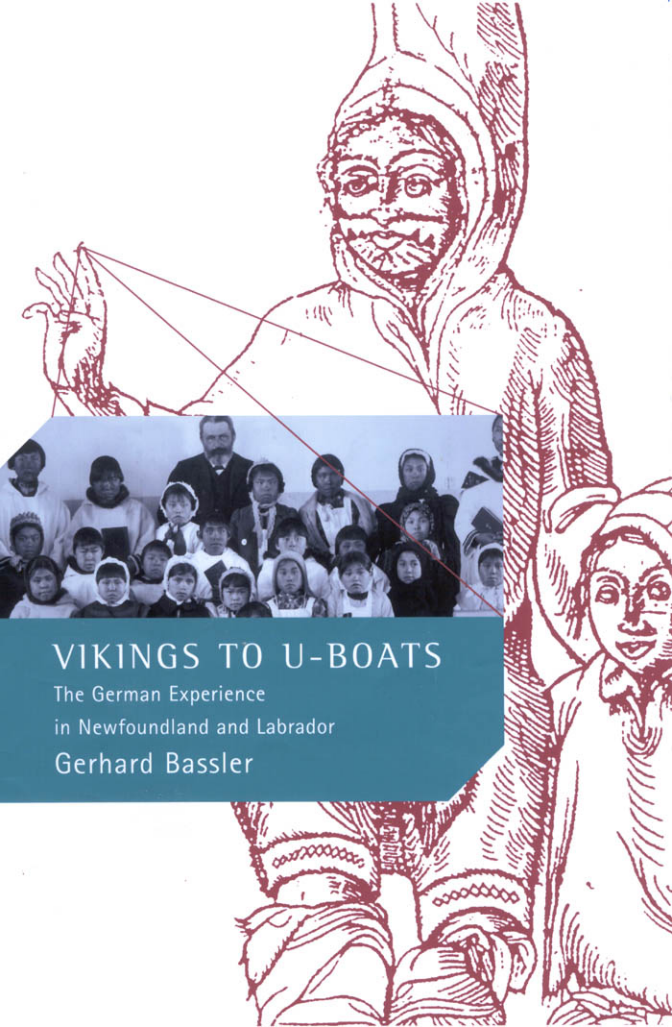

VIKINGS TO U-BOATS

The German Experience in Newfoundland and Labrador

Gerhard Bassler

VIKINGS TO U-BOATS

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Vikings to U-boats

The German Experience in Newfoundland and Labrador

GERHARD P. BASSLER

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Preface

This book would not have been written without my wife, Tonya. She encouraged me at the beginning of my academic career at Memorial University to apply my interest in German social history to the study of immigration in general and to the exploration of Newfoundland's and Labrador's German heritage and people of German-speaking background in particular. Soon after we arrived in St John's in 1965, we were struck by the paradox that Newfoundlanders, who claimed to be British to the core, consumed a superb-tasting German-style lager beer brewed by a local so-called Bavarian Brewery, generated electricity with vintage German turbines installed in some of their oldest hydro-electric power plants, and had a German consulate tracing its origins to 1844. Yet no scholarly or other literature mentioned a German presence before 1950. In the local German community no one seemed to have any pre-war roots on the island or knew any German who had lived here before 1945, although many embellished stories about U-boat crews sneaking onto land during the war flourished. Here was the challenge.

Thanks to the recollections of local old-timers, whom I began interviewing in the early 1980s and virtually all of whom are now deceased, the hidden story of Newfoundland's and Labrador's German experience began to unfold. Such prominent and knowledgeable Newfoundlanders as Joseph R. Smallwood, Robert Furlong, John O' Dea, Tobias Macdonald, Gertrude Crosbie, Gerry Fagan, Pat Brownrigg, Ferd Hayward, Cyril Banikhin, Michael Harrington, and Frederick William Peacock gave me an invaluable

start by freely and generously sharing their memories with me. The efficiency of the Memorial University of Newfoundland Library's staff and interlibrary loan service enabled me to track down every identifiable German-language publication dealing with Newfoundland and Labrador. Melvin Baker commented on part of the manuscript. To him and to my colleague Hans Rollmann I owe numerous references and valuable insights, and to the late Bobbie Robertson, long-time secretary of the Newfoundland Historical Society, many useful hints. Thanks to Harold Pretty and Jeannie Howse for scanning old St John's newspapers for me and to Elizabeth Hulse for conscientious and dedicated copy-editing.

The research was undertaken without any external research grants. It has been a labour of love. Five chapters were drafted by 1990 and would have remained unpublished had Tonya not nagged and prodded me to finish the project. She insisted that no one else would rescue this German heritage from obscurity. No one else, she maintained, would have the first-person sources, expertise, desire, and stamina to solve this puzzle of Newfoundland's German experience and place it in its proper context. She discussed all the chapters with me and proofread and edited them. She deserves the main credit that the book ever came together. All translations from German are my own, unless indicated otherwise.

VIKINGS TO U-BOATS

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Introduction

This is the first comprehensive inquiry into the role of one major non-Native, non-English-speaking ethnic and cultural element in the history of Newfoundland and Labrador. It investigates the German experience in Newfoundland and Labrador to 1945. "German experience" is understood here in both meanings of the word, that is, as Germans' experiences of Newfoundland-Labrador and as Newfoundlanders' and Labradorians' experiences of Germans. Therefore one aim of the book concerns identifying individuals of German-speaking background who entered, chose to live in, and played a role in this former British dominion. Whatever could be uncovered about their origins, entry, and residence, as well as their activities and social connections, is in this record.

Of deeper interest, however, are some of the broader questions raised by migration and ethnic historians. For example, what kinds of Germans came to Newfoundland and Labrador? What were the historical contexts for their arrival? Did they come as immigrants, sojourners, or visitors? How did they adapt to and interact with the host society? Did they compete for jobs, occupations, and business with locals? Did they contribute anything of significance? A related set of questions pertains to the nature of social and institutional connections between Newfoundland and German-speaking countries, especially Germany, such as trade, business, churches, consulates, and scientific fieldwork . How pervasive were these connections, and how did the world wars affect them? Did they influence migrations?

Of interest, finally, are questions concerning images and perceptions. How did the immigrants and their countrymen perceive the host society, and how did that society perceive the immigrants and their countries of origin? Simply put, what did Germans and Newfoundlanders-Labradorians know and think of each other? Were residents of German-speaking background judged by the public image of Germany or by their degree of acculturation and social integration in Newfoundland? The inquiry into the nature and impact of mutual perceptions is particularly relevant with regard to the world war experiences, which form the content of four chapters. Insights into contemporary images and perceptions were extracted from the entire available German-language literature on Newfoundland and Labrador, especially published contemporary travel reports and impressions of encounters, as well as from local media reports on Newfoundlanders' visits to Germany.

Generally speaking, therefore, this exploration of "experience" involves a historical analysis of migrants' footprints, international and intercultural connections, and mutual perceptions. It highlights a variety of linkages between Newfoundland and Labrador, on the one hand, and Germany – or rather, German-speaking Europeans, German Americans, and German Canadians – on the other. The evidence is derived from a variety of sources, such as government and institutional records, census data, personal papers, interviews, contemporary newspapers, and a wide range of published first-hand accounts.

For the purposes of this study, the term "German" does not refer solely to a national of Germany but to any person of German-speaking background. Thus, in addition to natives of Germany, this wider definition includes Austrians, German Swiss, Alsatians, German Americans, German Canadians, and ethnic German citizens of any other country. It also includes partly assimilated first-generation descendants of German immigrants, who may no longer be fluent in German. Ethnic identity is always dynamic – no fixed or "true" German identity exists. Indeed, analysts have defined identity as consisting of changing external and internal components. That is, it can be observed in patterns of behaviour, such as language, traditions, and personal networks, and it can also be internalized in images of ethnic heritage and feelings of obligation and attachment. Depending on the social and historical context, identity can include some or all of these components.[1]

Ethnic identity, furthermore, is a two-sided coin: it is both self-chosen and imposed by outsiders.[2] In other words, the host society's perception of an immigrant's identity does not necessarily agree with the perception of

fellow immigrants or with that immigrant's own concept of his or her identity. In Newfoundland, for example, immigrants of German-speaking background may be perceived as Germans, Nazis, enemy aliens, foreigners, or Newfoundlanders, depending on the situation. Also, non-German immigrants have at times been perceived as Germans.

Throughout Newfoundland and Labrador history, Germans, like all residents of non-native English-speaking background, have usually been perceived as "foreigners." "Foreigners," as discussed elsewhere, were part of an entrenched nomenclature according to which locals categorized various types of non-native newcomers.[3] A foreign-sounding name or accent in St John's has invariably elicited, then and now, the prompt statement masquerading as an implied question: "That's not a Newfoundland name." Or the even blunter question from native-born residents "Where do you belong?" which means "Where are you from?" In St John's even the descendants of "foreign" immigrants have tended to be labelled "foreigners," often into the second and third generation. Only immigrants from the British Isles, as well as Americans and Canadians of English-speaking background, might expect to be perceived and accepted as Newfoundlanders within their lifetimes.

Newfoundland's population has traditionally manifested such a high degree of ethnic and linguistic homogeneity that few researchers have bothered to inquire into the identities and roles of Newfoundland's minute "foreign" – that is, non-British – minorities. (It is, of course, arguable whether the island's mix of English, Irish, and Scottish ethnic descent constitutes homogeneity; but from a non-British perspective and by comparison with other North American states and provinces, it certainly does.) Nonetheless, these minorities form an integral part of Newfoundland's identity and history. Their perceptions and experiences, as this study shows, not only inform about their own identities but also open up revealing perspectives on Newfoundland society and history.

Little or nothing has been published to date about many of the social and institutional connections that have been reconstructed in this book with the help of interviews, archival records, and other primary sources. These connections range from the Hamburg provisions trade, the Moravians' German culture, and the identities and activities of German consuls to the impact of German brewmasters on the St John's brewing industry, as well as business and scientific links between Germany and Newfoundland. Although the world wars are a favourite topic of research in Newfoundland history, no Newfoundland historian has commented on the enemy alien experience during either world war. This book fills that void by pro-

viding the first systematic inquiry into Newfoundland's perception and treatment of its residents classified as and associated with enemy aliens and these residents' wartime experience.

The non-Newfoundland reader may wonder about the detailed attention given to the immigrants' and visitors' identities. The reason for this is Newfoundland's distinctive social structure and low population density, which have implications for the study of social history. Of its population of 290,000 in 1935 (202,000 in 1891 and 124,000 in 1857), scattered in small fishing outports over an area almost the exact size of present-day Germany (population 60 million in 1935), no more than one-seventh lived in the capital city of St John's. Pre–World War II Newfoundland society was characterized not only by relative ethnic homogeneity and virtually no in-migration for over a century but also by the absences of a sizable middle class and occupational diversity. In contrast with the open, dynamic, multicultural societies of Canada and the United States, Newfoundland society appeared closed, rural, and culturally homogeneous. The outsider experienced it as a community, or a web of communities, where, so to speak, everybody knew everybody, or at least the interconnected networks of family relationships, and where hiding in urban anonymity was impossible. In such an environment the personal lives of immigrants and details of their activities and relationships are a curiosity, and hence they tend to assume an unusual degree of public interest and importance.

Not surprisingly, Newfoundland has no immigration history comparable to that of Canada. Its fishery-oriented socio-economic life, so vividly depicted in the German tourists' accounts relayed in this book, offered no attractions to immigrants drawn by the pull of the North American frontier. The immigrants' quest for integration, upward mobility, and prosperity, as portrayed for example in the Canadian life stories of Dirk Hoerder's *Creating Societies*, appeared unfulfillable in a society characterized by sharp polarization between the masses of poor fishermen and a few wealthy St John's merchants. The merchants regarded Newfoundland as "a private trading reserve to be governed in their own interests,"[4] and were determined to defend their monopoly of virtually unlimited power by opposing federation with Canada and democratization at home. Immigrants ended up on the island by chance, many as transients or experts deliberately recruited. This situation makes the applicability of models and approaches developed for the study of Canada's migration history problematic, especially in view of the kind of evidence and methodology employed in this study.

Nonetheless, the materials assembled in this book document that from

its beginnings the history of Newfoundland and Labrador, like that of Canada, has been "many-cultured."[5] I argue that the world wars have purged the memory of this multicultural identity, that is, its German contributions along with its German population, and replaced it with the stereotype of local Germans as enemy aliens and spies. The evidence unearthed will, it is hoped, contribute to dispelling the myth of Newfoundland-Labrador's purely British heritage, a myth as resilient as Nova Scotia's myth of the folk, dissected by Ian McKay in his brilliant study *The Quest of the Folk*.

Research and interviews for this project began some twenty years ago. The original plan called for a study that would continue to the present. However, as research progressed, it became clear that the available evidence on a variety of relevant pre-1945 aspects constituted a book in its own right. Especially the hitherto unexplored but extensively documented enemy alien experience and the published German perceptions of Newfoundland and Labrador, it was felt, deserved adequate attention. It also became clear that the year 1945 appeared as a logical terminating point since virtually no local Germans and no pre-war German connections survived beyond that point. Newfoundland's post–World War II German community and German connections, which appeared after Confederation, form an entirely new story and merit a separate study.

Some of my earlier publications deal with aspects discussed in this book. The refusal to admit refugees from the Third Reich is the subject of *Sanctuary Denied*, a book-length study examining this episode within the context of Newfoundland's immigration policy from 1906 to 1949. This topic has also been the subject of several of my articles and essays in national and international books and scholarly journals.[6] My first analysis, "The Enemy Alien Experience in Newfoundland 1914–1918," appeared in the 1988 special "Atlantic Canada" issue of *Canadian Ethnic Studies*, and the article "Wartime Tragedies in St. John's: Were They the Work of Enemy Agents?" in the *Evening Telegram* (St John's) on 24 December 1992. A 1990 Newfoundland Historical Society lecture, "Germans and German Connections in Newfoundland to 1914," was published in the spring 1991 issue of *Newfoundland Quarterly*.[7] An article titled "German Culture and the Inuit," published in the *Yearbook of German-American Studies* 38 (2003), formed the basis for chapter 2. Several of my entries in the *Encyclopedia of Newfoundland and Labrador* touch on topics covered in this book; for example, "Immigration," "Oppelt, Otto," "Refugees," "Stein, Robert Carl von," "U-boats," "Victoria Camp," and "Von Ellershausen, Francis." To my knowledge, no

other published research exists on Germans in Newfoundland and Labrador for the period covered in this book.

The book is divided into two parts and twelve chapters. The first part covers the period to 1914, and the second from 1914 to 1945. Chapter 1 sketches the earliest associations, from the Vikings to the beginning of the nineteenth century, and highlights Germans as discoverers, colonists, fishermen, and soldiers. The second chapter reviews relevant aspects of the Moravian mission and the work of its German missionaries in Labrador. The beginnings of a German community in St John's in the nineteenth century as part of the so-called Hamburg provisions trade and subsequent expanding connections is the subject of chapter 3. Chapter 4 examines Newfoundland's pre–World War 1 German population with emphasis on its occupational profile and role in the local community. The pre-war images, impressions, and perceptions of Newfoundland and Labrador published by visitors from Germany are reviewed in chapter 5.

Chapter 6 analyses the enemy alien experience in Newfoundland between 1914 and 1918 from the perspective of the victims as well as of the host society. In chapter 7 Newfoundland's gradual readmission and eventual recruiting of Germans in the interwar period is viewed against the background of the revival of trade, consular relations, and tourism with Germany under Nazi rule. In chapter 8 attention shifts to how German observers and the media perceived Newfoundland between the world wars. Chapter 9 examines Newfoundland's refusal to admit refugees from the Third Reich and Newfoundlanders' dichotomous image of Germans in the 1930s. The following chapter explains Newfoundland's internment plans and operations with regard to German and non-German nationals perceived to be tainted with Nazism and relates the experiences of some of the internees. Chapter 11 examines the fifth-column syndrome during World War II. On the one hand, how did the Newfoundland government cope with it, and how did the public react to it? On the other, how did diverse groups of alleged pro-German suspects experience the syndrome? Chapter 12 discusses reality and myth of the World War II U-boat phenomenon. The book's findings are summarized in the Conclusions.

1

"I was born where wine and grapes are no rarity" First Contacts

There was now much talk about voyages of discovery. Leif, son of Eirik the Red of Brattahild, went to see Bjarni Herjolfsson, bought his ship from him, and found her a crew, so that they were thirty-five in all ... There was also a German on the expedition named Tyrkir.

Greenlanders' Saga

THE EARLIEST ASSOCIATIONS

Every student of Newfoundland history knows that the reason for the island's settlement was the fishery and that economic, political, and military circumstances gave Britain ultimate control over that fishery. Similarly well known is the fact that by the nineteenth century virtually all (more than 99 per cent) of Newfoundland's population was of British origin. This frequently noted extraordinary degree of ethnic homogeneity for a North American society has, however, obscured the multinational origins and multicultural aspects of the island's modern history. Indeed, Newfoundland's change from an international fishery to a largely British fishery was a very slow process. In addition, visitors by far outnumbered permanent settlers during the period when the British fishery was primarily a migratory one organized by merchants from England, that is, up to the eighteenth century.

In fact, Newfoundland's first English colonists found thousands of French, Portuguese, Spaniards, and Basques already fishing in the waters around the island and claiming the right to use land for drying fish. France's claims to the island and French efforts to colonize it, though officially terminated by the Treaty of Utrecht in 1713, were still an issue as late as 1762, when the French briefly occupied St John's. Until the 1720s, English settlers were confined more or less to the so-called English Shore,

which extended along the island's east coast from Trepassey to Cape Bonavista. The British settlement of the St Mary's, Placentia, and Fortune bays in the south and Bonavista Bay in the north did not begin until the mid-eighteenth century. Most of the remaining coastal districts were not settled until the nineteenth century.

In addition, much of Newfoundland's population was transient and seasonal until the eighteenth century. In 1676, for example, the residential English population was 1,490 (including 1,280 servants), 80 per cent of whom were reported to have returned to England by the winter of 1684. This migration left a true permanent English population of only 384 in 1684. A French census of 1687 found 663 people of French origin (520 in 1705). In 1730, 2,702 residents (including 1,500 transient servants) were counted, and it is estimated that 70–80 per cent of those enumerated in 1676 had disappeared. By 1766 the proportion of visiting fishermen was still one-half of the total summer population of 23,000. Only by 1790 had the proportion of visitors declined to one-third of Newfoundland's summer population of 25,000.[1]

When we consider the role of Germans in the early history of the Old and New Worlds, it seems unlikely that some of them were not involved in the island's fortunes. Throughout the Middle Ages until the Thirty Years' War, Germany consisted of a number of loosely connected states with constantly changing boundaries within a supranational political structure known as the Holy Roman Empire. During that time German-speaking people constituted Europe's most numerous ethnic group, and parts of Germany experienced sufficient population pressure to encourage Germans to become colonizers of Europe's eastern frontiers in both the Baltic and Transylvania, as well as overseas in North America. For example, in 1683 organized German group migrations began to New England. Germans are known to have resided in Quebec as early as 1664. Because the empire's ruling dynasty, the Germanic Habsburgs, also ruled over the Netherlands (after 1648 only the areas that later became Belgium) and ascended the throne of Spain in 1616, they enabled Germans to play a role in these seafaring countries' affairs too.[2]

As well, the empire's pre-eminence in the cultural and diplomatic affairs of Europe stimulated German interest and involvement in the exploration, cartography, and study of the New World. The German cartographer Martin Waldseemüller broke cosmographic precedent in 1507 by placing two new continents between Europe and Asia and introducing the name "America" for the southern continent. In addition, the heart-shaped world map drawn by the German cartographer Gerhard Mercator in 1538 is the

1.1 German woodcut, printed at Nuremberg, depicting Labrador Inuit woman with child exhibited in Antwerp 1566. Permission the British Library, 1750.c.2 pg.4.

first map known to show the physical separation of Newfoundland from Labrador. Whether this marking indicated possible German contacts with Newfoundland in the early sixteenth century is difficult to say. Interestingly, Mercator's map predates Deslien de Dieppe's of 1541, which represents Newfoundland as an archipelago, even though the latter map is generally assumed to be the first cartographic reflection of Jacques Cartier's circumnavigation of Newfoundland in 1536.[3] Artists joined cartographers in exploring the New World. The earliest depiction in Europe of Canadian Inuit is three versions of a German woodcut showing an Inuit woman and her child from "Terra Nova." The two Inuit were apparently on public display in Antwerp in 1566 (see illus. 1.1).[4]

Simultaneous contacts are also traceable in the fishery. From the thirteenth to the sixteenth centuries the Hanseatic League of German mer-

1.2 Replica of Viking buildings in L'Anse aux Meadows, Newfoundland. Constructed of sod over a timber frame ca. AD 1000, they form the only authenticated Viking settlement in North America. G. Bassler photo, 1985.

chants controlled the trade in northern Europe from Britain and Scandinavia to Russia. Although the Arctic fishing exploits of Germany's North Sea ports and their Hanseatic merchants usually ventured no further than the shores of Greenland,[5] after 1610, Hamburg ships are known to have sailed to Newfoundland for cargoes of cod at the end of the fishing season.[6]

A search for the beginning of German associations with Newfoundland quickly leads into the mists of history. The Vikings' explorations of the New World are the earliest known contacts. The Icelandic sagas mention a south German by the name of Tyrkir as a member of Leif Eirikson's Norse expedition that led to the legendary discovery of Vinland. Helge Ingstad's persuasive findings in the 1960s[7] suggest that this expedition may have landed at L'Anse au Meadows in northern Newfoundland around AD 1001 (see illus. 1.2). The *Greenlanders' Saga* records that "Tyrkir held forth a long while in German, rolling his eyes all ways, and pulling faces. They had no notion what he was talking about. Then after a while he spoke in Norse ... 'I have a real novelty to report. I have found wines and grapes.' 'Is that the truth, foster-father?' Leif asked. 'Of course it's the truth,' he replied. 'I was born where wine and grapes are no rarity.'" The sagas credit Tyrkir

with discovering wild grapevines there and hence suggesting the name of Vinland for the newly discovered land. The much discussed question of whether Eirikson's Norsemen actually found grapes in northern Newfoundland seems to hinge on the credibility of Tyrkir's evidence, for as he is alleged to have assured the puzzled Leif, grapevines were being cultivated in his homeland. Grapevines did not grow in Scandinavian lands, and it is highly unlikely that they ever grew in Newfoundland. Either Tyrkir was a liar intent upon fooling his Norse companions and their friends back home,[8] or he was, like so many a twentieth-century German visitor to Newfoundland, simply baffled by the abundance of berries as sweet and large as grapes.

Several accounts suggest that two allegedly German skippers in Danish service may have rediscovered Newfoundland on a mysterious expedition from Iceland to the land of the *baccalos* more than two decades before John Cabot made his landfall at the *terra prima vista*, which is presumed to be Newfoundland.[9] Unfortunately, neither the background nor the associates nor the exact destination of these two skippers is verifiable. Didrik Pining and Hans Pothorst are usually identified as natives of Lower Saxony, but sometimes as outlawed northern pirates or Norwegian noblemen or associates of the Danish or Polish pilot John Scolvus sent on a mission of discovery by the Portuguese. Whether Pining and Pothorst visited Greenland, Labrador, or Newfoundland in 1472–73, 1476, or 1494, or not at all, remains a matter of speculation.[10] Even in 1940, when the Third Reich desired to attribute every possible accomplishment in the world to Germans, German historians played down the likelihood that Pining and Pothorst discovered the New World before Cabot and Columbus.[11]

DISCOVERERS, COLONISTS, FISHERMEN, AND SOLDIERS

The first Germans known to have visited the island after its rediscovery in the fifteenth century did not come from Germany but from England. The records of one of the first English voyages to Newfoundland – sent out in 1527 as a royal expedition to find the Northwest Passage to India, but returning instead with a cargo of fish from Newfoundland – mention two ships of a Master Grube from Plymouth. Grube's ships were apparently not fishing ships but sack ships trading in cargoes of fish, oil, furs, and produce. Whether the German name of this skipper is indicative of his ethnic or national origin can unfortunately not be ascertained.[12] But it is

possible that he was one of the many Germans who was serving the English crown, had migrated to England, or was descended from Germans who had settled earlier.

From earliest times, Germans had been in England serving the country and its royal house in a variety of capacities, especially as mercenaries. By the sixteenth century the privileges that the German merchants of the Hanseatic League had enjoyed for centuries in the English export trade were in the process of being extinguished by native merchant adventurers. Most former Hanseatic representatives stayed as independent merchants in London. At the same time, England sought to overcome its relative technological and industrial backwardness with skills, expertise, and enterprise borrowed from Germany in areas such as mining and metallurgy where Germany was more advanced. Since the fifteenth century, German miners and mechanics had been acknowledged as the discoverers and disseminators of new methods in the exploration and processing of ores containing silver, copper, zinc, and mercury and in the manufacture of brass. The English tradition of importing German arms makers has been traced back to Henry VIII's settlement of "Almain" armourers in Greenwich. The Hounslow arms factory near London, for example, was established in the seventeenth century with German experts imported from Solingen.[13] As late as the beginning of the seventeenth century, an English traveller articulated English admiration for German technology in these words: "In no place of the world shall thou finde more witty engins and excellent peeces of workemanship than in Germany."[14]

Contemporaries confirm the existence of a large community of foreigners at the court and in the service of Henry VIII. Scores of German workmen, experts, and entrepreneurs took up the challenge and settled in England, forming entire communities of their own with breweries, cultural activities, German Christmas mumming, and all. An enumeration of alien residents under Queen Elizabeth found 3,838 Germans in London.[15] Well-documented, for example, are the circumstances under which in the 1560s the Mines Royal and its smelters near Keswick in Cumberland came under the management of Germans from Augsburg. We know the identities and places of origin of the 136 German workers brought to Keswick at the time. They introduced new smelting technologies that would utilize the by-products as a dye for textiles. Some of the German miners were included in a party of a hundred settlers who sailed in 1685 from Plymouth to North Carolina. Their assignment was to test iron ores and copper for a smelter that would make the new colony viable. After they had spent a year on Roanoke Island, hostile Natives forced them to return.[16]

The first German whose presence in Newfoundland is documented was a miner and ore expert known as Master Daniel the Saxon. He took part in Sir Humphrey Gilbert's expedition that took possession of Newfoundland for England in 1583. The records also mention other "mineral men" and refiners under his command. Some of these were probably German as well, possibly even from Keswick, because of the dominant role this enterprise played in the English mining industry at the time. The narrative recorded by Richard Hakluyt informs us that

> the Generall was most anxious in the search of mettals, commanding the minerall man and refiner, especially to be diligent. The same was a Saxon borne, honest and religious, named Daniel. Who after search brought at first some sort of Ore, seeming rather to be yron than other mettall. The next time he found Ore, which with no small show of contentment he delivered unto the General, using protestation, that if silver were the thing which might satisfie the Generall and his followers, there it was, advising him to seek no further: the perill whereof he undertooke his life (as deare unto him as the Crowne of England unto her Majestie, that I may use his owne words) if it fell not out accordingly.

Daniel, in other words, swore to stake his life that the second ore sample he found was silver. Gilbert warned one of his lieutenants not to celebrate yet for fear of alerting the Portugese, Biscayan, and French fishers who were also anchored in St John's harbour. Gilbert would have liked to stay in Newfoundland to collect more of the silver, but he was planning to sail south for more prospecting and to start a colony on the mainland before his patent expired. Unfortunately both Daniel and his ore samples were lost on the way home in a shipwreck off Sable Island. Gilbert was reported to have been "out of measure grieved, the same doutless being some matter of more importance than his bookes," namely, "ye Ore which Daniel the Saxon had brought unto him in the New found land."[17]

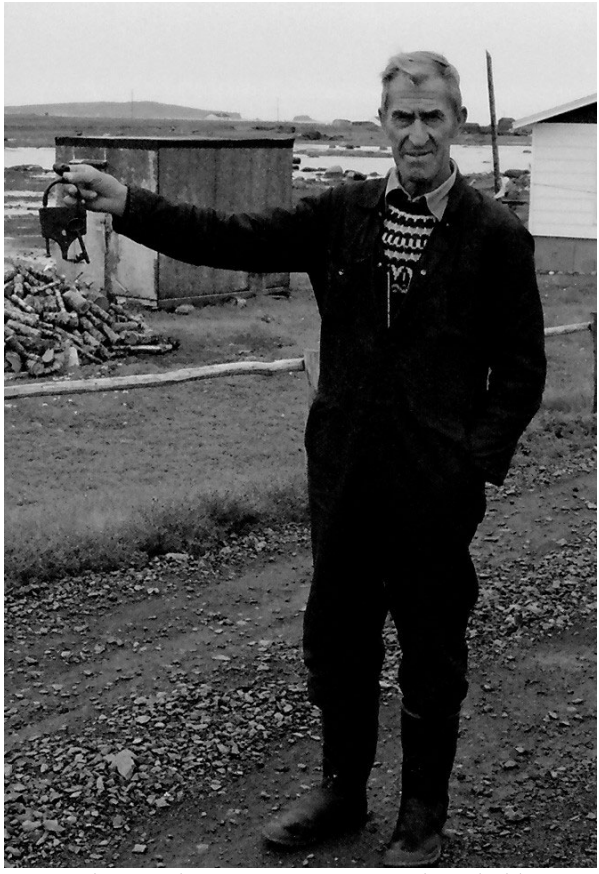
In the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, Germans were likely among the first British parties of explorers and colonists. Newfoundland's first planned English colony, started by John Guy in Cupids (Conception Bay) in 1610, included a trapper named "Frederick the Duchman [*sic*]," who may well have been a German. "Deutsch" was frequently mistranslated as "Dutch" in English; in fact, in seventeenth- and eighteenth-century America, German immigrants were generally labelled "Dutch," for example, the Pennsylvania Dutch. The diary entries of a Cupids colonist characterize Frederick as an expert trapper of muskrat, otter, fox, and sable, an expertise he seems unlikely to have acquired in the heavily populated and

relatively deforested Netherlands.[18] German surnames such as Koch are also present among the earliest residents of Bonavista, as a letter written by one William Koch in 1698 attests.[19]

The person now recognized as Newfoundland's first landscape painter is identified variously as Gerard Edema, a native Hollander who emigrated to England at the age of eighteen, or, according to a Quebec art historian, as the German artist Gerard Edamer.[20] Unknown until recently in North America, his work has been rated "of the first rank" in England. In 1690, at the suggestion of a Devon merchant patron, he sailed from England to the Grand Banks. He spent the summer in Newfoundland sketching fishing stations and cod-drying flakes, and upon his return to England, he produced full-sized paintings, which he sold to merchants interested in the Newfoundland fishery.[21]

French settlement around Placentia Bay and along the so-called French Shore of Newfoundland after 1650 also seems to have included people of German origin.[22] These may have come from France as well as from New France in North America.[23] The list of French planters resident at Plaisance during d'Iberville's campaigns of 1696–97 includes such likely German names as Thomas Merschein, resident since 1658, his wife Marie Largestau (Largetrau or Largeteau), and Le Sieur Charles Mayer (or Mahier), storekeeper and colonel of the militia.[24] Other French enumerations of the population of Terreneuve mention possibly German names such as Seicille Gresse; Jean Trotel; Nicolas Blondel; Daniel Roque, married to Anne Hecuemarre; children born in 1669 and 1670 to Laurent La Grue and Marie Vrignaud and named Joachim and Marthe; and Francois Ruau; married to Marie Bobert.[25] Jean Decker, a German baptized in Montreal in 1706 and married to Sarah with the German maiden name of Teckel, reported that he was a fisherman born in Terreneuve in 1694. He claimed that he was captured by "Indians" and purchased back by a French officer.[26]

The Decker family name can still be found along the French Shore today, especially on the Northern Peninsula. The Deckers there have preserved an oral history of German descent, but have never systematically traced their roots.[27] Calvin and Sam Decker in L'Anse aux Meadows believe that their great-great-grandfather Bill Decker came with his brother John from Germany via Conception Bay. Grandfather Decker is remembered as the biggest fisherman in L'Anse aux Meadows, a man whose sons still spoke French fluently. The Deckers maintain that their forebears were in this area long before there were any English settlers and that they had always fished and traded with the French (see illus. 1.3).[28]



1.3 Calvin Decker in L'Anse aux Meadows holding a French padlock dating to pre-1904 French fishing rights along the coast. The Deckers of the area claim German descent from generations ago. G. Bassler photo, 1985.

As many as 500 Germans waiting in London for a passage to America in 1710 may, instead, have ended up as fishermen in Newfoundland. The punitive raids into Germany by Louis XIV's armies after the devastations of war, famine, and religious persecution in the wake of the Thirty Years' War, contrasting with the news of peace, prosperity, and religious toleration in the New World, triggered a mass exodus of 13,000 so-called Palatines to London in 1709. These refugees fled from the Palatinate and the adjoining areas along each side of the Upper Rhine to London, from where they

expected to be taken to America. The government of Queen Anne, however, was unwilling and unable to ship more than 650 to North Carolina and 3,000 to New York as border guards against Natives and the French. More than 2,000 were returned to Holland from London, and the rest were to be settled in England and Ireland. The fate of 5,000 of them is unaccounted for. From Narcissus Luttrell's diary we learn that the merchants of Bedford and Barnstaple, who were engaged in the Newfoundland fisheries, offered to employ 500 of these Germans in their service. S.H. Cobb believes that in this way many of the refugees were provided for. Of the 3,000 Germans who are known to have been dispersed as settlers in England and Ireland,[29] some may have found their way to Newfoundland as well, perhaps as Methodist preachers. One Richard Knight of German descent, who had adopted the English translation of his German name Ritter, was a Methodist minister at Pouch Cove sometime in the nineteenth century.[30]

With the development of trade between New England and Newfoundland in the mid-seventeenth century, European emigrants were able to use the island as a way station to the North American mainland. Sack ships (freighters) of New England traders are reported to have come regularly for barter and passenger traffic, including the illegal recruitment and theft of fishermen. We do not know how many, if any, German migrants availed themselves of this opportunity, but it is known that from the eighteenth century on, emigrants from Germany seized every opportunity to reach the New World. In 1752 Moravian missionaries from Germany made their first exploratory trip to Labrador to establish a mission station there (see chapter 2). The attempt failed; their leader, Johann Christian Erhardt, and six missionaries were killed by Inuit, and the remaining members of the expedition returned to England via St John's. When they arrived in St. John's on 1 October, the survivors were surprised to meet two fellow countrymen: the surgeon (or doctor) of the artillery, named Pose and another German identified as Smith. Whether that was his surname or his occupation is not clear. The Moravians, according to the entries in their diary, met the two Germans almost daily during their ten-day stay in St John's, went sightseeing, attended church together, and were invited to tea and dinner at the surgeon's house.[31]

Other German names surface among Newfoundland's population of 6,000 by the mid-eighteenth century. One of them appears in connection with the installation of Newfoundland's first justices of the peace in a number of districts by Admiral Henry Osborn, who was appointed governor of Newfoundland in 1729. Three years later he designated as justice of

the peace for Ferryland a person named Jno Ludwig.[32] In Trinity the name Rhine (from "Rein"?) recurs in the registers of St Paul's Anglican Church: for example, in 1664, when Thomas and Francis Rhine baptized a daughter named Elizabeth, and in 1770, when an Ulridge (Ulrich?) Rhine was buried. In the same parish Thomas and Mary Hundel baptized a son named John in 1809. In the Twillingate Anglican baptismal register the family name Lidrow appears seven times (all planters) in 1821, with first names such as Charlotte, Marianne, and Louisa. Between 1797 and 1843 Anglican baptisms were registered in Carbonear under such names as Raff, Wurdail, Luther, and Carlow, and in the Bonavista Anglican parish marriages under such names as Etsell (1788), Akerman (1795 and 1798), and Minchinner (Thomas, 1832).[33]

Systematic genealogical research would undoubtedly reveal German origin behind these and other names.[34] On the Burin Peninsula, the Mosher and Spawn families claim to be descended from Prussian seamen,[35] and Joseph and Ann Short, planters at Lamaline around 1800, are believed to be of German descent.[36] The origin of the place name Garnish, a fishing community on the Burin Peninsula, has been traced to the German words *gar nichts* (nothing at all).[37] The name for nearby Dantzic Point and Dantzic Cove has been linked to the former German city of Danzig (now Gdansk) in the Baltic Sea (see chapter 3).[38] In the mid-nineteenth century Moravian missionaries in Labrador met seamen who were "descended in the second or third generation from Schleswig, Hesse, and Switzerland and who had forgotten their German a long time ago."[39]

The development of German-speaking immigrant communities in North America – the first ones were Germantown (Pennsylvania), founded in 1683, and Halifax with Lunenburg, Nova Scotia, founded in 1750–53 – opened the possibility of migrations of German Americans and German Canadians to Newfoundland in connection with fishing, trade and economic development. However, because of Newfoundland's ties with the fortunes of America in the second half of the eighteenth century, German Americans' first encounter with the island was a military one. In 1762 the Royal Americans, a regiment composed mostly of German and Swiss immigrants, landed at Torbay and, under the command of Colonel William Amherst, reconquered St John's from the French. In the final assault on Signal Hill, Lieutenant Schuyler and thirty of his German American soldiers lost their lives. In 1895, when empire-building and the glorification of war were in vogue, Newfoundland historian D.W. Prowse characterized this taking of St John's in 1762 as "one of the best conducted, most splendid, and most important of all the successes of the glorious war."[40]

Even in the Newfoundland fishery a connection with Nova Scotians of German descent has been suggested by dory expert Otto P. Kelland. In Lunenburg, Germans who had arrived as farmers and labourers from the landlocked southwest of German-speaking Europe began very shortly after their arrival to add fishing and boat building to their skills. Their early contacts with Newfoundland were not as immigrants but as model boat builders and fishermen. Lunenburgers were at the forefront of developing new technologies in boat building and fishing methods in the Maritimes.[41] After thirty-five years as settlers, they built vessels as heavy as 35 tons to sail as far as the coast of Labrador. They successfully popularized both the hook mackerel fishery and trawling or longlining, which made offshore fishing profitable. In conjunction with this and following the invention of the dory in late eighteenth-century Massachusetts, Kelland credits Lunenburg Germans with developing one of seven types of dories that helped to change inshore fishing and make possible bank fishing in the nineteenth century. The "Dutch dory," as it was named in mid-nineteenth-century Newfoundland, was a distinctive Lunenburg design and, according to Kelland, "definitely not copied from the lines of any craft that has been produced by other builders." As an excellent carrier and a sturdy and reliable rough-water boat, the "Dutch dory" gained great favour among Newfoundland's south coast fishermen before they began to build their own dories in the 1880s. The "Monk-type" Newfoundland dory built in Monkstown, Placentia Bay, appears to have been fashioned from the Dutch dory.[42]

Records indicate the presence of several Germans in Newfoundland in the 1760s following the expulsion of the French. In June 1764 the Moravian missionary Jens Haven appeared in St John's on his way to attempt contact with the Inuit of Labrador. There his planned trip to Labrador was decried as crazy, and he received several favourable offers to stay in town. According to Haven's diary, St John's was possessed by the most exaggerated fears of the Inuit's alleged bloodthirstiness, which he interpreted as the reflex of a bad conscience. He found locals to be totally ignorant of Labrador and assuming the entire country to be covered with precious furs. Political tensions permeated all personal relations in St John's, he observed, and made life unpleasant. Although he arrived with a letter issued by Newfoundland governor Hugh Palliser in London directing the local authorities to provide free room and board for Haven, he preferred to retain his independence. Despite his poor knowledge of English, Haven worked as a carpenter for a merchant by name of Gaden while awaiting the arrival of Palliser. Among his contacts in St. John's was a German soldier by the name

of Johan Demster, who, as Haven wrote a friend in 1765, helped him address a letter in English to Palliser. After Palliser returned to St John's, he issued Haven a letter of protection, copies of which were posted in every harbour of the island, declaring Haven to be a missionary and peaceful mediator between Inuit and white people. Haven left St John's in September and had his first encounter with Inuit shortly thereafter in Quirpon, on the northern tip of Newfoundland. No local Newfoundland escort dared to accompany him further north.[43] His subsequent experiences are related in chapter 2.

It may be no accident that the first printed German-language map of Newfoundland appeared at about the same time. The map, which is undated, lists about half the island's place names in German and the rest in French. It is clearly based on Jacques-Nicolas Bellin's 1752 French map of the Gulf of St Lawrence, still showing considerable inaccuracies in the shape, the bays, and the coastline of the island.[44] The large title in the blank centre reads "Insel Neu-Land od. Terre-Neuve olim Avalon" (island New-Land or Terre Neuve formerly known as Avalon), followed by the smaller-sized German statement that "the interior of this island and the course of its rivers are not well-known." The south coast of Labrador along the Strait of Belle Isle is titled "Land der Esquimaux." A bilingual German and French text at the bottom of the map informs the reader that "Terre-neuve oder Neu Foundland" belongs to the English and is separated only by a narrow strait from *Terra Labrador*, and that its capital "S. Jean" was conquered on 28 June 1762 by the two French ships with 1,300 men. "Che. Ternay commanded the fleet and caused all the caught fish he found to spoil. The island used to supply 200,000 *centhner* [quintals] of dried cod fish and bring in one million pound sterling. But it was reconquered on 13 September of the same year by the English colonel Amherst" (see illus. 1.4).[45]

In Trinity, which was briefly taken by the French in 1761, the presence of at least two German surgeons is documented in the following decades. The first one was Godlove Porsh (Gottlieb Porsch). Little is known about him except that he was a German, that he began practising in Trinity in 1768, and that he was involved in a scuffle with the local parson, the Reverend James Balfour. The latter reported the incident to his superiors at the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel (SPG) in London. One evening, while walking through Trinity, Porsh and a friend encountered the parson and an argument ensued. Then, as Gordon Handcock has reconstructed the event, "Stone cuffed Balfour on the cheek, while Porsh laid hold of the Parson's nose." In his letter to the SPG, Balfour claimed that he had been

1.4 First German-language map of Newfoundland, 1760s. Origin unknown. Courtesy Hans Rollmann.

attacked on his way home and that he had received the blows with Christian meekness. Porsh and his friend were summoned to appear before the governor's surrogate, Lieutenant John Cartwright, and ordered to pay a

fine each and seek the parson's pardon. Eight months later, Balfour reported to the SPG that "that unhappy foreigner" had recently drowned. A gust of wind had upset Porsh's sailboat and entangled him in the ropes of a sail, so that he "sank gradually boat and all together, in the sight of a hundred spectators."[46]

Porsh's successor was D'wes Coke, who practised from 1769 to 1783. He in turn was succeeded by John Clinch. During Clinch's entire term from 1783 to 1819, according to politician-historian A.B. Morine, another German by the name of Dr Gott served as a surgeon in Trinity. Unfortunately, no further details about his background and long service in Trinity are known. With a resident population of at least five hundred in the 1760s and a seasonal influx of an estimated two thousand migratory fishermen, Trinity was the hub of fishing and trade for the north side of Trinity Bay and the south side of Bonavista Bay. It was also the centre of medical service for the entire area and a popular resort for retired naval surgeons. Wondering about the saturation of Trinity with medical practitioners at a time when there were few doctors anywhere else in Newfoundland, Morine speculates that "probably some were retired naval surgeons, working to supplement their pensions, and regarding Trinity as a pleasant place of residence."[47] It may have been for any or all of these reasons that Porsh and Gott ended up in Trinity.

The wars of the American and French revolutions made Newfoundland a way station for numerous German Loyalists and German nationals. In 1779–80 the Hessian Infantry of Knyphausen's Regiment was allegedly stationed in St John's as a deterrent against French designs and American privateers.[48] Service in the British army earned John Christopher Reiffenstein (of the princely German family of Thun und Taxis) a brief stint as quartermaster of the Royal Newfoundland Regiment from 1808 to 1811. Before his Newfoundland appointment Reiffenstein had served in Bermuda and Nova Scotia; thereafter he lived in Canada, England, France, and Germany.[49] Johann Gottfried Seume, pressed into service for the British Crown, recalled how his English troopship, filled with "Hessians" on the way to Canada in the 1780s, replenished its supplies on the Grand Banks with an incredibly rich catch of eleven tons of cod on one afternoon. "No liver from any animal in the sea or on land appeared more luscious and tastier to me than the liver of cod, just as the entire fish itself, freshly prepared and eaten, is one of the most delicious. It is equal to sterlet and tuna and preferable to salmon."[50]

By the beginning of the nineteenth century, nonetheless, Newfoundland was still no more than an exotic name on the New World map of German-speaking Europe, despite increasing knowledge of America's immigrant

opportunities. In fact, the name "Newfoundland" appeared so imaginary and devoid of specific content to an anonymous German writer in 1821 that he used it as an alias for a German region or state whose identity he did not want to reveal. In a 32–page "address regarding the approaching election of magistrates and authorized representatives of a community in Newfoundland," the writer advocated responsible implementation of the newly created municipal self-government[51] in the face of reactionary policies following the Congress of Vienna (1815). The idea of Newfoundland as some kind of imagined *terra nova* or fantasy land, incidentally, also inspired subsequent writers. In 1897, for example, it resurfaced in German playwright Frank Wedekind's pantomime *The Empress of Newfoundland*.[52]

LUDWIG AMADEUS ANSPACH

The American and French revolutions, with their dislocations of international trade, brought unprecedented social changes and a new influx of foreigners to St John's. Revolutionary America's ban on all its trade with Newfoundland challenged merchants and artisans to establish themselves on the island and develop their own trade with Canada and the West Indies. During the Napoleonic Wars, furthermore, many English business houses transferred operations to St John's. The foundations were thus laid for a class of local entrepreneurs who gradually transformed life in St. John's from that of a fishing station to one appropriate for the commercial, social, administrative, and cultural centre of a colony aspiring to responsible government. The resulting quest for cultural improvement enticed the first trickle of foreign skills and expertise to Newfoundland. A prominent case in point came from the desire of twenty-five of the leading merchants and inhabitants of St John's in 1789 to see their children obtain an education superior to that available anywhere else on the island. Responding to their call was Lewis Amadeus Anspach, Newfoundland's first prominent resident of German descent.

The existing literature on Anspach treats him as an Englishman, although his native cultures were German and French and he had been exposed to English culture for only seven years before coming to Newfoundland. His grandfather was a German religious writer who had migrated to Geneva, a bilingual German- and French-speaking city in southern Switzerland, from a small place called Sauerschwabenheim in the Palatinate. Born in Geneva and educated in the city's Calvinist Académie, Anspach moved at age twenty-two to London where he worked as a private tutor and an Anglican curate. When he assumed his position in

Newfoundland seven years later in 1796, his non-English background was still noticeable enough to cause a St John's clergyman to observe that Anspach had not yet lost his foreign accent.[53] In the published English account of his role in St John's, Anspach refers to himself typically as a "stranger."[54] (The 1822 German edition of Anspach's *History of Newfoundland* gives his name as Ludwig Amadeus Anspach.)[55]

Anspach has left an impressive record of accomplishments as educator, missionary, judge, magistrate, author and, above all, pioneer historian. During his thirteen-year sojourn in Newfoundland, he launched and taught Newfoundland's first secondary school in St. John's, was instrumental in the establishment and operation of schools in Harbour Grace, Bay de Verde, Brigus, Portugal Cove, and Bay Roberts, and organized the erection of many school and church buildings. Anspach's successful promotion of spiritual unity, civilized modes of behaviour, and basic education among his parishioners while he was missionary in Harbour Grace is documented in his correspondence with the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel (SPG) committee in London. In December 1803 he justified the need for a Sunday school in Harbour Grace in these words: "In no place can such an institution be more wanted, the District being the most populous of the whole Island, more than 3,000 children in it, most of them accustomed from their infancy to cursing and swearing, a total disregard for their parents, neglect of the Lord's Day and vice of every kind."[56] Five years later he had the pleasure of informing the SPG of "great changes ... in the manner of observing the Lord's Day and the habit and manners of parents and children."[57]

Anspach's main literary legacy, besides two books reviewing the laws relating to Newfoundland's navigation, trade, and fishery, is his *History of the Island of Newfoundland: Containing a Description of the Islands, the Banks, the Fisheries and Trade of Newfoundland, and the Coast of Labrador* (1819). Although drawing largely on printed sources, it is a remarkable scholarly document for its time. Written before the advent of modern critical (Rankean) historiography, it provides from a continental European perspective the first comprehensive and analytical account of the historical development and national character of Newfoundland, its cultural uniqueness, and its general significance in the context of world history. Posterity has been as impressed with Anspach's sober assessment of Newfoundland's economic prospects as by the honesty and integrity of his social and geographic observations.[58] In the preface he notes that

> Newfoundland has hitherto been little known, because it has not forced itself upon the historiographer by deeds of cruelty, or by intense divisions or external attempts

which endangered the safety of the peace of its neighbours, but, on the contrary, like the source of the Nile, unobserved and unknown, silently distributed subsistence to a considerable proportion of its inhabitants, and particularly of the poor of both hemispheres; and while the other settlements with which the Europeans have covered the new world, have generally been the destruction of the first colonists, whom they have received, and of a great number of their successors; the climate of Newfoundland has even restored strength to those whose health had been affected by less wholesome climates, even to whole regiments, as well as to merchants and others coming from the West Indies.

Based on his knowledge of the island's topography and the Icelandic sagas, Anspach argues forcefully that "Newfoundland is the only land" to which the Norse story of the legendary discovery of Vinland in AD 1001 can be applied. British geographer Patrick Gordon is quoted in support of the contention that grapevines used to grow "in abundance" on the French Shore. Significance is attributed to the testimony of the German grapevine expert Tyrkir and that of the "honest and religious" ore and mining expert Daniel of Saxony. Sections of Anspach's *History* reveal him to be a shrewd and keen observer who views life and social conditions on the island and Labrador around 1800 very much through central European eyes.[59]

Topographically and climatically, Newfoundland strikes Anspach as presenting "features of the most eccentric character." Its peculiarities and prospects are determined by the stark contrasts between "a rocky and barren soil, steep hills covered with bad wood, some narrow and sandy valleys and extensive plains" without trees or shrubs, known as "barrens." The boggy and marshy ground makes riding and travelling dangerous. Similarly, the extreme contrasts between heat and cold (which are compared to Switzerland and Siberia) and the short growing season make this island unsuitable for production of "anything sufficient for the support of its inhabitants." While locally grown lumber is of inferior quality and only good for "lungers, posts and other parts of ... fishing stages," the best cultivated grounds "scarcely bring even oats to perfect maturity." Potatoes and cabbages are the most valuable produce of the island. Although such European staple vegetables as beans, common salads, lettuces, and cucumbers were reported to succeed well in gardens, they are considered to be luxuries in Newfoundland, very much like the tropical fruit brought by merchants from the West Indies, and available for "but a very short time." Newfoundland, concludes Anspach, "can never be truly valuable but as a fishery."[60]

On the other hand, he shows awareness of the unexplored and barely known potential of Newfoundland's mineral treasures. For example, he

gives the first unambiguous information about an iron-ore mine at Back Cove on Bell Island and refers to the discovery of labradorite by German-speaking Moravian missionaries in 1778.[61] Anspach's examination of the character and lifestyle of Newfoundland's inhabitants may be considered the most original and intriguing part of his work. His observations of amusement and gaiety in St John's, the prevailing Irish mode of planting potatoes, the "precarious and uncertain" nature of the inshore fishery, the construction of houses, the funeral ceremonies of waking the dead, the Christmas customs of Yule and mummering, the eating habits, the pursuits of women, and so on – all these observations are essentially those of a continental European. With the curiosity of an educated and open-minded outsider, Anspach registered practices and habits strange, interesting, or significant to him, but which native-born English and Irish observers took for granted. Newfoundland, he implied, had been little known and written about in Europe, despite its obvious strategic and economic significance and its wholesome climate.[62]

Anspach's reasons for returning to Europe after thirteen years of dedicated service to Newfoundland were purely personal and reflect the immigrant's inability to reconcile the aspirations of his inherited continental European lifestyle with the exigencies of Newfoundland. In the letter of 9 July 1812 announcing to the SPG his resignation from his post in Harbour Grace, he singles out concern for the education of his own children, his meagre emoluments, and the diet as the main factors. He recommended to the SPG that, in typically Swiss fashion, ten to twelve acres of fenced land attached to the mission for "the facility of keeping a cow, some poultry and a few sheep would be of signal advantage in a place where salt fish and salt pork are almost the only food to be obtained."[63]

Despite his unpleasant experiences as a teacher in St John's from 1799 to 1802, well described in chapter 9 of his *History*, Anspach left Newfoundland with a strong sense of attachment to the island and an admiration for its people. "Nowhere can a race be found," he summed up his general impressions, "more remarkable for indefatigable industry, for contempt of danger, for steadiness of temper and of conduct, sincerity, and constancy of attachment, and a strong sense of religious duty."[64] The appearance in 1822 of an abridged German edition of Anspach's *History*, three years after the publication of the original English edition, attests as much to the appeal of its author as to German-speaking Europe's newly awakened interest in Newfoundland. Today St John's remembers him with Anspach Street.

Anspach is the best known among the considerable number of persons of German-speaking background whose presence in Newfoundland can be

identified during the period from the late sixteenth to the early nineteenth century. Like him, most Germans appear to have come to Newfoundland by way of England. Like English newcomers, they came as settlers as well as sojourners: some were on their way to America, some came with British military or naval forces, and some were recruited on contract by local British agents because their skills as metallurgists, surgeons, justices, and clergymen were in demand. These recruits are more easily identifiable because their roles or services tended to be recorded. When we consider the broader context of German migratory patterns in Europe and North America and the ubiquity of migrants of German-speaking descent in the New World, it should come as no surprise that Newfoundland had its share of Germans and German connections from its first discovery.