



## A “RADIATING CENTER OF HELPFULNESS”

The Early Years of the King George V Seamen’s Institute in St John’s, 1912-18

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ON JULY 15, 1912, DR WILFRED GRENFELL OFFICIALLY OPENED THE KING GEORGE V SEAMEN’S INSTITUTE IN ST JOHN’S, HIS MOST AMBITIOUS UNDERTAKING WITH THE GRENFELL MISSION IN NEWFOUNDLAND AND LABRADOR. THE INSTITUTE WAS BUILT FOR A COST OF \$150,000 AND WAS LOCATED AT 93 WATER STREET.<sup>1</sup> ITS PRIMARY PURPOSE WAS TO PROVIDE “WHOLESOME” AND AFFORDABLE TEMPORARY ACCOMMODATIONS FOR THE ESTIMATED 85,000 FISHERMEN AND SEALERS, NAVAL RESERVISTS, AND INTERNATIONAL FISHERMEN WHO VISITED ST JOHN’S THROUGHOUT THE YEAR, AS WELL AS THE “DAUGHTERS OF FISHERMEN AND SEAMEN” WHO CAME TO THE CITY LOOKING FOR WORK. FROM THE BEGINNING, THE SEAMEN’S INSTITUTE WAS HIGH PROFILE FOR THE GRENFELL MISSION AND ATTRACTED SIGNIFICANT INTERNATIONAL ATTENTION. BUT DURING ITS EARLY YEARS OF OPERATION, IT DEVELOPED STRAINED RELATIONS WITH LOCAL ORGANIZATIONS AND STRUGGLED TO FIND ITS PLACE WITHIN THE COMMUNITY. HOWEVER, THREE NATIONAL EMERGENCIES BETWEEN 1914 AND 1918 GAVE GRENFELL AND THE SEAMEN’S INSTITUTE THE OPPORTUNITY TO PROVE ITS VALUE TO ST JOHN’S AND TO THE GOVERNMENT OF NEWFOUNDLAND: THE SEALING DISASTER, THE FIRST WORLD WAR, AND THE INFLUENZA EPIDEMIC. BY OPENING THE INSTITUTE TO GOVERNMENT USE DURING THESE EMERGENCIES, THE GRENFELL MISSION OVERCAME THE EARLY CONTROVERSIES ASSOCIATED WITH THE BUILDING AND MET THE NEEDS OF THE PEOPLE FOR WHOM THE INSTITUTE WAS ORIGINALLY INTENDED.

## ASPECTS

The King George V Seamen's Institute as envisioned by Wilfred Grenfell was modelled on the Rowton Houses of London, a chain of hostels that offered clean accommodations to working-class men who otherwise lived in squalor. The Rowton Houses provided residents with single-bed cubicles, clean sheets, tiled lavatories and wash basins, laundry facilities, a dining room, a reading-room/library, a smoking room, and shoemakers' and tailors' rooms.<sup>2</sup> Grenfell felt that outport Newfoundland fishermen and seamen needed similar accommodations in St John's, especially since staying in boarding houses in the city left them susceptible to the temptations of nearby saloons. And according to the Mission, in the early 20<sup>th</sup>-century:

there [was] not a place in St John's where one of these men can spend an hour of innocent recreation or sit down with a friend and be decent. The harbor [was] encircled by fifty-seven saloons where warmth and companionship [was] extended to all strangers.<sup>3</sup>

In keeping with the widespread social reform and temperance sentiments of the day, the Institute provided a variety of alcohol-free activities to help mitigate against the "perils" of the city, where men's lives could be ruined by alcohol and its associated entertainments. At the Institute, the Mission showed moving pictures provided by JP Kiely of the Nickel Theatre, held concert parties, and presented educational lectures. In this way, the Institute was intended to provide more than clean and affordable accommodations—it was an enterprise in social uplift, with the building as a "radiating center of helpfulness, an object lesson in cleanliness, and a power for righteousness."<sup>4</sup>

The Institute was designed, free of charge, by renowned New York architects, William Adams Delano (treasurer of the Grenfell Association of America), and Chester Holmes Aldrich. Delano and Aldrich were well-connected to the elite of America's east coast, being members of prominent New England families. They designed townhouses and country estates for wealthy clients, such as the Rockefellers and the Astors, as well as gentlemen's clubs, public buildings, private schools, and several buildings on the campuses of Yale and Cornell universities.<sup>5</sup>

Many Delano and Aldrich buildings have become landmarks and notable historic sites in the United States. The Seamen's Institute in St John's was a characteristic Delano & Aldrich building—minimalist neoclassical in style and constructed with their trademark feature, brick with limestone trim. It provided accommodations for men and women, with a "Girls' Department" on the top floor.<sup>6</sup> The building had a variety of amenities, some of which were not common in St John's at that time, including a bowling alley, a gymnasium, an auditorium, an elevator, and a swimming pool. The pool served the dual purpose of encouraging bathing and offering swimming lessons to the many fishermen in Newfoundland who spent their lives on the water but could not swim. The Institute also contained a restaurant and temperance bar, a games room with billiard tables, an officer's room with chess boards and a globe, and a "Lend a Hand" reading room with a library donated by Andrew Carnegie.<sup>7</sup> Beds were rented out at 20 cents per night, meals served for 30 cents each.<sup>8</sup>

The mercantile and professional elite of St John's were significantly involved with the Institute and formed the local Advisory Committee. This Committee's inaugural meeting was held in October 1908 at Government House in St John's and "was attended by many of the most influential men in the Colony."<sup>9</sup> There was tremendous local and international support for the new venture and the building was highly promoted on both sides of the Atlantic, especially through Grenfell's various fundraising tours and associated media coverage. In fact, with the assistance of Newfoundland's Prime Minister, Sir Edward Morris, the Mission arranged for King George V himself to "lay" the cornerstone for the building on the same day as his coronation. On June 22, 1911, at a predetermined time, the King pushed a button at Buckingham Palace that sent a telegraph signal to the site on Water Street that triggered a switch to lower the corner stone into place.<sup>10</sup>

Despite the widespread positive attention directed towards the Mission and the Institute, the building became the centre of an international controversy shortly after it opened. In August 1912, the superintendent, Charles F Karnopp, was convicted of misappropriation of Mission funds and served a six-month prison sentence. The incident sparked a public relations crisis, as newspapers across North America



Maritime History Archive, Memorial University, PF-345.018, Newfoundland Sealing Album

reported graft and embezzlement at the Grenfell Mission and the business practices of the entire organization were called into question.<sup>11</sup> The Mission survived the crisis through a carefully crafted message explaining that the incident was a singular event and that the ongoing restructuring of the organization would prevent similar misappropriation in the future. In January 1914, the new International Grenfell Association incorporated in St John's and brought together, in a systematic way, the various interests involved in the Mission and the Seamen's Institute.

However, construction of the Institute was a time-consuming and complicated process that involved several international players. While the Advisory Committee in St John's had direct oversight over the construction of the building, the Royal National Mission to Deep Sea Fishermen (RNMDSF) in London was legally responsible for the building and the Mission's branches throughout Canada and the United States provided the majority of funds for the building. At times, the RNMDSF and/or the North American branches disagreed with the local committee on issues related to the Institute, creating friction over the building's use. For example, the building was refused to the St Andrew's Society, because they were "landsmen" and the RNMDSF felt their admission would antagonize the fishermen and seamen (which

apparently happened in Britain). At the same time, it was refused to William Coaker and the Fishermen's Protective Union, because the RNMDSF did not want meetings of a political nature there.<sup>12</sup> Furthermore, to the chagrin of the many evangelically-minded donors throughout the United States, the building was also refused to religious organizations because of the divisive nature of religion in Newfoundland and Labrador, or "the special conditions prevailing in this Colony."<sup>13</sup> These restrictions were gradually relaxed, but created negative publicity for the Institute during its first year in operation. Soon, however, the Mission was able to counter this negative attention by assisting the government and the public during a series of crises, beginning with the Sealing Disaster of 1914.

### The Sealing Disaster

On March 31, 1914, 132 sealers from the SS *Newfoundland* were caught in a blizzard and stranded on the ice in the north Atlantic for two days and two nights. That morning, the *Newfoundland* became jammed in heavy ice about five miles from the SS *Stephano* and a large patch of seals. Despite the distance between his ship and the seals, Captain Westbury Kean sent his sealers overboard towards the *Stephano*, expecting his father, Captain Abram Kean, to take the men onboard overnight. However,

Abram Kean ordered them back onto the ice to pan more seals before heading back to the *Newfoundland*, and the *Stephano* steamed away to pick up its own crew. Disoriented from the blinding snow and wind, the men could not find their way back to the *Newfoundland*. Seventy-seven men died on the ice over those two days, and another succumbed to his injuries after rescue. It was one of the worst disasters in Newfoundland and Labrador's perilous sealing history.<sup>14</sup>

When reports of the disaster reached St John's, port physician Dr Alexander Campbell was called to a meeting of the Executive Council and asked to "assume control of the management of the dead and living."<sup>15</sup> He arranged for the victims who were in serious condition to be sent to the General Hospital, with a physician to accompany anyone who was in danger of dying along the way. Meanwhile, as he explained at the sealing disaster enquiry, "[a]ny that could walk were carried on stretchers and put in a temporary hospital we arranged in the top story of the Seamen's Institute where Dr Cluny Macpherson took charge with his nurses."<sup>16</sup> Since the Institute was adjacent to Harvey & Company's wharf, where the *SS Bellaventure* docked after returning with the sealers, it was well-positioned to treat the survivors of the ordeal and to assist with the sombre task of sorting and preparing the bodies. In this way, on April 4, 1914, the Institute became at once a temporary hospital and a temporary morgue in the service of the government.

Macpherson, who was then superintendent of the St John Ambulance Association and a director of the Seamen's Institute for the Grenfell Mission, offered the services of the St John Ambulance Brigade for the emergency and he coordinated activities at the Institute. Fifteen survivors were brought to the Institute, carried by members of the Brigade and naval reservists from HMS *Calypso*. In a cruel irony, just four weeks earlier, men from the *Calypso* had given concert parties to the sealers at the Institute before they left for

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the ice; now they were carrying dead and injured sealers back to the Institute after their harrowing experience.<sup>17</sup> Being stranded on the ice during a blizzard, fighting to stay alive, and witnessing so many of their companions die was traumatizing for the survivors and Macpherson described them as "stunned by the calamity."<sup>18</sup> When they reached the Institute, these survivors were relied upon to help identify the frozen bodies of their dead colleagues in the morgue.

The morgue itself was horrifying. Adding to the grief of relatives finding a loved one dead at the Institute was the distorted state of some of the bodies—if a man died lying forward on

the ice, his face would be misshapen, swollen, and discoloured from frost burn. At the sealing enquiry Macpherson painted a grim picture of the morgue and the grief experienced by families:

I was in and out of the mortuary room a good deal because I had a detachment on duty there all the time that they were there practically, at least all the time that relatives [were there] because of the number of cases of hysteria and one thing and another, so that I had a detachment there all the time.<sup>19</sup>

MacPherson summed up the tragedy, from his perspective at the Institute, when he reflected:

"The men who go out to the ice are all of pretty fair physique ... They were all a splendid body of men. It was a terrible thing to see such hardy looking, healthy men in a heap dead."<sup>20</sup>

This national tragedy that landed at the Seamen's Institute juxtaposed the many celebrations, events, concerts, and parties that had been taking place there during its first year of operation as the Grenfell Mission attempted to make its mark on the city. Despite all the controversies surrounding the Institute since its construction, at a time of tremendous need within the community, the Institute and the Grenfell

Mission stepped in and provided necessary assistance. Four months later, Newfoundland and Labrador faced another national emergency, and again the Seamen's Institute played an important role.

## The First World War

When the First World War began in August 1914, Newfoundland and Labrador was not prepared to participate in a military engagement. The country maintained a branch of the Royal Naval Reserve which trained men on the HMS *Calypso*, but had no land forces and no department of militia. The closest Newfoundland had to a military force was the cadet brigades affiliated with the four main religious denominations as well as a branch of the Legion of Frontiersmen established in 1911 by Dr Arthur Wakefield, physician with the Grenfell Mission.<sup>21</sup> The business of raising and maintaining a regiment fell upon the Newfoundland Patriotic Association (NPA), a committee of prominent citizens created to meet the demands of war and chaired by the Governor, Sir Walter Davidson. The NPA's first task was to enlist, equip, and train 500 troops that Governor Davidson promised for the allied cause. All recruits were required to report at headquarters in St John's for examination and training, which occurred at a temporary camp established at Pleasantville, the Armouries throughout the city, the Southside Rifle Range, the Empire Barracks, and periodically at repurposed skating rinks.<sup>22</sup> When not at camp or in barracks, recruits were billeted at boarding houses throughout the city.<sup>23</sup>

From the outset of the war, recruits from the outports were also housed at the Seamen's Institute while they were waiting for transfer to camp/barracks or otherwise training in the city before deployment overseas.<sup>24</sup> The Institute was the largest building of its kind in St John's and the best option for accommodating the flood of recruits to the city. Reflecting on the first year of the war, Grenfell stated:

"Owing to the large crowd of young men now all the time passing through the city to and from the war, it became advisable to make a headquarters at the Institute for their idle hours, and by arrangement with the Government, some seventy-five slept and boarded there."<sup>25</sup>

The Institute was considered by many to be superior to accommodations found in private boarding houses, especially because of the additional amenities and entertainments it provided. Recruits especially enjoyed the billiard tables and the swimming pool.<sup>26</sup> And in December 1914, when recruits were held-up at the Institute for several weeks due to weather-related delays in setting up camp, on Christmas Eve:

... a Smoking Concert was given to the men of the Newfoundland Regiment and the Royal Naval Reserve. Christmas cheer was provided by the ladies of the city, tobacco, cigars and cigarettes by several gentlemen, and a delightful program was arranged. The Hall and restaurant were beautifully decorated. His Excellency the Governor, the Premier and many leading citizens called in during the evening.<sup>27</sup>

The Institute continued to become a headquarters for the soldiers' "idle hours." On the 19<sup>th</sup> of June 1916, Mrs CP Ayre and the Women's Patriotic Association officially opened the "Soldiers and Sailors Club" at the Institute. The Club was located in two sections of the building—Grenfell Hall and the gymnasium. It was intended as a gathering place open to all members of the Regiment or Naval Reserve regardless of whether or not they were boarding at the Institute. The Club provided games, local and foreign newspapers and magazines, a writing room with desks, pens, ink, and paper, as well as refreshments and entertainments—notably, concerts by the Church Lads Brigade and the Catholic Cadet Corps.<sup>28</sup>

Throughout the war, the Institute recorded a general increase in use for living purposes from housing the Regiment, but a decrease in use from its regular patrons—outport fishermen. Fishermen became hesitant to stay at the Institute as it was increasingly full of rowdy soldiers arriving from the outports, going through training, or returning from war. The atmosphere of the Institute had notably changed, as the superintendent, Walter Jones, stated in 1916:

The introduction of so many men into the Institute under little if any discipline, has affected our takings in a large measure. The absence of that order and quietude which contributes to the comfort of



our guests has led to a considerable falling off in our ordinary business.<sup>29</sup>

Furthermore, accommodating the Regiment year-round disrupted the Institute's regular seasonal rhythm of patronage, especially during the summer and fall trade when outport men were likely to be in St John's to purchase supplies or sell fish. The shifting demand from the Regiment made it tough for fishermen to rely on availability at the Institute and also made it difficult for the Institute to plan its catering needs appropriately.<sup>30</sup> The decline in patronage from fishermen, combined with the fact that the rooms and amenities were charged to the Regiment at a significant discount (half the regular price charged for a bed), contributed to an operating deficit of \$825 in 1914, rising to approximately \$2400 in 1916.<sup>31</sup> Housing soldiers at the Institute also meant increased miscellaneous costs. For example, the billiard tables became damaged by the recruits because, according to the Mission, most of the men were novices at the game, and sometimes reckless, such that the tables had to be recovered six months before the usual time.

The loss in patronage from fishermen and the financial loss experienced by the Institute led Grenfell to report that, as a result of the war, "for patriotic reasons the organization has suffered terribly."<sup>32</sup> And indeed, financially, offering the building for the war effort put a strain on the Institute and placed its Advisory Committee in a difficult position. In the past, if they had financial problems from construction costs or an operating deficit, the Committee could turn to the wealthy Grenfell Association of America for assistance. However, they did not feel they could ask Americans to bear the cost of turning the Institute into a barracks for a war in which they were not (yet) involved. Jones and Dr John Grieve had several conversations with the NPA Finance Committee and government representatives during the war to discuss the Institute's running deficits. Recognizing the direct impact the war effort had on the regular operations of the building, the government compensated the Institute on several occasions.<sup>33</sup> In the meantime, as the war came to an end in the fall

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of 1918, the Institute became involved in accommodating the flood of soldiers returning from Europe after the armistice. And in 1920, it was converted into a temporary hospital for orthopedic patients after a fire at the Empire Barracks, where ex-servicemen were being treated for various orthopedic war wounds. But before that, there was one more national emergency in which the Institute proved its value to the country—the 1918 Influenza Epidemic.

### **The Influenza Epidemic**

In October 1918, the Newfoundland Government was preparing to call up the Regiment, in accordance with the October 15 date for men registered through the Military Service Act (conscription) to commence active service.<sup>34</sup> This would have brought approximately 1800 men to St John's to report for duty.<sup>35</sup> However, reports had been circulating for months about an epidemic influenza spreading throughout Europe, Canada, and the United States.<sup>36</sup> Then on September 30, three infected sailors arrived by steamer at St John's and were admitted to the Fever Hospital.<sup>37</sup> Cases of infection steadily increased across Newfoundland and Labrador and local newspapers subsequently began publishing public health warnings, reports of new cases, and deaths related to influenza. As a result, medical officials recommended against the gathering in St John's of so many men with the Regiment, and the Executive Council cancelled the order "in view of the possibility of an epidemic of Influenza amongst the men, which, with the limited hospital accommodation at the disposal of the Military Authorities, and the present situation of the Barracks, might have results of a serious and fatal nature."<sup>38</sup> The draft was postponed by a month.

In the meantime, on October 12, medical practitioners in St John's met to formalize a plan for dealing with the epidemic. The government had to take steps to slow the spread of the disease and to treat those already infected. To that end, Newfoundland's Medical Officer of Health, Dr NS Fraser, closed all public gathering places, including schools, theatres, and moving pictures and concert halls.<sup>39</sup> The Executive Council, Fraser, and medical representatives met



Yale University Library, Manuscripts and Archives, Wilfred Thomason Grenfell Papers, Photographs (Series XIV), King George V Seamen's Institute (Folder 209)

with Grieve, Secretary of the International Grenfell Association in St John's, to discuss the possibility of again converting the Seamen's Institute into a temporary hospital. By mid-October, existing hospitals in the city were operating at full capacity and new cases of influenza were reported every day. Grieve agreed to the plan and on October 14 the government took over the Institute, placing it under Fraser's authority. Jones was asked to continue in his capacity as superintendent and within six hours he had one ward ready to receive cases, complete with the necessary furniture and equipment.<sup>40</sup> Within 24 hours the Institute had already admitted 22 patients.<sup>41</sup>

Through the course of nine weeks—from October 14 to December 7—267 patients were admitted to the Institute, including 47 men and 59 women and children from the city, 41 women from the outports who were working in St John's as domestic servants at the time, and 120 fishermen and seamen from the outports and various countries, including England, Scotland, the United States, Spain, Portugal, Denmark, Holland, Norway, Russia, the Baltics, Somaliland, and the West Indies. In keeping with the Mission's non-denominational policy, Jewish, Lutheran, Greek Orthodox, Baptist, and Muslim patients were all treated at the Institute.<sup>42</sup> Thirty-one people died of influenza there during that period, including Ethel Dickinson,

who had served with the Voluntary Aid Detachment during the war and was assisting with the epidemic at the Institute when she contracted the virus herself on October 24. She died two days later.<sup>43</sup>

Taking over the Institute as an emergency hospital during the Influenza Epidemic disrupted the regular business of the building such that the government compensated the Institute with \$4,737.75 in lost revenue.<sup>44</sup> But the epidemic was also a terrible strain on everyone involved, especially the nurses who were "almost beaten out" by the ordeal, but remained on duty.<sup>45</sup> Upon making his final report to the Department of Public Health, Jones expressed his appreciation to the government for placing their confidence in him during the emergency, and he concluded: "It has been a sad pleasure, the hardest time of my life and although I am tired and run down, it is in the work and not of it."<sup>46</sup> For his efforts, the government provided Jones with a \$900 honourarium.<sup>47</sup> By December 9, the worst of the epidemic had passed, and all future cases of influenza were sent to the Fever Hospital, so that the Institute could be fumigated and prepared by December 15 to receive soldiers returning from overseas.<sup>48</sup> For the third time since the spring of 1914, the Grenfell Mission and the Seamen's Institute put its own agenda on hold to provide assistance during a national emergency.

## Conclusion

When the Seamen's Institute was constructed in 1912, it had a specific purpose—to provide decent accommodations for primarily outport fishermen and seamen who passed through St John's throughout the year. By doing so, the Grenfell Mission also hoped to improve the moral and social lives of these men by providing appropriate literary materials, educational lectures, and non-alcoholic events to keep the men away from the saloons of the city. This was an era of social reform and temperance, when middle class reformers invested significant time and energy into improving the plight of working people. The Institute had its own difficulties in its early years of operation with international scandal and negative local relations, and it struggled to find its place within the community. This was also a period of transition for the entire Grenfell Mission, as the "Labrador Branch" pulled away from its parent organization in London and created the new International Grenfell Association in 1914. However, during the Sealing Disaster, the First World War, and the Influenza Epidemic, the Seamen's Institute prioritized the needs of the people and the government and thereby proved its worth to the community at large and enhanced the reputation of the Grenfell Mission. **NQ**

1 Sir Edgar Bowring donated \$13,000 towards the property. Yale University Archives, MS 254 Wilfred Thomason Grenfell Papers, Series 9: RNMSDF (Royal National Mission to Deep Sea Fishermen), Folder 62, King George the Fifth Seamen's Institute, In re St Andrew's Society, December 1912.

2 Peter Higginbotham, "The Workhouse: The Story of an Institution," <http://www.workhouses.org.uk/Rowton/> accessed August 5, 2016.

3 Wilfred Grenfell Papers, Series 9, Folder 67, "Some Vital Facts Concerning the Proposition for a Fishermen's and Seamen's Institute at St John's, Newfoundland."

4 "Some Vital Facts."

5 Peter Pennoyer and Anne Walker, *The Architecture of Delano & Aldrich*, (New York: WW Norton, 2003).

6 Faculty of Medicine Founders' Archive, Cluny Macpherson collection, COLL-002, "King George the Fifth Seamen's Institute, St John's, Newfoundland: The Girls' Department – A Home for the Daughters of Fishermen and Seamen."

7 "Some Vital Facts."

8 The Rooms Provincial Archives, MG 63.1921, IGA fonds, Finance Committee, St John's: 1914, King George the Fifth Seamen's Institute, Comparative Statistics Relating to the Loss During 1916.

9 In fact, other meetings of the Institute committee were also held at Government House. Wilfred Grenfell Papers, Series 1, Folder 33, Grenfell to Karnopp, September 15, 1910. See also ADSF, (January 1909): 10.

10 Cluny Macpherson collection, File 3.02 King George V Seamen's Institute, 1911-59, Sir Edward Morris (London) to PT McGrath (St John's), June 10, 1911.

11 For more on the Karnopp prosecution and fallout, see Jennifer J Connor and Heidi Coombs-Thorne, "To the Rescue: Julia Greenshields for the Mission to Deep Sea Fishermen in Newfoundland and Labrador," *Newfoundland Quarterly*, Fall 2014, 107(2): 32-36.

12 *Fishermen's Advocate*, "The So-Called Fishermen's Institute," March 8, 1913.

13 Wilfred Grenfell Papers, Series 9: RNMSDF, Folder 61, "King George the Fifth Seamen's Institute, St John's, Newfoundland: Extracts from Minutes," October 2, 1912.

14 See Cassie Brown, *Death on the Ice: The Great Newfoundland Sealing Disaster of 1914*, (Doubleday Canada, 1988); Shannon Ryan, *The Ice Hunters: A History of Newfoundland Sealing to 1914*, (St John's: Breakwater Books, 1994); and Jenny Higgins, *Perished: The 1914 Newfoundland Sealing Disaster*, (St John's: Boulder Publications, 2014).

15 RPA, GN 121, File 53, Royal Commission of Enquiry into the Sealing Disasters of 1914, Alexander Campbell testimony, December 19, 1914.

16 Campbell testimony.

17 RPA, International Grenfell Association collection, MG 63.2215, Scrapbook, List of Entertainments to be given at the Grenfell Hall, commencing each evening at 8 p.m.; and *The Daily News*, "At King George V. Institute," March 5, 1914.

18 RPA, GN 121, File 53, Royal Commission of Enquiry into the Sealing Disasters of 1914, Cluny Macpherson testimony, December 19, 1914.

19 Macpherson testimony.

20 Macpherson testimony.

21 Patricia O'Brien, "The Newfoundland Patriotic Association: The Administration of the War Effort, 1914-1918," unpublished MA Thesis, Memorial University of Newfoundland, 1981; and Mike O'Brien, "Out of a Clear Sky: The Mobilization of the Newfoundland Regiment, 1914-1915," *Newfoundland and Labrador Studies*, 22.2 (2007).

22 The Prince of Wales and Curling Rinks were used as barracks in 1916 during a measles outbreak among recruits who were staying in boarding houses throughout the city, and again in 1918 to accommodate the increase in recruits as a result of the Military Service Act. See Journal of the



House of Assembly (JHA), Report of the Department of Militia, "Department of the District Officer Commanding," 1919, 523.

23 RPA, GN 9.90 Executive Council fonds, Certified Minutes: Duplicates, 14 December 1914.

24 RPA, MG 63.1946, International Grenfell Association, Newfoundland Minutes: 1914-1920, First Annual Report of the International Grenfell Association 1914, "Report of the Institute Committee," 13.

25 RPA, MG 63.2077, International Grenfell Association fonds, Grenfell Association of Newfoundland, Annual Reports: 1917-1927, 1 January 1917.

26 "Department of the District Officer Commanding," 1919, 521.

27 "Report of the Institute Committee," 1914.

28 Patriotic Association of the Women of Newfoundland, "The Distaff," (St John's: The Royal Gazette, 1916), 19-20.

29 RPA, MG 63.2082, IGA fonds, King George V Seamen's Institute: Minutes, Reports, and Related Material, "Memorandum of the Superintendent, Relating to the Loss of \$2,016.31 for the Ten Months ending 31st October 1916."

30 RPA, GN 2.14 Office of the Colonial Secretary fonds, World War I records, Folder 115: Finance Committee, 1914-23, John Grieve, Secretary, International Grenfell Association, to PT McGrath, April 23, 1917.

31 RPA, MG 63.1921, IGA fonds, Finance Committee, St John's: 1914, Minutes of the Institute Committee, November 4, 1916.

32 "Report of the Institute Committee," 1914.

33 For example, see RPA, GN 2.14 Office of the Colonial Secretary fonds, World War I records, Folder 115: Finance Committee, 1914-23, R Watson, A Sheard, and WH Jones, International Grenfell Association, to Sir Edward Morris, Prime Minister, November 10, 1916; and RPA, MG 63.1945, Institute Committee: 1914-1926, Minutes of the Institute Committee Meeting, January 30, 1918.

34 O'Brien, "The Newfoundland Patriotic Association," 324.

35 RPA, GN 2.14 Office of the Colonial Secretary fonds, World War I records, Folder 176: "Enlistment and Drafting – 1918," WW Halfyard, Colonial Secretary, to J Summers, Military Service Board, October 10, 1918.

36 For example, see "Progress of the War," *The Evening Telegram*, July 6, 1918; and "Spanish Influenza," *The Evening Telegram*, October 14, 1918.

37 "Three Sailors Enter Hospital," *St John's Daily Star*, September 30, 1918.

38 RPA, GN 2.14, Folder 176, Halfyard to Summers, October 10, 1918.

39 "Epidemic Influenza!" *The Evening Telegram*, October 14, 1918.

40 RPA, GN 2.5, "Spanish Influenza," File 352B: "Newfoundland government's takeover of King George V Seamen's Institute as temporary hospital for influenza cases, 14 Oct 1918 – 8 Aug 1919," Halfyard to WH Jones, Superintendent of the Seamen's Institute, October 14, 1918.

41 RPA, GN 2.5, File 352B, Jones to Halfyard, October 15, 1918.

42 RPA, GN 2.5, File 352B, Jones to Sir MP Cashin, Acting Prime Minister, December 18, 1918. See also, "Miss Dickinson Gives Her Life," *The St John's Daily Star*, October 26, 1918.

43 "Grenfell Hall Hospital," and "Obituary," *The Evening Telegram*, October 26, 1918.

44 RPA, GN 2.5, File 352B, Halfyard to R.H. O'Dwyer, Commissioner of Public Charities, January 28, 1919.

45 "Miss Dickinson Gives Her Life."

46 RPA, GN 2.5, File 352B, Jones to Cashin, December 18, 1918.

47 RPA, GN 2.5, File 352B, Halfyard to Jones, January 8, 1919.

48 RPA, GN 2.5, File 352B, Deputy Colonial Secretary to JR Bennett, Minister of Militia, December 9, 1918.

