 1949.

Regardless of the antipathy some Newfoundlanders still feel towards the Province's union with Canada, especially considering our newfound offshore oil wealth and habitually strained relationship with Ottawa, the fact remains that if it were not for Newfoundland's transformation into *The Gibraltar of America* during the Second World War, the province's fortunes (not to mention Canada's) could have turned out quite differently.

---

<sup>40</sup> Webb, "Confederation, Conspiracy and Choice"; and Malone, *Don't Tell the Newfoundlanders*, 163-193.

## BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Anaïs, Seantel. "(Mal)Nutrition and the 'Informal Economy' Bootstrap: The Politics of Poverty, Food Relief, and Self-Help," *Newfoundland and Labrador Studies*, 24, 2(2009), 240-260.
- "Anti-Confederation Song, The. "Old-Time Songs and Poetry of Newfoundland. St. John's: Gerald S. Doyle, 1940. *Heritage Newfoundland and Labrador* at <http://www.heritage.nf.ca/articles/politics/anti-confederate-song.php>.
- Baker, Melvin. "Commission of Government, 1934-1949." *Memorial University of Newfoundland*, at <http://www.uccs.mun.ca/~melbaker/COMGOV.htm>
- Bannister, Lisa (ed.). *Equal to the Challenge: An Anthology of Women's Experiences during World War II*. Ottawa: Department of National Defence, 2001.
- Bergsma, Daniel. "Sex in Newfoundland: A US Army View." In Granatstein, JL and Hillmer, Norman (eds.). *First Drafts: Eyewitness Accounts from Canada's Past*. Toronto: Thomas Allen Publishers, 2002.
- Brebner, John Bartlett. *North Atlantic Triangle: The Interplay of Canada, the United States, and Great Britain*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1945.
- Bridle, Paul (ed.). *Documents on Relations between Canada and Newfoundland*. 2 vols. Ottawa: Department of External Affairs, 1974-1984.
- Brinton, Crane. *The United States and Britain*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 1945.
- Brookes, Chris. *Not Fit For It: How Newfoundland Gave up Elective Democracy in 1934*. St. John's: Battery Radio, 2004. 3-CD Audio Documentary.
- Byers, Daniel. "Canada's 'Zombies:' A Portrait of Canadian Conscripts and Their Experiences during the Second World War." In Horn, Bernd (ed.). *Forging a Nation: Perspectives on the Canadian Military Experience*. St. Catharines: Vanwell Publishing, 2002, 155-176.
- Cadigan, Sean T. *Newfoundland and Labrador: A History*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2009.
- Cardolis, John N. *A Friendly Invasion: The American Military in Newfoundland, 1940 to 1990*. St. John's: Breakwater Books, 1990.
- \_\_\_\_\_. *A Friendly Invasion II: A Personal Touch*. St. John's: Creative Publishers, 1993.
- Cashin, Peter. *My Fight For Newfoundland*, edited and annotated by Edward Roberts. St. John's: Flanker Press Ltd., 2012.
- Christie, Carl A. *Ocean Bridge: The History of RAF Ferry Command*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1997.
- City of St. John's Archives. Jackman Collection, MG40, 2-2-2, File 38.
- Cole, William. "An Economic and Financial Review of Newfoundland during the Second World War," David Mackenzie, (ed.) *Newfoundland and Labrador Studies*, 8, 1 (1992), 69-89.
- Collins, Gary. *Where Eagles Lie Fallen: The Crash of Arrow Air Flight 1285, Gander, Newfoundland*. St. John's: Flanker Press, 2010.
- Collins, Paul W. "Their Best, And What Was Required: The Women's Royal Canadian Naval Service (WRCNS) at St. John's, Newfoundland During the Battle of the Atlantic." Presentation to *The Crow's Nest Officers' Club*, 8 March 2014.

- Available at <http://drpaulwcollins.com/wp-content/uploads/2015/01/Their-Best-and-What-was-Required-The-WRCNS-at-St.-Johns-During-the-Battle-of-the-Atlantic-Presentation.pdf>.
- \_\_\_\_\_. *The “Newfyjohn” Solution: St. John’s, Newfoundland as a Case Study of Second World War Allied Naval Base Development During the Battle of the Atlantic*. Calgary: WriteAdvice Press, 2014.
- \_\_\_\_\_. “No Other Choice: Industrial Disease and the St. Lawrence Fluorspar Mines, 1933-2011”. *Provincial Historic Commemorations Program*, Dept of Tourism, Culture and Recreation, Government of Newfoundland and Labrador, 2014.
- \_\_\_\_\_. “Fortress Newfoundland: How the Fear of Nazi Attack Turned Newfoundland into an Armed Camp During the Second World War,” *Newfoundland and Labrador Studies*, XXVI, No. 2, (Fall 2011), 197-213.
- \_\_\_\_\_. “From Defended Harbour to Transatlantic Base.” In High, Steven (ed.) *Occupied St. John’s: A Social History of a City at War, 1939-1945*. Montreal: McGill-Queen’s University Press, 2010, 81-109.
- \_\_\_\_\_. “Canada’s Plan to Torch St. John’s during the Second World War: Upper Canadian Arrogance or Tabloid Journalism?” *Newfoundland and Labrador Studies*, XXIV, No. 2 (Fall 2009), 261-270.
- \_\_\_\_\_. “First Line of Defence: The Establishment and Development of St. John’s, Newfoundland, as the Royal Canadian Navy’s Premier Naval Base in the Second World War.” *The Northern Mariner/Le Marin du nord*, XVI, No. 3 (July 2006), 15-32.
- Conn, Stetson, Engelman, Rose C. and Fairchild, Byron. *Guarding The United States and Its Outposts*. Washington, DC: Office of the Chief of Military History, 1964; reprint, Washington, DC: US Government Printing Office, 2000.
- Defede, Jim. *The Day The World Came To Town: 9/11 in Gander, Newfoundland*. New York: Harper Collins, 2002.
- Douglas, WAB. *The Creation of a National Air Force: The Official History of the Royal Canadian Air Force*. Volume II. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1986.
- \_\_\_\_\_, et al. *No Higher Purpose: The Official Operational History of the Royal Canadian Navy in the Second World War, 1939-1945*, Volume II, Part 1. St. Catharines: Vanwell Publishing, 2002.
- Duley, Margaret. *The Caribou Hut*. Toronto: Ryerson Press, 1949.
- Dyer, Gwynne. “The Strategic Importance of Newfoundland and Labrador to Canada.” *Royal Commission on Renewing and Strengthening Our Place in Canada*. St. John’s: Government of Newfoundland and Labrador, 2003.
- Eayrs, James (ed.). *In Defence of Canada*. 3 vols. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1965.
- Environmental Clean-up Agreement Between the United States of America and Canada*, signed 7-9 October 1996. Available at <http://www.state.gov/documents/organization/68039.pdf>.
- Evening Telegram, The* (St. John’s). 1939-1945.
- Facey-Crowther, David. “Newfiejohn: Garrison Town.” Unpublished paper presented at the Newfoundland Museum Lecture Series, *Memorial University of Newfoundland*, June 1995.

- Fingard, Judith. *Jack in Port: Sailortowns of Eastern Canada*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1982.
- Fitzgerald, John Edward (ed.) *Newfoundland at the Crossroads: Documents on Confederation with Canada*. St. John's: Terra Nova Publishing, 2002.
- \_\_\_\_\_. "The Difficult Little Island' that 'Must Be Taken In:' Canadian Interest in Newfoundland During World War Two." *Newfoundland Quarterly*, XCIV, No. 2 (Spring 2001), 21-28.
- Forward, EG. "Leadmark to Confederation: The Second World War Militarization of Newfoundland." Unpublished MA Thesis, *Canadian Forces College*, 2009.
- Fraser, A. *History of the Participation of Newfoundland in World War II*. Peter Neary and Melvin Baker (eds.). St John's: Centre for Newfoundland Studies, 2010.
- Gilmore, William C. "Law, Constitutional Convention, and the Union of Newfoundland with Canada," *Acadiensis*, XVIII, No. 2 (Spring 1989), 111-126.
- Goodhart, Philip. *Fifty Ships that Saved the World: The Foundation of the Anglo-American Alliance*. New York: Doubleday and Co., 1965.
- Goodspeed, Donald (ed.). *The Armed Forces of Canada, 1867-1967: A Century of Achievement*. Ottawa: Queen's Printer, 1967.
- Great Britain. The National Archives (TNA/PRO), Prime Minister's Office. Premier 4/44/3, "Parliamentary Mission to St. John's."
- Hadley, Michael. *U-Boats against Canada: German Submarines in Canadian Waters*. Montreal/Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1985.
- Hall, H. Duncan. *North American Supply*. London: HMSO, 1955.
- Hanrahan, Maura. "Report on the Newfoundland Tsunami of 1929." *Provincial Historic Commemorations Program*, Dept of Tourism, Culture and Recreation, Government of Newfoundland and Labrador, September, 2009.
- Henderson, Peter A. *Guarding the Gates: A History of Canadian Forces Station St. John's*. St. John's: Canadian Armed Forces, 1992.
- High, Steven. "Rethinking the Friendly Invasion." In High, Steven (ed.). *Occupied St. John's: A Social History of a City at War, 1939-1945*. Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2010, 151-190.
- \_\_\_\_\_. (ed.). *Occupied St. John's: A Social History of a City at War, 1939-1945*. Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2010.
- \_\_\_\_\_. *Base Colonies in the Western Hemisphere, 1940-1967*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009.
- Hiller, JK (ed.). *Debates of the Newfoundland Legislature 1932 & 1933*. 2 vols. St. John's: Queen's Printer, 2010.
- Kavanagh, Robert. "W Force: The Canadian Army and the Defence of Newfoundland in the Second World War." Unpublished Masters' Thesis, *Memorial University of Newfoundland*, 1995.
- Koechl, Marc. "'Sailors Ashore:' A Comparative Analysis of Wartime Recreation and Leisure in Halifax and St. John's." Unpublished Masters' Thesis, *St. Mary's University*, 2003.
- Lamb, James B. *On the Triangle Run*. Toronto: Macmillan of Canada, 1986.
- \_\_\_\_\_. *The Corvette Navy: True Stories from Canada's Atlantic War*. Toronto: Macmillan of Canada, 1977; 2<sup>nd</sup> ed., Toronto: Fitzhenry and Whiteside, 2000.

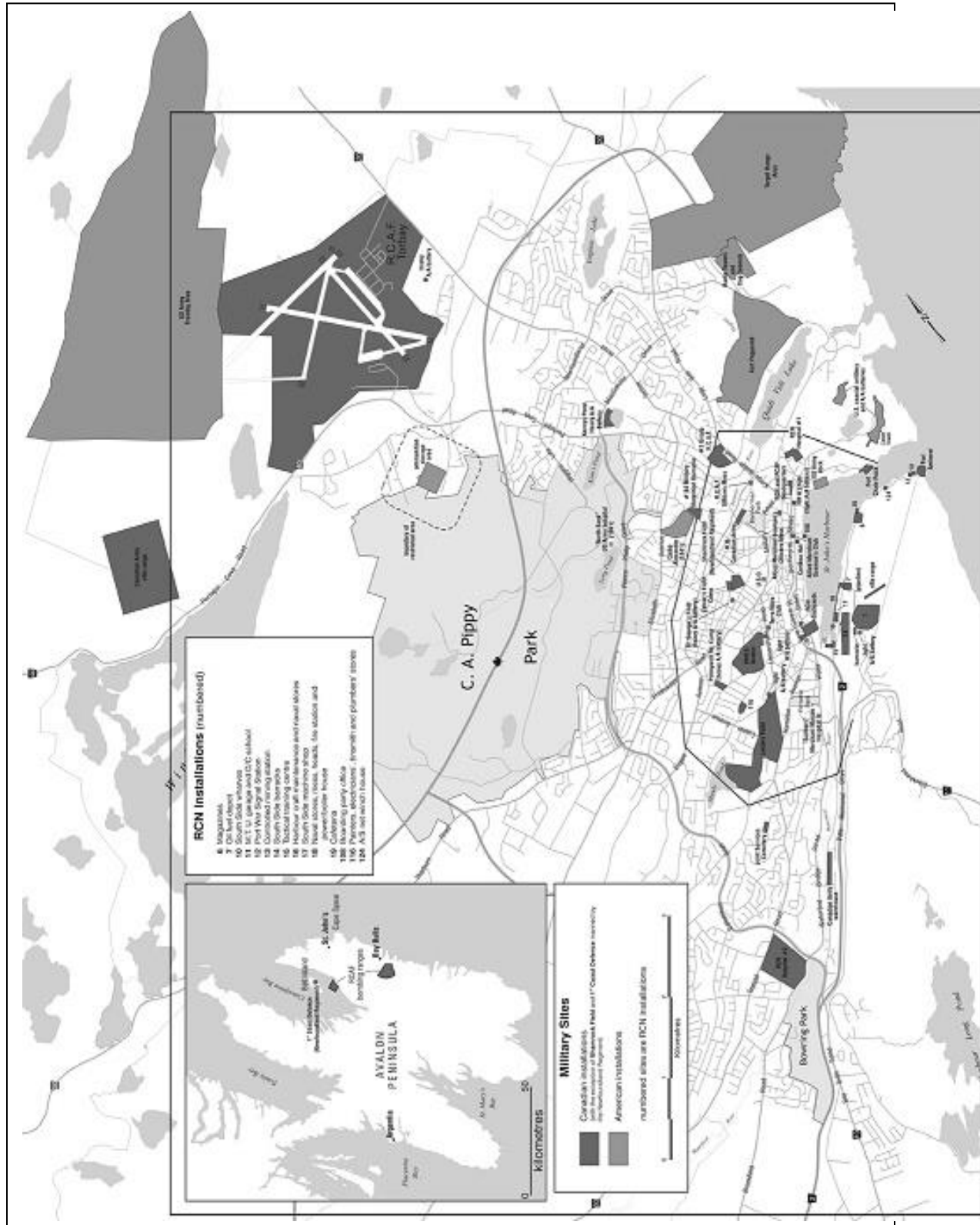
- Lawrence, Hal. *A Bloody War: One Man's Memories of the Canadian Navy, 1939-45*. Toronto: Macmillan of Canada, 1979.
- \_\_\_\_\_. *Tales of the North Atlantic*. Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1985.
- Letto, Doug. *Newfoundland's Last Prime Minister: Frederick Alderdice and the Death of a Nation*. St. John's: Boulder Publications, 2014.
- List of Environmental Reports on Areas Around Stephenville and/or Harmon Air Force Base*, requested through Access to Information legislation. Available at [www.atipp.gov.nl.ca/info/completed/2015/pdf/env\\_22\\_2015.pdf](http://www.atipp.gov.nl.ca/info/completed/2015/pdf/env_22_2015.pdf)
- Lower, ARM. "Transition to Atlantic Bastion." in MacKay, RA. (ed.). *Newfoundland: Economic, Diplomatic and Strategic Studies*. Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1946, 484-508.
- MacKay, RA. *Newfoundland in North Atlantic Strategy in the Second World War*. Ottawa: Information Canada, 1974.
- \_\_\_\_\_. "The Problem of Newfoundland." In MacKay, RA. (ed.). *Newfoundland: Economic, Diplomatic and Strategic Studies*. Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1946, 3-38.
- \_\_\_\_\_. (ed.). *Newfoundland: Economic, Diplomatic and Strategic Studies*. Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1946.
- MacKenzie, David. "A North Atlantic Outpost: The American Military in Newfoundland, 1941-1945." *War & Society*, XXII, No. 2 (October 2004), 51-74.
- \_\_\_\_\_. *Inside the Atlantic Triangle: Canada and the Entrance of Newfoundland into Confederation, 1939-1949*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1986.
- MacLeod, Malcolm. *Peace of the Continent: The Impact of the Second World War Canadian and American Bases in Newfoundland*. St. John's: Harry Cuff Publishing, 1986.
- Malone, Greg. *Don't Tell the Newfoundlanders: The True Story of Newfoundland's Confederation with Canada*. Toronto: Alfred A Knopf Canada, 2012.
- Miller, DC. (ed.). *St. John's Naval Guide Book*. St. John's: Robinson Blackmore, circa 1942.
- Milner, Marc. *North Atlantic Run: The Royal Canadian Navy and the Battle for the Convoys*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1985.
- Murphy, Heather. "The Relationship between Canadian Military Personnel Stationed in St. John's and the Civilian Population between October 1940 and December 1942." Unpublished Honours Thesis, *Memorial University of Newfoundland*, 1981.
- Neary, Peter. "A Garrison Country: Newfoundland and Labrador" in *Dispatches*, Issue 4. Ottawa: Canadian War Museum, 1999. 1-4.
- \_\_\_\_\_. *Newfoundland in the North Atlantic World, 1929-1949*. Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1988; 2<sup>nd</sup> ed., Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1996
- \_\_\_\_\_. "'A Mortgaged Property': The Impact of the United States on Newfoundland, 1940-1949," in *Twentieth Century Newfoundland: Explorations*, James Hiller and Peter Neary, (eds.). St. John's: Breakwater Books, 1994.
- \_\_\_\_\_. "Newfoundland and the Anglo-American Leased Bases Agreement of 27 March 1941." *Canadian Historical Review*, LXVII, No. 4 (December 1986), 491-519.

- \_\_\_\_\_. "Clement Attlee's Visit to Newfoundland, September 1942." Peter Neary (ed.). *Acadiensis*, XIII, No. 2 (Spring 1984), 101-109.
- \_\_\_\_\_. "Canadian Immigration Policy and the Newfoundlanders, 1912-1939." *Acadiensis*, XI, No. 2 (Spring 1982).
- Newfoundland Royal Commission 1933 Report*. London: His Majesty's Stationary Office, 1933.
- Nicholson, GWL. *More Fighting Newfoundlanders: A History of Newfoundland's Fighting Forces in the Second World War*. St. John's: The Government of Newfoundland, 1969.
- Parrott, William C. "On the Perimeter: A Reconstruction of the Military Geography of Newfoundland and Labrador During the Second World War". Unpublished MA thesis, *Memorial University of Newfoundland*, 1993.
- \_\_\_\_\_. and Sharpe, Christopher A. "Swords Into Ploughshares: The Legacy of the Military Occupation of Newfoundland 1939-1945". Unpublished paper given to the Annual Meeting of the Canadian Association of Geographers, Waterloo, Ontario, May 1994.
- Pickersgill, JW. *The Mackenzie King Record*. 4 vols. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1960.
- "Pinetree Radar Base: Environmental Concerns." *Heritage Newfoundland and Labrador Website* at <http://www.heritage.nf.ca/articles/society/environmental-concerns.php>.
- Porter, Helen. "An Excerpt from *Below the Bridge: Memories of the South Side of St. John's*." In Rompkey, Bill (ed.). *St. John's and the Battle of the Atlantic*. St. John's: Flanker Press, 2009, 199-214.
- Porter, Stephanie (Sr. ed.). "NL-Canada Cost Benefit Analysis, Parts 1-6." St. John's: *The Independent*, 2004. Available at <http://theindependent.ca/author/stephporter/>.
- Purdy, Verity Sweeny. *As Luck Would Have It: Adventures With the Canadian Army Show 1943-1946*. St. Catharine's ON: Vanwell Publishing Limited, 2003.
- Quigley, Gene (ed.). *Voices of World War II: A Collection of Oral Histories*. St. John's: Jespersen Publishing, 2006.
- Ransom, Bernard. "Canada's 'Newfyjohn' Tenancy: The Royal Canadian Navy in St. John's 1941-1945." *Acadiensis*, XXIII, No. 2 (Spring 1994), 58-81.
- Rompkey, Bill. (ed.). *St. John's and the Battle of the Atlantic*. St. John's: Flanker Press, 2009.
- Stephenville (Harmon) Industrial Area Environmental Audit, Abandoned Facilities Investigation* prepared by AGRA Earth and Environmental Ltd for the Newfoundland and Labrador Housing Corp., 23 May 1997, available at the *Centre For Newfoundland Studies (CNS)*, Memorial University of Newfoundland.
- Schull, Joseph. *Far Distant Ships: An Official Account of Canadian Naval Operations in World War II*. Ottawa: Edmond Cloutier, 1950; 2<sup>nd</sup> ed., Toronto: Stoddart Publishing, 1987.
- Sharpe, Christopher A and Shawyer, AJ. "Building a Wartime Landscape." In High, Steven (ed.). *Occupied St. John's: A Social History of a City at War, 1939-1945*. Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2010, 21-80.
- Stacey, CP. *Six Years of War: The Army in Canada, Britain and the Pacific*. Ottawa: Queen's Printer, 1956.
- Stephenville Airport* at <http://www.cyjt.com/>.

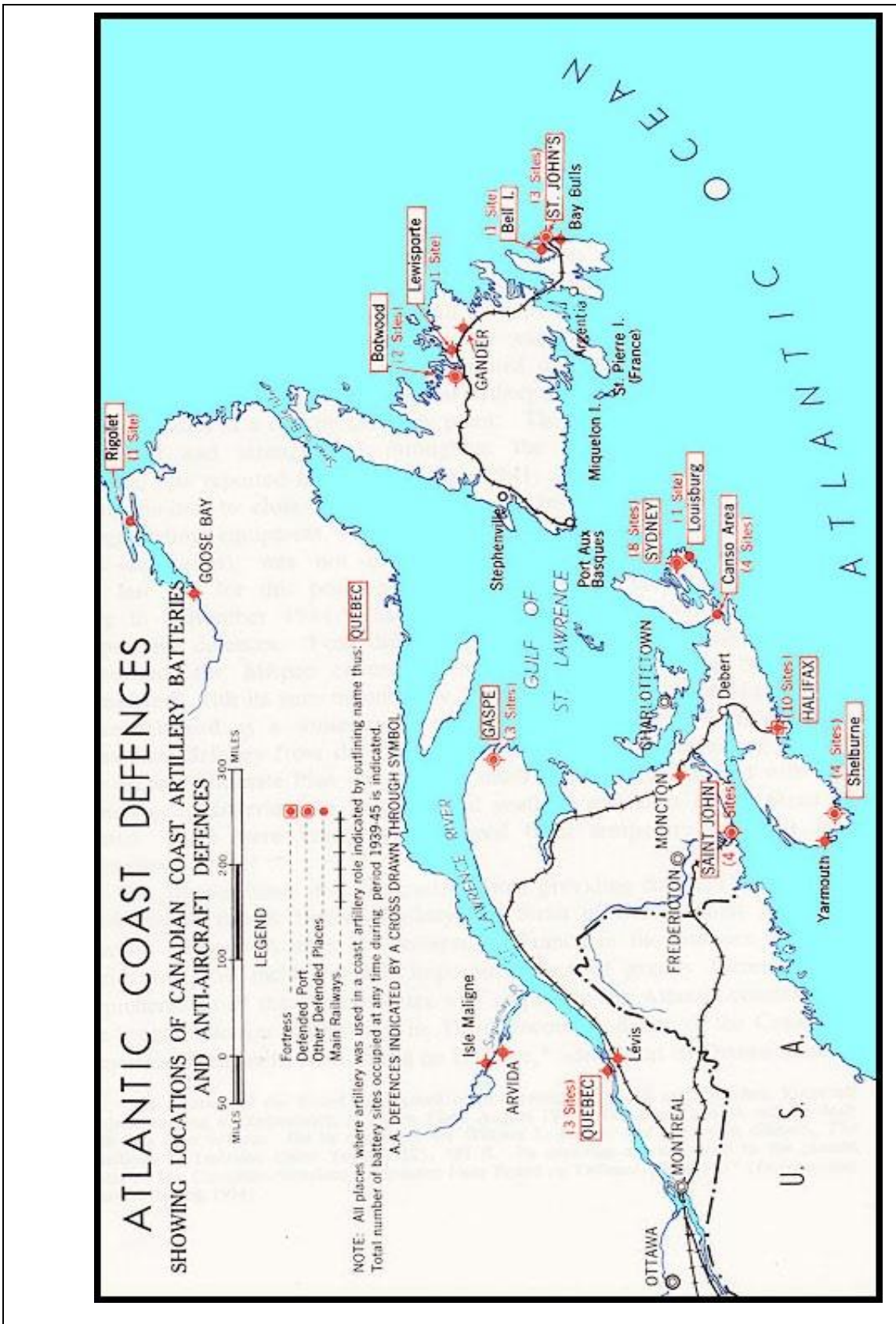
- Tam, Kenneth. "The Caribou Hut: Newfoundlanders, Servicemen, and the St. John's Home Front During the Second World War." Unpublished Masters Thesis, Wilfrid Laurier University, 2008.
- Tucker, Gilbert. *The Naval Service of Canada*. 2 vols. Ottawa: King's Printer, 1952.
- Walsh, Bren. *More Than A Poor Majority: The Story of Newfoundland's Confederation With Canada*. St. John's: Breakwater Books, 1985.
- Webb, Jeff A. "Gate Keeping and Newfoundland Popular Culture." In High, Steven (ed.). *Occupied St. John's: A Social History of a City at War, 1939-1945* Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2010, 191-219.
- \_\_\_\_\_. *The Voice of Newfoundland: A Social History of the Broadcasting Corporation of Newfoundland, 1939-1949*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2008.
- \_\_\_\_\_. "Confederation, Conspiracy and Choice: A Discussion." *Newfoundland Studies* 14, 2 (1998), 169-187.
- Winters, Barbara. "The Wrens of the Second World War: Their Place in the History of Canadian Service Women." In Hadley, Michael L, Huebert, Rob, and Crickard, Fred W (eds.). *A Nation's Navy: In Quest of Canadian Naval Identity*. Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1996, 280-296.
- Zimmerman, David. "The Social Background of the Wartime Navy: Some Statistical Data." In Hadley, Michael L, Huebert, Rob, and Crickard, Fred W (eds.). *A Nation's Navy: In Quest of a Canadian Naval Identity*. Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1996, 256-279.



# Military Installations at St. John's



Steven High (ed.), *Occupied St. John's: A Social History of a City at War* (Montreal/Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2010)



CP Stacey, *Six Years of War: The Army in Canada, Britain and the Pacific* (Ottawa: Queen's Printer, 1955).