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The Ohio State University, Ph.D., 1965
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PRIVATE CULTURES AND PUBLIC IMAGERY: INTERPERSONAL RELATIONS IN A NEWFOUNDLAND PEASANT SOCIETY

DISSERTATION

Presented in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for the Degree Doctor of Philosophy in the Graduate School of The Ohio State University

By

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The Ohio State University
1965

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# ILLUSTRATIONS

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The word "peasant" has the power to evoke a plethora of responses among its users in the Western world. From an earlier usage, it reflects the nobility, innocence, and divine nature of the pastoral, the unspoiled, the bucolic, the Arcadian. Cowper's "God made the country, and man made the town," best expresses the attitude of looking backward to an imagined lost simplicity. Above all, it represents a Western fascination with things natural. On the other hand, among those concerned with "progress" and "change," "peasant" has all the pejorative connotation of backwardness that urbanity abhors. The peasant—churlish, superstitious, rustic bumpkin—is seen to move in a closed world in which economic growth is submerged under religious considerations, where communism and capitalism are judged by their relative promises of food and security, and where self-interest always transcends communal good. For men of action, the peasant—"survival" is an economic "foot-dragger," an outdated nuisance. In anthropology, both conceptions appear simultaneously and oddly intermixed.

A.L. Kroeber classically defined peasants as forming "a class segment of a larger population which usually contains urban centers. . . ." and as constituting "part-societies with part
Although Kroeber's structural definition is skimpy, it provides the basis for a number of elaborations. Robert Redfield, stressing the part cultural nature of peasantry, indicated the relation between urban and rural manifestations of culture as differences of "great" and "little traditions." "The culture of a peasant community is not autonomous. It is an aspect or dimension of the civilization of which it is a part." Eric Wolf, stressing the occupational and ecological nature of peasants, limits them to subsistence-scale agriculturalists (lacking capitalization of crops), and to those who own and control their own land. The peasant is consequently articulated to the larger society at economic points as sometime market producers, partially dependent on outside supplies from urban complexes. Both Wolf and Raymond Firth have been willing to allow peasant status only to those engaged in agricultural subsistence activities. Yet George Foster seems closer to a mainstream position in emphasizing the

symbiotic spatial-temporal relationship to the more complex component of the society of which they are

\[ \text{References:} \]


a part, i.e. the pre-industrial market and administrative city. 5

[Peasant communities] represent the rural expression of large, class-structured, economically complex, pre-industrial civilizations, in which trade and commerce, and craft specialization are well developed, in which money is commonly used, and in which market disposition is the goal for a part of the producer's efforts. 6

Although Foster develops an "ideal type," and consequently no society exactly fits it, he poses a model which seems to embrace accurately a large number of the world's societies which show similar characteristics.

In addition to definitions that focus on the articulation of peasant groups with the larger society, others have stressed the internal organization of peasantry. Foster and J.M. Fitchen 7 have put considerable emphasis on volitional, contractual associations as of primary importance in peasant groups, as opposed to the importance of kinship relations in primitive societies. In addition, Fitchen points to the importance of the household unit and the community in the peasant group. These attempts at delineating internal organization are chiefly designed to separate primitive from peasant levels of society.


Although it would seem that peasantry as an "intermediate," society might break the traditional anthropological and sociological habit of dichotomizing social materials (primitive-civilized, Gemeinschaft-Gesellschaft, sacred-profane, folk-urban, status-contract, etc.), and suggest new conceptions and means of organizing social data, it cannot be said to have had much effect at this point. Throughout much writing there is on one hand a tendency to see peasant societies as idealized strongholds of socio-cultural integration. Redfield's characterization of Tepoztlán suggested that the Mexican village was

... a relatively homogeneous, isolated, smoothly functioning and well-integrated society made up of a contented and well-adjusted people.  

Yet Oscar Lewis in his famous study of Tepoztlán fifteen years later, said of Redfield's original analysis:

His picture of the village has a Rousseauian quality which glosses lightly over evidences of violence, disruption, cruelty, disease, suffering, and maladjustment. Throughout his study we find an emphasis upon the cooperative and unifying factors. . . .

Instead of high socio-cultural integration Lewis found "a lack of cooperation," "tensions," "schisms," and "the pervading quality of fear, envy, and distrust in interpersonal relations."  

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10Ibid., p. 428.
To these, he adds unrelenting and harsh gossip and malicious distortion of facts.

Lewis' criticism can be seen as representative of an alternative to the pristine conception of peasantry exemplified by Redfield's writing. Lewis' position is easily the most popular among writers on peasantry today. A body of literature has developed which stresses the manner in which peasant communities fail to measure up to standards necessary for social survival: one learns from Friedman that Italian peasantry is involved in a "mentality of mutual distrust";\(^\text{11}\) Banfield finds that to the Southern Italians, "friends are luxuries that the Montenegreri feel they cannot afford";\(^\text{12}\) Adamic says of the Slovenes that "seemingly perfect village life [periodically is] shaken by fierce quarrels among peasants over the possession of a few feet of ground. . .";\(^\text{13}\) Ernestine Friedl speaks of a Greek village in terms of "agonistic" relationships, and describes the nature of the villagers' feelings towards each other and the world as being "tension created by some kind of struggle";\(^\text{14}\) Dube, discussing an Indian village, speaks also of malicious gossip and backbiting, and indicates that

\[^{11}\text{F.G. Friedman, "The World of 'La Miseria,'" Community Development Review 10: 24, 1958.}\]
"mutual suspicion characterizes the general nature of interpersonal relations." Dozens of other examples make the point of internal conflict. All individuals in this latter school of thought see many peasant societies as destroying themselves by "pathological" and "anomic" behavior, thus making their articulation with the changing, expanding, larger culture increasingly impossible.

Most, if not all, observers of peasant life have reached conclusions similar to those of one or the other school by means of a conception of cultural integration which I see to be an unwarranted assumption: most have used traditional "equilibrium" or "consensus" models to order their observations.

Equilibrium models were developed early in social theory, through Compte, Durkheim, and Radcliffe-Brown, and were given wide, if doubtful, use in structuring studies of small primitive societies that were granted the assumption of cultural isolation. But even in the smallest and most homogeneous societies, consensus and "balance" never seem to be complete and basic. More to the point, socio-cultural integration and "stability" can occur without consensus, as Pierre L. van den Berghe argues was the case for culturally homogeneous groups in nineteenth century Europe that displayed class conflicts. On the other hand, consensus need not imply integration and stability, since high value consensus during

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periods of revivalism and charismatic movements have hastened the disintegration of some societies. Furthermore, the usual equilibrium models have been too simplistic to account for revolutionary changes or for changes and conflicts generated within the social system, focusing instead on external sources of disequilibrium.  

Since all students of peasant society have accepted definitions that express a "part" nature in structural, economic, or cultural terms, one might have expected greater sensitivity to the lack of applicability of the functionalist-derived equilibrium and consensus models. Obviously the peasant social system can never be understood even conceptually as being separate from a larger social system without seriously distorting social reality. The mutual interlocking of the two systems makes this level of society difficult to analyze, but it cannot be simplified by ignoring its key characteristics.

Theory, as it is most generally expressed in sociology and anthropology today, functions at levels that seem to ignore the reality of much of social life: so much so, in fact, that criticism of it gives the appearance of misplaced ingenuousness. Theory that assumes the non-existence of important phenomena may have its place, but certainly not as a basis for lower level studies of small social units like peasant groups. Too many students of peasantry have imposed a priori definitions of society on small

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bodies of people and then sought information that accords with the initial assumptions. Clearly, theory that involves a heavy emphasis on "balance," "shared values," "conformity," and "functional prerequisites" will bring up more questions than it answers.

Are there then other approaches to making sense of low-level data, such as that which concerns the nature of interpersonal relations in a peasant society? It is the purpose of this study to suggest one such approach.

Instead of attempting to understand society as of a whole that reproduces itself periodically, more or less in duplicate (as a "replication of uniformity"), one may begin by seeing it as an "organization of diversity." That is, instead of looking for the extent to which the members of society learn the same things and behave in the same way, it may be more profitable to pursue the possible variations of custom and behavior which a society can manifest. Once the shift has been made away from the "uniformitarian" viewpoint, the "belief that a society will fall apart and its members scatter if they are not threaded like beads on a string of common motives" must be abandoned, and the question asked: how else can a society be organized so that it can remain viable despite changes?

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19 Ibid., p. 29.
Culture, first of all, can be conceived of as a people's creation of a contract by which means they may organize their behavior into maximally rewarding patterns, allowing for individual interests as well as group interests. The ethnographic observer, under this conception, is required to produce a set of statements that are descriptive and "predictive" in the sense that they accurately describe what people do, under a variety of circumstances. If an anthropologist can produce an ethnography that is predictive to the degree that it allows one to operate successfully in the culture, it is still necessary to be cautious about claims for what it is that one knows. Wallace warns:

Nor can the phenomenological world of an individual, or of a people, be assumed to be understood by the anthropologist, once he can predict the movements of their bodies; rather, he must recognize the possibility of a radical diversity of mazeways that have their orderly relationship guaranteed not by the sharing of uniformity, but by their capacities for mutual prediction. 20

Wallace has argued that there is no reason to assume that the participants in a cultural system need know, or understand correctly, or share the motives underlying each other's behavior. In theory, at least, they need not share any basic cognitive framework at all. Instead, they need only hold cognitive models of social behavior which are complementary to the point of producing predictable and equivalent results, i.e. working, sustaining social relationships. It may be additionally asserted that some forms of

20 Ibid., p. 28. "Mazeway" for Wallace is the individual's unique mental representation of the real world.
social relationships may be necessarily ambiguous to the actors, or, putting it in more conventional terms, the actors involved in a series of role relationships may need to have differential information about the relationship in order for it to persist. In the broadest sense, then, culture for Wallace is

a set of standardized models of such contractual relationships, in which the equivalent roles are specified and available for implementation to any two parties whose motives make their adoption promising. The relationship is not based on sharing, but on a complementarity of cognitions and motives . . . . From this standpoint, then, it is culture which is shared (in the special sense of institutional contract) rather than personality, and culture may be conceived as an invention which makes possible the maximal organization of diversity.21

It is necessary to go further, to be more precise in the delineation of what "culture" is in a practical sense. Anthropology has long toyed with a basic distinction in the data with which it deals, but seldom have the implications of these distinctions been made clear.22 Ward Goodenough has dichotomized these distinctions of data as being (1) those of the "phenomenal order," i.e., the material artifacts of a human community, and the observed patterns and regularities they exhibit; and (2) those of the "ideational order," i.e., the community members' organization of their experience

21Ibid., p. 41.

within the phenomenal order:

Ideational data deals with... standards for deciding what is, standards for deciding what can be, standards for deciding how one feels, about [things], standards for deciding what to do about [things], and standards for deciding how to go about doing [things].

These are the propositions, the ideal forms, the preference ratings, and the recipes for ordering behavior. In sum, "the phenomenal order of a community is an artifact of the ideational order of its members."24

But ideational data are further divided by Goodenough according to the degree of sharedness of standards. By the definition of ideational data, each person will to some degree develop and maintain a different cognitive organization of the data of the phenomenal order. Differences in experience and socialization, variations in perception, historical changes, all assure that each person will not hold the same data, nor even organize it in the same way. To this degree of non-sharing, then, all people can be seen to have a private culture (or what Wallace calls a mazeway). Within this private organization an individual may hold one or (more likely) several conceptions of distinct systems of operation in social life—conceptions of how other men organize their...


24 Goodenough, Explorations... , p. 12.
experience—which may be called up as they are needed.

In this way each individual's private culture... includes his conception of several wholly or partially distinct cultures (some well elaborated and others only crudely developed in his mind) which he attributes to others individually and collectively, both within and without his community. A person's private culture is likely to include knowledge of more than one language, more than one system of etiquette, more than one set of beliefs, more than one hierarchy of choices, and more than one set of principles for getting things done.25

It is the individual's repertoire of possible behaviors, the manner in which he may intermix them in accord with what becomes his "style," that creates an identity which is always a little different from all others.

Is it then possible to speak of a people as sharing a culture—a public culture? As every individual holds certain conceptions of the others' private cultures, there is thus a body of "generalized" culture that each person conceives of as common to all other members of the social system. As this generalized picture is still part of a private culture, each person's view of the others' cultures will be different. Yet, in the process of trying to perform in a manner which one conceives others to see as meaningful and proper, individuals make an effort to conceal or at least not stress what they consider personal differences from the general culture of others, and in doing so, put forward a "public face" in accord with a generalized conception:

Insofar as a person tries to conduct himself according

to the standards he attributes to others, others are likely to attribute to him a private culture that is in reality a reflection of his generalized culture for them. And it is their generalized cultures for others that people use as their operating cultures when their behavior is subject to others' scrutiny. As people who have regular dealings with one another try to conform to the generalized cultures they individually attribute to their mutual fellowship and as they modify their individual conceptions of these cultures in order to increase their predictive value, these conceptions will increasingly converge. Thus a high degree of consensus can develop both regarding the content of the generalized cultures they individually attribute to each other and consequently regarding the content of the operating cultures which they individually use to guide their actions with one another.26

If there is high congruence regarding the nature of this generalized culture, with expectations closely agreed upon, a group of people may be said to have a public culture.

But between the personal motives of the private culture and uniformities of the public culture there is a great deal of divergence, as between the "reality" of phenomenal data and its ideational organization there is also considerable difference. Since social relations exist and are validated through the public culture, in the sphere of public interest, cultural systems provide "public imagery" in order to mediate between private reality and public reality, and assure social complementarity at the level of

26Ibid., pp. 263-64.
the group.\textsuperscript{27} Public imagery can be understood as a more specific application of what Lévi-Strauss\textsuperscript{28} calls the "conscious models" of social relations, i.e., the "home-made" models with which a society understands itself. As we know from Durkheim, Mauss, and Freud, public imagery need bear little similarity to phenomenal reality, and in fact may act as a screen to filter out certain elements of social phenomena. We can add that public imagery need bear little resemblance to the private cultures of its users. Yet to maintain this conception of social order, the imagery must be publically asserted and confirmed, if necessary, by ritual, and challenges to its validity suppressed. At the same time, for public imagery to persist without congruence to other levels of "reality," it must be reinforced implicitly from other realms of the cultural system as well.

It is to questions such as these that this study is directed. This is an attempt to try to understand the nature of social relationships in a parish of Newfoundland peasants through the public imagery they employ, and through the mechanisms—particularly the economic—used to support and integrate private cultures.


It is hoped, too, that there will result some conception of the
nature of the changes taking place at the current time, and their
directions for the future.

This is a modest project. There is no attempt to give a
"complete ethnography," or to grasp the "meaning" of a people in
a "holistic" manner. Only a charlatan or a fool would claim that
he has definitely understood the culture of a people because he
has developed a model that is explanatory and predictive. The
anthropologist's model is itself the product of a private culture,
gained, it is hoped, by many of the same processes used by the
native participant of a culture. To be sure, the anthropologist's
model should be more complex, more sophisticated than any held by
the participants in the culture, for he uses tools that gather
phenomenological data more quickly and more accurately. But the
organization of data, the interrelationship of parts into wholes,
all are finally carried out in the personal sphere of the
anthropologist's mind. At its best, the interplay between the
group's public culture and the anthropologist's private culture
(free from the imagery ordering the insider's world) will produce
an understanding of greater depth and even predictability than
the culture's participants could obtain. Still, other models
than the anthropologist's might be equally accurate, even more
useful, or, at least, more aesthetic.
CHAPTER I
THE SETTING

Coming around Cape Ray on the southwest tip of Newfoundland, passing from the Cabot Strait to the Gulf of St. Lawrence, the dominant landmark is Table Mountain which rises up sharply from the flat, rocky coast. Sailors watched for this point, as it marked the beginning of the Long Range Mountains that stretch the length of the island's West Coast. But a few miles further up the coast is a far more striking landmark. For here the stony shores of the Southwest coast abruptly change to the rolling, fertile hills of a valley split by two rivers. This Newfoundland anomaly is made all the more startling by the surrounding coast: south of this point the coast is made up of the rock barrens that typify most of Newfoundland's coast, while to the north for twenty-five miles the shore line is little more than the bleak lower slopes of the Anguille Mountains. The Codroy Valley was more than a verdant curiosity to sailors and fishermen. The harbor of Codroy and the mouths of the two rivers were shelters from the storms and cyclonic winds that haunt this part of the island. The rectilinear coast of this area offers few harbors as do the island-scattered and embayed shores more common to Newfoundland.
Today, the valley is seldom approached by the sea. The Trans-Canada Highway that passes through it touches no more than a mile or so of favored, inhabited land. Most outsiders now see only coarse, boulder-strewn hills with an occasional stream and the eternal stretches of conifers.

The Landscape

The Codroy Valley sits in the most southwestern portion of the island of Newfoundland, with its southernmost part lying 13 miles northwest of Port aux Basques (pop. approx. 2000). Stephenville (pop. 6,043) and the U.S. Harmon Air Force Base are approximately 90 miles to the northwest, while Corner Brook (pop. 25,185), the center of the paper industry on the West Coast, is 125 miles to the northeast. The Valley is linked to the rest of Newfoundland by a railway completed in 1898, and by the Trans-Canada Highway, extended to Port aux Basques, Stephenville, and Corner Brook after confederation with Canada, with pavement completed through the Valley in 1964. A series of small gravel roads have connected the settlements in the Valley since the 1880's.

The coastal line both north and south of the Valley is without settlements. Highlands, the nearest village north of Cape Anguille, is 31 miles away. Red Rocks, 10 miles from St. Andrews, is the first settlement south.

The Valley itself is formed by the Anguille Mountains that rise to 1250 feet to the northwest and by the 2000 foot high Long
Range Mountains to the southeast. The southwestern side is bounded by the Gulf of St. Lawrence, the nearest land masses being the Magdalen Islands of Quebec and Cape Breton Island of Nova Scotia, both over 80 miles away. The Valley takes the shape of a triangle, approximately 7 miles wide at its base along the shore of the Gulf, and narrowing down to its one mile wide vortex thirty miles inland at Codroy Pond. The total area is about 100 square miles.

The Grand and Little Codroy Rivers run along the bases of the two mountain ranges and form the Valley's most distinguishing geographic feature: a block of interval land of approximately 40 square miles. Upon their exit into the Gulf, both rivers are a mile or more wide, but sandbars and heavy silting have acted to close them up so that large boats can no longer enter. The Little Codroy narrows quickly and meanders inland to the Little Codroy Pond where it is fed from Long Range Mountain streams. The Grand Codroy, on the other hand, maintains its initial width for five miles and then gradually narrows around scattered islands, paralleling the coast for 12 miles further northward until it splits into two smaller streams, North Branch and South Branch.

Geology and Soil

This part of the island, like the rest of Newfoundland, was greatly affected by the glaciation of the Pleistocene period.

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The soil that has formed in most of Newfoundland since the Wisconsin glacial age is extremely thin, while a combination of a coniferous forest cover and a humid climate have acted to produce leached, acid top soils. The receding glaciation left Newfoundland a great amount of debris which gives the island its overall gravelly appearance.

The largest part of the Valley's soil, thus, is composed of stony ground moraine, but the two rivers' flood plains are recent alluvium made up of moranic sands and clays with only moderate gravel content. The entire area is dotted with poorly drained peat bogs, particularly in the area northeast of Doyles and O'Reagans.

Climate

Newfoundland's climate is essentially maritime, tempered on all sides by oceanic influences. Thus the island is much warmer and more humid than its latitude and altitude would seem to suggest. Yet, the air masses from the North are predominantly those of the cold Labrador current, so that Newfoundland's winters tend to be moderate, its summers short and cool.

The Valley is subject to much the same weather as the rest of Newfoundland except that its location on the lower West Coast makes it subject to somewhat more severe winters under the

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influence of the cold continental climate of Northern Labrador and Quebec. In January, the Valley's mean temperature is 23° and temperatures of zero and below are seldom experienced. Snowfall has an approximate 80 to 90 inch mean, while rainfall averages 47 to 48 inches, being well distributed throughout the crucial months of the growing season, thus off-setting the cool night temperatures hostile to growth. For example, from June to September the rainfall averages 3.7 inches per month. On the other hand, it is sheltered from becoming a full marine climate by the effect of the Long Range Mountains that stand in the way of ocean effects. Invariably the weather is more humid and foggy, and the precipitation greater just south of Cape Ray and out of the shelter of these mountains.

The ice that locks in all of the Upper St. Lawrence reaches the Valley's shores by March. This clinging shore ice combines with strong winds to produce harsh, cold winds that keep a steady chill over the area for sometime. The ice breaks loose from the shore late in the season and snow ceases to fall only in May, so that spring is reduced to little more than a week or two of green shoots appearing under the melting snow in the last of May. Thus, summer comes in mid-June. In addition, a limited number of days of sunshine, a very short frost-free period (a little over a hundred days), and a July mean temperature of 62° act as limitations on vegetation.
Perhaps the most noticeable characteristic of the Valley’s climate is the frequency with which cyclonic storms attend the area (often as much as twice a week) and the force with which they occur. As these storms come up through the Valley or over the mountains, particularly from the southeast, they create a funneling effect that produces swirling winds which frequently reach 90 and 100 miles per hour. Storms often bring people together for as many as three or four days at a time, when one family may be "storm-stayed" (unable to return home) with another.

The loss of animals, and the damage done to property during these storms make them a regular subject of conversation. In fact, a large part of Valley conversation is weather-oriented: the rapid changes that catch individuals unprepared, the damaging storms and floods, the bogging mud of spring rains, excessive rain during summer crops, all make weather discussion a necessity rather than a social convenience.

Flora and Fauna

Although Newfoundland lies within the Boreal Forest region and is thus unfavorable for deciduous growth, the Valley constitutes something of a subregion. Here, well-drained areas produce the hardwoods, red maple and yellow birch, as well as the more common coniferous trees, white spruce and balsam fir. In swampy bottoms, alder and black spruce flourish, along with Labrador tea and sheep laurel. Trillium, violet, and wood-fern are also common. Pigeon-berry (*Cornus canadensis*), blueberry, bakeapple (*multerberry*),
partridge berry, and strawberry are common on the forest floor.

Moose (introduced into Newfoundland in 1908) are extremely common to the Valley, and caribou, though seldom seen away from the mountains, are found just a few miles away. The Arctic hare and the black bear, although once quite common, are now rare. Lynx are in abundance, particularly along the slopes above the north side of the Grand Codroy River where they feed on lambs grazing on the fields below. Various forms of ducks such as the king eider or the American eider are found, as well as the ptarmigan (willow grouse), once a far more plentiful bird in Newfoundland.

The Newfoundland cod, as elsewhere on the island, is quite plentiful. Lobster and caplin are also found along this coast, but the most important fish for this area is the salmon found in the two rivers. Salmon were once much more plentiful and the Valley gained a mild degree of sportsman's fame in earlier years, although a good number of these fish are still quite in evidence. Trout is also found in the Valley's rivers and lakes.

**Housing and Settlement**

When the Valley's settlers built houses they hugged the banks of the rivers or the shores of the Gulf. A few picked hilly rises from which to have a "view;" yet, they never strayed far from easy access to fishing and from their chief channel of transportation: in the warm seasons they travelled by boat and in the cold ones they rode across the ice on horse and sleigh. Each settler's land
ran back from his house and the water in long, narrow strips, in
the same pattern of settlement popular in 9th century France that
later spread to Germany and Holland. Although no central villages
were formed this way, each settler was able to stay close to his
work on the land and on the water, but at the same time to live
close to his neighbors along their common water frontage. In this
way proximity to others' work and habitations created settlement
with many village characteristics.

The first houses built in the Valley also reflected the style
of the settlers' European ancestors. Although most of these houses
are gone today, a few remain to indicate their nature. Among those
of lesser means, the log cabin, one or two room with open fireplace
and simple furniture, was the basic accommodation. Others, who had
achieved greater wealth in Nova Scotia or came directly from
England or France with the fisheries, built wooden two-storied
houses of a T-shaped plan, with high peaked eaves and sharply
sloping roofs, a house type not uncommon in Nova Scotia and in the
New England states. A bit of stained glass imported from London
sometimes trimmed a front window, and heat was provided by large
stone fireplaces located along the outside walls of the house.

The requirements of Newfoundland weather soon produced an
adaptive shift in houses to the "outport" style of Newfoundland:
one or two story square structures with flat or slightly peaked

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3See the "line village" in Allen D. Edwards, "Types of Rural
Communities," ed. Marvin B. Sussman, Community Structure and
roofs that permit easy access for springtime tarring or for chimney fires (virtually every house has a ladder on the roof for this purpose). Iron stoves and ovens replaced the fireplaces that allowed the heavy winds to blow fire and ashes into the room. While most houses now have both front and back doors, front doors are seldom used and many have no steps leading up to them. The door that faces away from the strong southeast winds is used for entry and it is here that are found small halls or outside shelters to keep winds and wet boots from inside the house. The houses that have been built in recent years face the roads, and some of the older houses were moved to the road from the river's edge by the use of winches and neighborhood "movins". Great care is taken to build houses within the shelter of a hill or clump of trees in order to reduce the effects of the wind. Again, some older houses have been moved to more secure positions.

The visitor enters a house through a back door that opens on to the kitchen. It is here that the guest is entertained. It is here, too, in the warmest part of the house, that one invariably finds the family gathered. The large iron cooking stove must be kept going all day in order to simultaneously assure a perpetually hot tea kettle and to provide the house with its main source of heat. A cupboard, a table, benches, a rocking chair, and a small bed make up the basic furnishings of this room. The visitor is always assured a seat near the fire in the rocking chair or on the bed. A pantry to the side of the kitchen completes the area within
which the family executes 90% of its waking day's indoor activities. Here the family will gather for a song or a yarn, to read the papers and to do school work, to watch a step dance, or to say the nightly rosary; here the sick lie rather than be separated from the family in a bedroom; the men gather here to talk over daily affairs, to drink home-brew or to play a game of cards.

The young child spends most of his first few years in the kitchen and he comes to know his family and his neighbors against its setting. He will meet and be met in a similar setting, and will always be close to the processes of daily family life in his and other's homes. The kitchen is the family's frame of reference and it is within it that the non-family member is measured and valued.

At Christmas, Easter, or at parties with large gatherings, the family and guests move to the sitting room where the household's best furniture is kept and where a fire will be lit in a large coal stove. Family heirloom dishes rest in a cupboard and the pictures of all near kin hang on the walls. The critical events of the family's past, the weddings, baptisms, confirmations, and first communions, are pictured here, and a family bible records them. Perpetual mass certificates recall the dead. A large, once-used battery radio is kept here now that its practical value is lost. If there are books, they are kept here, attesting to the family's achievements in another sphere, as do the musical instruments, the violin, organ, accordion, and sometimes the
bagpipes, that are found in virtually every home. This room, unlike the others, has a strong time dimension. Yet, it is time of the scrapbook variety, and this room is opened only as a scrapbook is opened: when ties with the past of the family are to be evoked.

A number of small bedrooms makes up the bulk of the rest of the house. Each of these is usually shared by two or three children, at least until they are old enough to begin work and live in a room of their own. These rooms are not heated and they do not encourage privacy during waking hours.

Throughout the house are the pictures of religious subjects that compete with calendars for wall space. Pictures of the favorite saints, St. Anne and St. Theresa, as well as pictures of the Virgin and the Pope are always seen. Each room is hung with some item of the faith for protection, although it may be no more than a home-made crucifix or a few pieces of last year's palms. Each family member's rosary hangs from the frame of the Sacred Heart, and small statues of the Holy Family are sometimes set with flowers in a small shelf display.

A fourth of the houses have indoor toilets, always found in conjunction with a bathtub and a wash basin, although tubs have not yet gained favor over basins for washing purposes. About three-fourths of all houses now have electricity, the power lines having been installed at the end of 1962. With the coming of power there has been an increasing number of electric washers, irons,
and freezers purchased, although about one-fourth of the houses had power by generator before 1962. Washing machines are owned by only a fifth of the households, but telephones and radios are owned by 90%.

Today, the Codroy Valley is divided into 14 settlements or "sections" as they are called. Although all of them lie within the territorial boundaries of St. Anne's Parish which has its center in Searston, in practice not all of these are seen by the inhabitants to be members of the Valley community. The exclusively Catholic settlements are South Branch, Coal Brook, Doyles, Tompkins, Upper Ferry, St. Andrew's, Searston, Loch Lomond, Millville, Great Codroy, and O'Regan's. Woodville, Codroy, and Cape Anguille are now largely Anglican although they were not always so. Channel, Port aux Basques, Cape Ray, Red Rocks and several other small settlements are also within the Parish's territory; they lie outside of the Valley and their small number of Catholic residents in effect relegate them to a different area of social life.

For the purposes of this study, the Parish will be considered to include only Doyles, Tompkins, Loch Lomond, Searston, St. Andrew's, Great Codroy, Millville, Upper Ferry, and O'Regan's. The reasons behind this choice are more than operational in nature: first, as mentioned above, these are the communities that are recognized by their inhabitants as members of the Codroy Valley (South Branch and Coal Brook, although related to the rest of the Valley through history of settlement and distant kinship, are geographically
distinct enough to be seen as a separate community.) This fact is emphasized by the presence of an independent cooperative store in this area; second, Codroy, Cape Anguille, and Woodville are largely non-Catholic and thus not tied to the rest of the parish; third, these latter settlements are not primarily engaged in the same economic activities as the rest of the Valley, i.e., farming, woods work, hunting and fishing guiding. Thus, I am defining the parish and the Codroy Valley simultaneously along economic, religious, and geographic lines. Hereafter, the parish and the Codroy Valley will be used interchangeably.

There are fewer than 1800 persons in the parish, and sections average 140 persons each, although there are some as small as 69 persons and others as large as 266. There are no obvious divisions between them, and only a few road signs distinguish one settlement from another. Still, most sections have a house that acts as a post office, and one or two small shops. All sections have their own schools (as they were divided in order to constitute school "districts"), and St. Andrew's and Searston each have a church served by a different priest. (South Branch and Port aux Basques have chapels, as did Codroy until its declining Catholic population necessitated it being torn down out of neglect.) The parish priest's home is located in Searston, as is a small branch library. The curate's home is near the river bridge in Great Codroy, as is the doctor's house which is provided by the Department of Health. Across the bridge in Upper Ferry
there is the new power plant for the area, and the Cooperative store and cold storage building.

The dirt roads between the sections offer access to all parts of the parish, and most persons are brought together on Sundays at one of the two churches; geographical and historical conditions have provided that, by and large, persons from St. Andrew's, Loch Lomond, and Tompkins (plus a few people from Port aux Basques, when weather allows them to drive) attend the St. Andrew's church, while all other sections are served by the Searston church.

Most persons do a small amount of shopping in the shops located in their sections, but travel weekly to three or four larger stores for regular supplies. Occasional trips to Port aux Basques or even Stephenville or Corner Brook offer unusual items or simple diversion, but most persons have not gone farther than the West Coast in their lifetimes. In the last thirty years, nevertheless, an increasing number of people have found work in larger cities, or even on the East Coast and the mainland of Canada. Children have left to attend distant schools on government grants, and even the existence of hospitals in the larger cities has had a great effect on the horizons of parish people. Since 1949, additionally, the extension of national services to the area have increased contact with welfare service employees, Royal Canadian Mounted Police, public health officials, teachers, politicians,

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4 The high incidence of tuberculosis on the island resulted in a large number of individuals spending several years in one of the island's two TB hospitals where they were exposed at close range to individuals from varied backgrounds. An interesting study could be made of the acculturative effect of these urban hospitals.
and government agriculturalists. All of these outside individuals, though some of them may live in the parish, maintain their allegiances to the outside, and hold themselves at a distance.
CHAPTER 2
SOCIAL HISTORY

Codroy Valley people are fond of recalling the life and ways of the "old people," the settlers of the Valley. They like to talk about how soft things are now as compared to the days when "them old pioneers come over from the mainland." And well they should know, for nearly every family has at least one member who knew a settler from his childhood and who can recite their sagas.

Despite the certainty of folk historians, the early history of this coast, and for that matter much of Newfoundland, is lost in the confusion that resulted from the number of countries that sent ships prowling the coasts in search of the island's key resource, the fish. Those historians, mostly English, who have undertaken the writing of Newfoundland history, usually begin by indicating that John Cabot discovered the island in 1497. Yet other peoples, notably the Basques, the Bretons, and the Channel Islanders, claim to have predated the English in Newfoundland.

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1Considerable use has been made here of G.O. Rothney, *Newfoundland: From International Fishery to Canadian Province* (Ottawa: Canadian Historical Association, 1959).
Indeed, considerable evidence exists for the claim that the Vikings, too, reached the island before the English, perhaps as early as 1000 A.D. At any rate, by 1550 the English and the Portuguese were using the banks of Newfoundland's Avalon Peninsula for drying fish, and Spain had begun to defend the Basque fishing fleet.

Although it is quite likely that French and Basque settlements existed very early in Newfoundland history, they went unrecognized by their mother countries. The English saw the official settlement of "Cupers Cove" (Cupids) by John Guy in 1610 as a sign of stability that could be claimed for the fisheries through colonization. Nevertheless, the English failed to protect the settlement from pirates or their own fishermen, as they failed to protect the later settlement of Sir George Calvert, attacked in the same area by the French.

Throughout the early years of Newfoundland settlement and fishing, two colonial interests were curiously at odds. On one hand the West Country merchants (of Dorset, Cornwall, Devon, and Somerset) saw the fisheries not only as the source of a great commodity for world trade, but also as providing a training ground for seamen and sea power. For these merchants settlement was a liability, as they wanted absolute control of the world cod market, not competition from settlers in a position of easy access to the fish. On the other hand, London merchants had been sending ships to buy fish to trade in Spain, and for them, settlers offered a
steady source of cod and at the same time a possible deterrent to foreign powers who sought to fish Newfoundland's shores. With the coming of Cromwell, Newfoundland settlers, now increasing rapidly, were ignored or actively discouraged.

Meanwhile, in 1662, the French fortified Plaisance (Placentia) in an effort to colonize southern Newfoundland and in turn to protect their fisheries and their route to Quebec. Charles II and James II did not dispute the French settlement rights along the southern shore of the island, nor their fishing rights along the western and northern shores. On two occasions between 1696 and 1705 the French raided the English coast and destroyed every settlement on the Avalon Penninsula. But the Glorious Revolution of 1688 and 1689 alienated the French and started an immigration of Irish to Newfoundland, a people who frequently found themselves fighting with the French against the English. By 1708, France was for all purposes in control of the island of Terreneuve.

But France had lost the battle on other shores, so that in 1713 the Treaty of Utrecht forced France to surrender Port Royal in Nova Scotia and Plaisance in Newfoundland, although it allowed them to maintain fishing rights on part of the coastline. After the defeat of Montreal by the English in 1760, however, the French withdrew to the islands of St. Pierre and Miquelon which they used as a base for their fishing vessels. In 1764 Governor Palliser attempted to restore the West Country fishing monopoly by excluding outside fishermen from the island. The treaties of 1783 nevertheless
restored French rights to the use of shorelines for fishing; their new rights allowed them the use of the coast from Cape St. John to Cape Ray: the North and West coasts. Although it was clear from the treaties that the French only held rights allowing them to fish along the "French Shore" and not to winter there or to build permanent structures, the French claimed more than the treaties allowed. They saw their fishing rights to be exclusive and that they were entitled to force English fishermen out of areas along the shore that they themselves desired; they felt, as well that the English did not have the right to erect permanent structures; and they felt that they had the right to prevent the English from pursuing various land activities here, such as farming, forestry, and mining.

Oddly enough, the English not only failed to dispute the French claims but even supplied English gunboats to protect French rights. Despite the controversy that arose over the French Shore, much the same attitude of French primacy continued until shortly before 1904. During this critical period of settlement, then, Newfoundland turned its face toward England, the sea, and the fish, while its West Coast, close to mainland Canada and more fertile and susceptible to agriculture, remained a formidable block to full settlement. Where people did settle along the shore they were subject to French harrassment, and were cut off from both England and Canada. They were without representation and, indeed, any form of recognition, as the gaps in Newfoundland histories indicate.
If English interests had made French Shore settlement unwise, a new form of Newfoundland interest on the East Coast found it equally so. The newly risen class of St. John's merchants had found the Avalon Peninsula to be the ideal location for them to carry out their business to the fullest profit: they were close to their sources of trade—England, Spain, and the West Indies—and they were near to the source of their product, the Grand Banks fisheries. It was to their benefit to keep the center of English settlement on the East Coast where they could control both the import of necessary goods and the export of Newfoundland's only product. Settlement on other coasts could only mean a dispersion of economic interests and the possibility of greater trading activity falling to the Canadians. Consequently, mercantile opposition to permanent habitation on the French Shore remained high for many years, keeping settlement to a minimum and fore-stalling mineral and agricultural development in Newfoundland for some time.

Despite the unstable condition of the Newfoundland colony and the frequent hostilities surrounding life there, settlement continued to increase, particularly on the East Coast. Settlement had been slow during the sixteenth century, but the Seven Years War and the French and the American Revolutions quickened the pace. The dangers involved in Ocean crossings during these wars made localized fishing more desirable. During the Napoleonic Wars, particularly, increased fish prices on the world market combined
with good fishing years to encourage immigration. Estimates of population growth have shown that the resident population increased from approximately 2,000 in the early 1700's to approximately 40,000 in 1815. In 1814 7,000 people officially immigrated to Newfoundland with another 4,000 coming in 1815. But the rate declined greatly as the number of ships coming annually to the island from Europe decreased and fishing operations came to depend on local fishermen.

The rapidly expanding population made it difficult for the English to ignore or to further discourage settlement. In 1817 a Governor for the first time wintered on the island, thus recognizing that Newfoundland was important to England for more than a summer fishery. Nevertheless, houses were still being destroyed and settlers deported to Ireland and Prince Edward Island in the name of the fishery enterprise until 1819 when it was ruled that Newfoundland settlers could properly hold private property.

Circuit courts and civilian judges replaced the old military law (carried out by admirals) in 1824, and in 1832 a system of representative government was set up whereby the island was governed by the Governor, his council (appointed by the English government), and an elected General Assembly.

By 1838 agitation had developed for Newfoundland’s full entry into the United Kingdom but the English were not ready to consider

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\(^2\)Province of Newfoundland, *Royal Commission on Agriculture*, p. 21. These figures are in all probability, conservative.
such a proposal. "Soon Newfoundland Liberals began to demand "responsible government,"—i.e., a Governor's advisory council chosen by the Governor with the approval of the General Assembly, and by 1855 this request was granted. The election of a Premier marked the end of direct English rule in Newfoundland.

From 1864 to 1949 Newfoundland was to debate the issue of whether or not to confederate with Canada. Until 1904 and France's surrender of her rights on the north and west coasts of the island, the West Coast acted as a deterrent to Confederation. The shore closest to the Canadian mainland was officially without inhabitants and without regular communication to the East coast, which was strongly linked to England historically and economically.

But with or without recognition, settlement of the west coast occurred. The earliest recorded observation of habitation was made by a Captain Taverner who in 1734 discovered a small group of French settlers near Cape Ray. This group was undoubtedly one of a number who left the Chinecto area of Nova Scotia in fear of English control following the Treaty of Utrecht in 1713. The French of this area had intermarried extensively with the MicMac Indians, a tribe hostile to the English, so that when the English took over Nova Scotia the Indians feared the consequences as much or more than the Acadians. Oral history has preserved a picture

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4Ibid., Number 4, pp. 4-5.
of this early Acadian migration as being composed of a number of small fishing boats\(^5\) that travelled through the Northumberland Straits to Cape Breton, the Magdalene Islands, to the West Coast of Newfoundland, still protected by French fishing rights. Some obviously stopped at Cape Ray and the Codroy Valley, but many others went on up the coast to other rivers and coves: Bank Head, Flat Bay, St. George's, Shallop Cove, Stephenville, Port aux Port, Bay of Islands, Bonne Bay, and further on to the Straits of Belle Isle and Labrador. During the expulsion of Acadians from Nova Scotia in 1755 more French must have come to Newfoundland, but it is felt that not so many came to the West Coast.

Settlement at this time was lonely and scattered. Captain Taverner reported that the small group he discovered at Cape Ray had very little contact with the outside world at all, and did their only trading annually with the French fishing fleet, or with an occasional passing ship.\(^6\) The family history of one of the first non-French families to settle in the Codroy Valley sets their arrival at approximately 1760\(^7\) and records the fact that aside from the usual yearly group of French fishermen curing their fish on Codroy Island, there were few other people in the area

\(^5\)Ibid., p. 4. In an attempt to stop the Acadian migration, the new English governor of Nova Scotia forbid the purchase of rigging, sails, and provisions, but was not able to prevent their exodus in small boats.

\(^6\)Ibid., pp. 5-6.

\(^7\)A few remaining gravestones in fact mark at least two of the members of this family as living in the Valley 1767.
besides a group of "Indians" living on a hill on the north side of the Grand Codroy River, who were engaged in a small amount of agriculture and fishing, but lived primarily by hunting. A similar sparsity of settlers at the time was reported by W.E. Cormack, who travelled about the island in 1822, and who indicated that there were five families living at Codroy, five families (28 persons) at what is now Searston, ten Indian families along the Great Codroy River, and two families (17 persons) along the Little Codroy River. Cormack remarked of these early settlers:

The residents of Codroy, and those at the river, with the exception of Parsons [a family in Codroy], and one or two others recently settled there for the sake of the cod fishing, are extremely ignorant and indolent, differing in these respects from the rest of the inhabitants of St. George's Bay.\(^8\)

However, the period of 1825-1845 apparently saw a large influx of settlers from Cape Breton Island, for the population of the entire West Coast was increased substantially by Acadian, Scots, and Irish Catholics, as well as by English Protestants during this period. Most of the early Protestant settlers along the two rivers of the Valley had become Catholics by the turn of the century (particularly after the coming of a priest) and only those in the Protestant fishing village of Codroy did not join in this movement

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\(^8\)W.E. Cormack, *Narrative of a Journey Across the Island of Newfoundland in 1822* (London: Longman, Green, and Co., Ltd., 1928), p. 100. A descendant of one of the first settlers of the Valley remarked of this passage from Cormack: "You'd look 'indolent' too, if some fella came sailing up in fancy clothes!"
towards conversion. Anglican Bishop Edward Field, visiting the Valley in 1849, indicated that:

a more wretched set of people could hardly, I think, be found—the houses dirty and desolate; the inhabitants ignorant and careless to the last degree. The men were indeed strong, and the females robust and handsome, both evidently well-fed; but it was with some difficulty we could get any word from them, and they regarded us and our purpose with stupid indifference.9

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The history of the lower half of the West Coast and particularly of the Codroy Valley from 1850 on was, to a great extent, the history of its Roman Catholic priests. The deep involvement of the clergy in the development of this area is reflected in the extensive records they kept and by the habit of most Valley people to refer events to the context of the Parish priest serving at the time.10

Although priests had very occasionally visited the West Coast as part of their duties as travelling missionaries, no Catholic clergy were in residence until Father Alexis Belanger became based in Sandy Point, some 55 miles northeast of the Valley, in 1850.

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10Most of this section follows George Boyle, Pioneer in Purple (Montreal: Palm Publishers, 1951); Rev. Michael Brosnan, The Pioneer History of St. George's Diocese, Newfoundland (Toronto: Mission Press, 1948); and interviews with the priests and people of St. George's Diocese, and St. Anne's Parish in particular.
His visits to the Valley were few at first, but they increased as the population of this area swelled with the spread of its reputation in Cape Breton, Nova Scotia. The West Coast of Newfoundland held great appeal for latecomers among Nova Scotia immigrants from England and Scotland and unsettled Acadians who sought free land and an escape from taxation.

By now it had become apparent that English was to be the *lingua franca* of the mixed settlers of this area, for now there were speakers of Acadian French, English, Scottish and Irish Gaelic, and MicMac. Thus, the next priest appointed to this area was English-speaking Monsignor Thomas Sears, from Kerry, Ireland. Earlier the Monsignor had been rector of Pictou, Guysboro, and Mulgrave, Nova Scotia. By 1870 the developing centers of population on the West Coast were the Codroy Valley, Sandy Point and the surrounding area of Bay St. George, Bay of Islands, and Bonne Bay, so as the only priest on the coast, Monsignor Sears divided his time between the various settlements, although it is evident that he increasingly spent more and more time in the Valley as he received additional help from other priests.

The early priests were disturbed by the fact that Catholic settlers on this coast had gone unattended for some years. On the other hand, 4 or 5 Anglican ministers had been in this area for some time, the Anglican Bishop even owning a "Church ship," and conversions to Anglicanism had been high: in Port aux Basques, for example, the whole town of merchants and sailors from the West of France had changed faiths as well as language.
The Monsignor was also bothered by the failure of the Newfoundland government to recognize settlement on the West Coast and the consequent lack of civil authority in this area. In 1872, he notes, there was no representative to government, no governmental provision for education, no civil law, no roads, carriages, or wheeled vehicles, and no mail service. The Valley was, for most purposes, cut off from the rest of the world, or for that matter, from the other shores of Newfoundland except by the sea. However, the two river mouths were partially blocked by sand bars so that a rough sea or a storm could easily beach a ship, or at least keep it in the river for several days.

A worse worry, perhaps, was the French ships legally using the shore for fishing, as French war ships regularly interfered with the "squatters" daily lives. In 1880 a St. John's newspaper published accounts from the Report of Captain Miller of H.M.S. Sirius of the Fishery Protection Service, giving examples of French abuses: salmon caught by settlers was taken away from them; wood was cut from the inhabitants' land; and the French fishermen drying their fish on the shores in the summers had repeatedly threatened the permanent dwellers.

After 1867 when Nova Scotia joined the Canadian Confederation, there was another surge of settlement from Cape Breton, again motivated by the promise of free land and no taxation. This second wave of settlers was largely made up of Scots from Inverness and Margaree and French from Cheticamp, both areas on the West Coast
of Cape Breton Island. Land grew more and more scarce with the increase in population, and if there had been ethnic differences and hostilities before, proximity made them worse. By now there were a few English Protestants direct from England, Scots from Nova Scotia, Irish from the East Coast of Newfoundland and from Nova Scotia, and French Acadians and MicMac Indians from Nova Scotia. Hostilities were particularly intense between the Scots and the French, the last settlers coming to the area in this period, for they were thrown together in a scramble for land in the Little River Area (now Tompkins and St. Andrew's).

The lore of Valley people is particularly rich with tales of fierce French-Scots conflicts that continued until shortly after 1900. Both groups had come from an area of Nova Scotia where they had been strictly segregated. Here, the Scots remained resistant to intermarriage with the French for many years (although marriage occurred in increasing numbers), labeling the French "Jack-o-Tars," a synonym for half-breeds. Under this pressure, the French language gave away quickly, and French names were Anglicized: Aucoin changed to O'Quinn, Benoit to Bennett, Brussard to Bruce, and LeBlanc to White. The few Indians, although treated more or less cordially, were feared for their potential of witchcraft, and several tales still remain of incidents of witching

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As did Gaelic, although at a much later date. Gaelic was still being learned as an exclusive language by some Scots children as late as 1925.
done in the lifetime of the tellers. Other than a small degree of marriage with the French, the Indians did not marry with the Valley settlers, and by the 1930's all but a few were dead from tuberculosis.

Despite these ethnic differences, common church membership acted to pull all members into a common parish relationship. The parish priest, in such a plural setting, pulled together the diverse elements of the community through his role as educator, and political and spiritual leader. Such efforts as church-organized communal work forces to build churches and school, mutual aid efforts run by the priest, community fishing days where all catches went to the church, and "public penance" reflect the centripetal force created by a common church and priest. The latter's integrative function became particularly apparent in later years when he was called upon to perform "secret" marriages between mixed Scots and French couples.

Life in the Codroy Valley between 1870-1890 is revealed in Monsignor Sears' communications and letters of this period. In his "Report on the State of the Mission" sent to Pope Leo XIII in 1881, his role in social affairs is made very clear: "It is true

\[12\] The small group of English Protestants tended to withdraw in the village of Codroy or in little groups on the north side of the Grand Codroy River near Codroy.

\[13\] On committing certain sins that the priest judged to be particularly offensive or disruptive to the parish, the individual was accused of the sin by the priest during Sunday mass, and the penitent was forced to face the parish as he did penance.
that when a question of a mere political nature agitates the public mind, it is more dignified in the minister of religion to stand aloof," but, he goes on to say, that it is impossible to stay out of civil affairs in a country like Newfoundland, where authorities do not concern themselves with the problems of their people. He goes on to talk of the problems of isolation and of French interference, and compares life on the West Coast to that of California, with its heterogeneous population, before civil authority. A letter to the Hon. W.J. Donnelly in 1879 suggests the degree to which the Monsignor pressed the government in St. John's for action. In it he argued that the West Coast had been taxed unfairly in its trade with other colonies (particularly parts of Canada, Quebec and Nova Scotia, and the West Indies, trading centers close to that coast, but objected to by St. John's merchants), and that it was done without representation; he particularly referred to an earlier letter of Mr. Donnelly's in which it had been remarked that the "legislature looks upon money expended on this coast as money thrown away."

The Monsignor had pressed the postmaster in St. John's as early as 1869 for mail service, and in 1872 some mail was provided to the coast. The telegraph was extended to the west in 1878, at the same time as the first court house was set up at St. George's. The Monsignor welcomed the first magistrate, Commander Howorth, 14

14 Brosnan, Pioneer History.
to the coast. In 1881, Sir Frederick Carter, Premier, announced that the Newfoundland government was now authorized to make grants of land on the French Shore, thus officially opening up settlement. At the same time, he ordered that the West Coast's residents were now to elect two representatives to the House of Assembly.

With full representation, the West Coast was eligible for government grants for development, and one of the first of these was money for road building. The Codroy Valley elected Monsignor Sears to act as the Road Board for the parish, and to administer the funds as they became available. Nevertheless, he asked for and got free labor to build and maintain roads through the Valley, a fact which was lauded in the House of Assembly in 1884 as unique in Newfoundland. The Monsignor asked that in return for the savings incurred through voluntary labor, the money could be applied to the building of a road from the Valley to Port aux Basques, but this road was not built until the 1950's. By 1885, however, all parts of the Valley were connected by roads.

By letters to newspapers, articles, and lectures, Monsignor Sears argued first for civil recognition of the Valley and then for opening it up to the rest of the island and the world.

In efforts toward agricultural development, Monsignor Sears sought to instigate a four-point plan: (1) to have passed a suitable statute labor law; (2) to bring in immigrants from agricultural communities to inspire greater development of agriculture; (3) to build a road from Port aux Basques to Notre
Dame Bay, thus opening the whole coast to agricultural trade; and (4) to institute a boat line between Sydney, N.S. and Port aux Basques. In these efforts the Monsignor sought to develop large-scale farming by encouraging Admiral C.G. Fane to apply for a large tract of land in the Valley, and by asking the Bishop of Argyll and the Isles to recommend the Valley to Scottish immigrants. Another plan sought to have the estuary of the Grand Codroy River dredged, as it was rapidly silting closed. By assuring the usefulness of the river and by opening a road to Port aux Basques, the Valley would have a means of carrying on continuous trade with the fishing settlements on the Southwest Coast of Newfoundland and on St. Pierre and Miquelon, as these areas were becoming increasingly important for agricultural trade.

During the first of Monsignor Sears' years in the Valley men had occupied themselves largely with a small amount of subsistence fishing and farming, trading just enough to supply outside goods. Gradually, however, a certain amount of sailing activity developed as a number of sailors settled into the area. Small ships were built and captained by a few local men from Great Codroy and Codroy. These captains came to supply a regular means of transporting agricultural products for trade to St. Pierre and to the Southwest Coast of Newfoundland, acting as importers and exporters through such ports as Ramea, St. Pierre, and Port aux Basques. A growing amount of sealing activity and trips to the herring fishery in Bay of Islands also occupied these boats.
With governmental recognition of settlement, several merchants from the East and South Coasts set up shops at the two points of the Valley easily reached by the sea, the "Gut" on the south side of the Grand Codroy River's mouth and at Codroy. A small seal processing plant appeared along the coast and the Valley began to show considerable production both in agricultural trade and in fish products. The newly appointed Bishop of the diocese had a small lumber mill built at the Gut to develop new industry. By 1894 the Valley was considered economically important enough to list the names of its adult males in an East Coast business directory. This same directory illustrates the amount of specialization now apparent: it lists nine merchants and shopkeepers, a surveyor, three carpenters, three captains, and a blacksmith, in addition to the large number of farmer-fishermen.

In 1897 the railway from St. John's had been put through to Port aux Basques, cutting across the eastern edge of the Valley and moving down the Little Codroy River and then on down the coast. Transportation was now available to virtually all parts of the island but the South Coast, and connections were available to ships going to other parts of the world. At the same time, the Valley gained telegraph service and a Justice of the Peace was appointed for the area.

The railway brought a number of unexpected changes. First, a number of new families moved into the area to direct maintenance of the line, and they became some of the first people not dependent
upon agricultural production or fishing. A few jobs also opened up for local men as wage-laborers on the line. Secondly, the railway made it easier to get in or out of the Valley, so that on the one hand some left to return to Cape Breton and possibly go on to New England, while on the other, overcrowding in the next Catholic settlements north of the Valley—the Highlands and St. David's—caused a number of people to move south and to take up some of the uncleared, unclaimed land furthest inland from the Valley's coast: the land that was the last choice of the earliest settlers (who wanted to mix farming and fishing).

At just the time that the Valley was becoming too densely populated to support itself by subsistence techniques, several events eased the pressures. In 1905 the Anglo-Newfoundland Development Corporation began to manufacture paper in Grand Falls, simultaneously adding new markets for agricultural products, and drawing a few young people away as laborers. At the same time a significant development for the Valley was the revitalization of the coal and iron ore mines in Sydney, N.S. Many contacts had been maintained with family and friends in Cape Breton, and to a few this offered an opportunity to escape the disappointments of their new lives in Newfoundland and to return home. To many more, however, it was a means of making a living where not enough land was available to be divided among a number of sons. World War I served much the same purpose for a few others.
Another means of escaping landlessness was presented between 1910 and 1920 when a number of families—perhaps 20 or so—moved up the river along the railway to South Branch, the only other piece of interval land still available at this end of the island. Thus was created the familiar situation of "hiving-off" known in expanding agricultural areas.

After Monsignor Sears' death in 1885, a number of priests spent periods of time in the Valley, but it was a cousin of the Monsignor's, Father Andrew Sears (later a Monsignor himself), who spent the longest period in the Valley, from the first decade of the 1900's to his death in 1944. If under the first Monsignor Sears' tenure the parish had been characterized by a tendency towards centrality and homogeneity, the second Monsignor sought to subdivide the parish into a number of locality groupings—"sections"—which he gave names, and encouraged them to develop a sense of competition in affairs of community interest. He built schools in each section and apparently planned a church or a chapel in each.¹⁵ School "committees" were formed as the locus for these local groups, and religious, educational and leisure activities tended to center within the school building. These neighborhood units were to form the basis of almost all future common-interest

¹⁵See Chapter VI.
activities in the parish, from the popular card parties to credit
unions.

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Concern had been shown for some time over the single-product
basis of Newfoundland’s economy, the fisheries, and the building
of the railroad in 1881 opened the way for mining and timber
operations, but these efforts were not enough to stave off the
economic crisis brought on by the Great Depression of the 1930’s.
In the face of possible total economic collapse, the General Assembly
voted in 1933 to suspend self-government, placing the island under
a Commission of Government appointed by and responsible to the Crown.

The transfer of pulp interests on the West Coast in 1937 to
the Bowaters firm marked the beginning of a long period of increasing
prosperity in the woods industry. In addition, the advent of World
War II and the subsequent leasing of land rights to the United States
for military bases added to the trend toward general economic welfare.
For several areas of Newfoundland, particularly, wage labor
opportunities, as well as job training programs for skilled and
semi-skilled labor were now available.

In 1946 a convention was convened to examine the choices
available in forms of government: their recommendations were
offered to the people of Newfoundland in a referendum, and in 1948,
the pull of England was still strong. But in December of 1948,
the confederation agreement was signed in Ottawa, and Joseph
Smallwood, a leading figure in Newfoundland politics for some
time and an outstanding proponent of Confederation, was made Premier. He and his Liberal government have remained in power steadily since that date, and show no signs of weakening their very large majority hold.

Under Confederation, Newfoundland became deeply involved with Canada's rising post-war prosperity, and immediately benefited from a number of Canada's national policies. Of greatest effect to the people themselves were unemployment insurance, old age security, and family allowances, as well as a much expanded health and welfare scheme. Canadian National Railway, Trans-Canada Airlines, the Canadian Broadcasting System, Canadian National Telegraph, and numerous other national services now came into effect not only to reduce the isolation of individual areas on the island, but also to unite Canada "from sea to sea." With this unity, too, came Canadian customs and tariff operations, new shipping and transport and communication laws, taxes, and subsidies. St. John's merchants who once held a substantial monopoly on certain kinds of goods and their distribution were now under heavy competition with mainland mail-order houses and distributors. Agricultural products, which had for some time enjoyed protective tariffs, now faced the threat of Canada's lower prices, and in many cases, much higher quality and inspection standards.

Throughout the important period of change after the 1930's the Valley came fully under the influence of a number of national
and international forces that heretofore had been of no consequence. First rising with the tide of a new prosperity, and then levelled again by the forces of new competition after confederation, it moved closer and closer towards involvement in the larger world.
CHAPTER III
ECONOMIC AFFAIRS

Until the mid-1930's agriculture and fishing provided both the products for home consumption and for exchange with merchants. The Codroy Valley was one of the few areas of Newfoundland where such diversity of economic activity might have occurred. Chiefly for this reason, Valley people never suffered, as did most of the island, the serious crises brought on by the fall of the world fish market in the depression of the 1930's. In fact, the "dole," so important to Newfoundland in this period, was never of significant consequence to the parish.

Fishing was carried on exclusively by men, and was effected by three methods: (1) Labrador—schooners of 10 or 20 men who travelled to the Labrador for fish; (2) Bank—banking vessels of approximately 20 men travelled to the Grand Banks off the southeast coast of the island; (3) Shore—fishing carried on close to the shores of the individual fishermen's home. Although some

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1 The following section is largely drawn from Parzival Copes, St. John's and Newfoundland: An Economic Survey (St. John's: Newfoundland Board of Trade, 1961); Great Britain, Newfoundland Royal Commission 1933 Report (London: H.M. Stationary Office, 1933); Province of Newfoundland, Report of the Royal Commission on Agriculture (St. John's: Queen's Printer, 1956).
shipbuilding was done in the Valley, and several men were noted as captains of Labrador fishing vessels, the largest part of the fishing was done by men working along the shore. In addition, considerable fishing was done in the two rivers of the Valley, particularly as salmon was in abundance.

Fishing was done by means of hand lines lowered from dories (although a few gill nets were used). Men worked alone with their sons, occasionally with a brother, less frequently with a friend. The men fished on all good weather days, except Sundays, between June and September.

Farming was at times a family activity, at other times, women's work. In late May the whole family participated in the preparation of land for planting. Several possibilities existed. In order to simultaneously clear and use land, some would burn a wooded area, and form mounds of ashes and top soil, placing several seeds in each mound. After several years the rotted, charred stumps could easily be removed and the fields used in a second manner. The alternative method involved plowing (with a wooden plow) or digging up beds 3 feet wide and 50 feet long, using manure on the top. With such methods corn, buckwheat, barley, and oats, but mostly potatoes, cabbage, carrots, and turnips were grown. Throughout the growing season women, girls, and boys tended the crops, as well as the goats, sheep, and cattle. Women also harvested, but were helped by the rest of the family, particularly in the digging of root crops and in haymaking, times in which speed was a factor.
Families often shared farm implements with other families in a section and within kindreds, and occasionally a son or a daughter might be loaned for haymaking, particularly if the borrower was a small family, an older childless couple or a bachelor. Considerable cooperative labor occurred also within and between sections in such affairs as wool millings, wood cuttings (called "sprees"), or house moving. Individual calamities (deaths of critical male members, serious illness, or fire or wind damage) were also aided by cooperative effort. Shared inter-familial work efforts were seen as social events, not as work, and were marked by considerable anticipation. Music, dancing, alcoholic beverages, and games invariably were a part of such affairs.

From the 1870's forward, mercantile activity was important to the Valley, most of the "outside" trade before this time being carried on by exchange with passing ships and fishermen. However, before the 1930's the number of consumer goods required were few; the home supplied all clothing, most grains, and all vegetables. Nevertheless, fishing equipment, seeds, yeast, salt, molasses, malt, medicines, spices, and tools were needed in some quantity.

By 1894 there were nine merchants or agents of merchants from Port aux Basques and St. John's in the Valley, although four of these were located in the village of Codroy. Because of the greater distance to Codroy, and because of the social distance created by a different religion there, most parish people dealt with the five merchants at Searston, or later, with the new
merchant who located at St. Andrew's to take advantage of the new railway stop there.²

Merchants usually owned boats or aligned themselves with owners and shipped both fish and produce to distant ports. Some of the more far reaching merchants carried agricultural goods from the Valley to the southern coast of Newfoundland where they funneled them through their local outlets in that isolated and barren part of the island. In this way, all parts of the distributive system were controlled by the merchant, including pricing, quantity, and medium of exchange.

Both agricultural products and fish were brought to a merchant for exchange, but never for cash, and before the 1930's money was consequently not generally in circulation. Each spring a man approached a merchant in order to obtain an "outfit" on credit—the necessary supplies to begin fishing or farming. Theoretically, a man could take his catch or crop to any merchant and then pay his original "outfitter" in cash. But things never worked out this way. Merchants were loath to give cash in any exchange, knowing that money freed the man from any further ties with the merchant. Even more important though was the fact that it was a dangerous practice to switch merchants in mid-season, and one that was often punished by the merchants' refusal to deal with such individuals, for fear of their threat.

²All merchants had previously located at one of the two shore points for ease of access to the sea trade and shipping routes, but the railway set up a movement away from the water which many years later resulted in several merchants locating on the highway. Consequently, throughout the Valley's history the mercantile trade, the centers of parish interaction, has moved from west to east, from sea to rail to road.
At the end of the fishing season, dried and cured fish were taken to the merchant to be sorted, weighed and appraised, and then credit applied to the fishermen's account. The balance of credit was the basis upon which winter and spring supplies were provided. If the catch should be bad, the fishermen moved further in debt. Most merchants "carried" debtors on the books from year to year, but as government relief became available, increasingly the practice became one of forcing the client to turn to the government for relief.

Since agricultural products, particularly root crops, butter, milk, eggs, and meat, were produced more regularly and could be counted on as year-round source of trade, the merchant-fisherman system did not operate in such a rigid manner in the Valley as it did in most of the rest of Newfoundland. Agricultural activity helped to diffuse the rigid effects of the fishing cycle not only by assuring somewhat regular production, but also (since agricultural goods could be traded at irregular intervals) by putting producers on a more individual basis vis a vis the merchant than did fishing, which brought all men together at the merchants' at a single season of the year. In addition, the steady production of agriculture assured a more regular and stronger subsistence basis. Valley people are well aware that the abundance of fish and game combined with agriculture to give them a better-than-average standard of living for Newfoundland.

The close inter-dependence of merchants and farmer-fishermen, and the non-cash basis of their exchanges, implied a personalized
relationship that was not completely different from the other forms of interpersonal relationships in the parish. Despite the fact that equality as such was never an issue in their relations, the merchant and his client were nonetheless aware that they were involved in a relationship with a high degree of self-involvement. In one sense, particularly, was this relationship similar to others of their understanding: the question of balance. Although it was clear to all parties that one person eventually exerted more authority in the merchant-client relationship than the other, balance was not unimportant. Yet, ambiguity resulted from the fact that it was impossible to tell when a "true" balance had been struck in the exchange because of the complexity of the mercantile system. The client was always either in debt to the merchant or drawing on his credit. Lacking the medium of exchange to break loose from these ties, the client was perpetually in alliance with some merchant. Since the client lacked the critical information on market prices in the outside world he was never able to tell whether he was receiving fair exchange for his products or whether he was paying too much for the goods he got in exchange. Just where he stood in relation to the merchant was never fully clear to him, and, one suspects, neither was it always clear to the merchant. The essence of the relationship was that the merchant would continue to provide the necessary products of the outside

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world if the client continued to provide fish and produce: the accounting was quite secondary and more a symbol of the necessity of the relationship than a determiner of it. This relationship, persisted in part because of this ambiguity, rather than in spite of it. The difficulties involved in "untangling" a merchant's and a client's obligations after a few years of dealing was not an easy matter, and the security gained in continuing the relationship in part compensated for other losses to the individual.

* * *

Before proceeding to an analysis of parish economics, it is wise to ask what is the best manner in which to attempt this.

It is fortunate that in the last decade there has been a considerable evaluation of the application of economic analysis to non-industrialized societies. The results of this new look have been quite fruitful in that they have shown that traditional economic theory is totally inapplicable to some forms of societies. Price and distribution theory, as largely developed in the 19th century, have been shown to be derived from one very special kind of economic adaptation: the Market. If such a model is applied to a primitive or a peasant society, the result is, not surprisingly, a picture of a rather child-like Economic Man. Despite the fact that Thurnwald and Malinowski[^4] showed the inapplicability of such models long ago, progress has been slow.

It was the work of Karl Polanyi\textsuperscript{5} that broke the mold and forced anthropologists to abandon traditional assumptions and look again. The anthropological implications of Polanyi's work became apparent with the publication of \textit{Trade and Market in the Early Empires}.\textsuperscript{6} Here, Polanyi's view was demonstrated that at least three patterns of socio-economic integration can be found in known societies: reciprocity, redistribution, and market exchange. One or the other tends to dominate in a given society, but they are not mutually exclusive. Each form operates through a specific variety of institutions that articulates economic behavior with the rest of the society.

Where reciprocity is ascendant as a socio-economic integrator, institutional patterns of symmetry are found, as in the classical duality of tribal moieties. Redistribution, on the other hand, is characterized by centricity, as in a system of taxation, or in the redistribution of game by a chief after a hunt. In reciprocal and redistributional systems, symmetry and centricity carry much of the weight of adjusting and directing behavior:

As long as social organization runs in its ruts, no individual economic motives need come into play; no


shirking of personal effort need be feared; division of labor will automatically be ensured; economic obligations will be duly discharged; and, above all, festivals will be provided. In such a community the idea of profit is barred; haggling and haggling is decried; giving freely is acclaimed as a virtue; the supposed propensity to barter, truck, and exchange does not appear. The economic system is, in effect, a mere function of social organization.\(^7\)

Market exchange, on the other hand, is characterized by the existence of the Market itself:

A self-regulating market demands nothing less than the institutional separation of society into an economic and political sphere. Such a dichotomy is, in effect, merely the restatement, from the point of view of society as a whole, of the existence of a self-regulating market. It might be argued that the separateness of the two spheres obtains in every type of society in all times. Such an inference, however, would be based on a fallacy. True, no society can exist without a system of some kind which ensures order in the production and distribution of goods. But that does not imply the existence of separate economic institutions; normally, the economic order is merely a function of the social, in which it is contained. Neither under tribal, nor feudal, nor mercantile conditions was there, as we have shown, a separate economic system in society. Nineteenth century society, in which economic activity was isolated and imputed to a distinctive economic motive, was indeed, a singular departure.\(^8\)

The market pattern defines truck and barter as basic directives to social and economic behavior, and the Market as the specific institution relating these motives.

Instead of economy being embedded in social relations, social relations are embedded in the economic system.

\(^7\)Polanyi, *The Great Transformation*, p. 49.

\(^8\)Ibid., p. 71.
The vital importance of the economic factor to the existence of society precludes any other result. For once the economic system is organized in separate institutions, based on specific motives and conferring a special status, society must be shaped in such a manner as to allow that system to function according to its own laws. This is the meaning of the familiar assertion that a market economy can function only in a market economy.9

Reciprocity and redistribution have been found historically more often than market exchange, but the appearance of the World Market since the 19th century has had such a dominating effect that it often gives the appearance of being universal and basic to human society. It should also be noted that materials aiding the operation of the Market (such as money, market places, and prices) need not be seen as limited to this late form of socio-economic integration: in each system they may function differently.

Informed of these distinctions, it is useful to look at shifts in parish modes of economic behavior, particularly as such marginal, but yet historically critical areas as Newfoundland have themselves been especially affected by the economic changes of the 19th and 20th centuries. It is well to remember that Newfoundland's situation is only the result of European economic pressures and demands.

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It will be seen10 that in the parish interpersonal relations within the section are ruled by attempts at balance and equality

9Ibid., p. 57.

10Chapter V.
between individuals. To "take advantage" consciously and manipulate others is viewed with great repugnance. Instead all social relationships are viewed as requiring balance and reciprocity. As all social units in the section (individuals and nuclear families) are seen as equal, symmetry is thus implied. At the same time, all transactions of goods and services within this sphere of social organization are seen as a part of social life in general: the "economic is embedded in the social." The pattern of socio-economic integration thus characterizing this level of parish society is that of reciprocity.

The reciprocal exchange of social services and statuses can be seen in the norm requiring the selection of non-kin godparents from within the section. This enclosure of relations ensures that each family will be tied together with all others in a like manner. By the same token, the related section "rule" of exogamy prevents the possibility of either natural or social resources being massed in an unequal fashion. Without such a rule, lands could be collected through the marriage ties of two or more families, to say nothing of the social cliques that would be formed if some families were connected by marriage and not others.

Concomitant with reciprocity on the local level is a consciousness of limitations of expansion, or what Foster has called the "image of limited good," leading to a conception of a

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11 See Chapter IV, "The Family."

"static economy." Under this conception, goods and resources available to local persons are seen as more or less fixed, and expansion as unnatural. In this manner, one person sees another's gains as his losses.

Reciprocal behavior is not limited to intra-village affairs, and the tendency has been always to extend reciprocity to all other Valley people. Yet, it is also true that ties with others outside of the village were not as frequent or as intense as those within. The obvious exception to this observation occurs where marriage expands the kindred to include affines of another community. Here godparent ties and certainly reciprocity are offered across section lines.

While it is true that individuals are integrated by reciprocal ties, the parish as a whole must be seen as integrated in a different socio-economic fashion. Not only must we account for inter-village ties that are non-reciprocal, but also for linkages between the class of outsiders-in-residence and the locals. In the examination of these parish-wide links, the merchant's role takes on obvious key importance in organization. He is a central figure in the disposition of locally produced goods and the distributor of consumer


14See Chapter V, for further development of this point.
goods from the outside. Outside of the church itself, his place of business is a center of dense interaction and the key meeting place of members of different sections across the parish. But to assess properly the merchant's function it is first necessary to shed Western economic-political terminology that would reckon such a relationship of merchant-client as "feudal," "exploitive," productive of "class conflict," etc. Instead of asking (as do these terms) what damage is done by such a relationship, why not ask what functions it performs? Instead of expressing its limitations in terms of Western developmental terms, implicitly suggesting limitations, why not ask why it has persisted so long?

What strikes the observer immediately is that the mercantile system (called the "credit system" in Newfoundland governmental literature), despite the widespread complaints of government, foreign observers, and the fishermen themselves, was in fact not protested strongly by the fishermen. To be sure, prices and individual arrangements were often vehemently protested, but the system itself tended to persist unquestioned. Sir Wilfred Grenfell, a strong critic of the system, indicates the people's acceptance in the following:

The ubiquitous barter system which always left the poor man the worst end of the bargain, is as subtle a danger as can face a community--subtle because it impoverishes and enslaves the victims, and makes them love their chains.\(^5\)

The Royal Commission Report of 1933 also indicates the nature of the desire to keep the system of mercantile support in operation, and gives a hint of why it tends to persist un resisted:

The credit system thus came to be accepted as an essential element in the conduct of the fishery. Very few men today, even if they were in a position to achieve independence, would dream of outfitting themselves on a cash basis although their supplies would be obtained much more cheaply. The great majority would regard any such procedure as speculating with their own hard-earned money. . .

The unwillingness of fishermen to become involved in fish marketing activities because of fear of risk kept the merchant functioning in his capacity. The merchant thus acted as a buffer against the economic fluctuations of the outside world. By undertaking the marketing of local production and at the same time guaranteeing a minimum "income" (in the form of necessities) the merchant levelled the effects of the rising and falling world market for fish. If the market fell below normal and the demand for fish fell off, fishermen could always go back to subsistence activities of fishing and farming. With the merchant carrying the weight of investment on the market, the fisherman was not committed in such a way as to lose a great deal. But, by the same token, the merchant's fear of losing on the market forced him to attempt to keep the fisherman-farmer at a minimal level of production so as not to risk loss of capital in a market drop. Like the patrons of Mexican peasants, merchants offered a modicum of economic

security, but also provided other critical functions not available to local peoples. By immediately "purchasing" fish or farm produce they removed the concern over storage, a most important matter in Newfoundland's changeable climate. As storekeepers, merchants were able to keep on hand a quantity of goods not available to people of lesser resources in the local area.

From the peasant's point of view, ownership of land, resting in the hands of nuclear families, allowed for an easy response to changes in demand. Marginal land and simple technology assured that capital investment would be small (and losses, similarly), and expansion of productivity, slow and cautious. In a social group at this stage of technology, standardization of level is sought, not continuous expansion of production.\(^1\)\(^7\)

But there is a more important integrator provided by the merchant in his activities. In the manner in which merchants took in virtually all productive surplus in the parish and provided all income (i.e., non-locally produced goods) in exchange, it can be seen that parish-wide socio-economic integration was provided by redistribution processes.\(^1\)\(^8\) To fully understand and appreciate the degree to which redistribution was genuinely provided for, it is necessary to look in detail at the merchant's procedures. Because more detailed information is available for fishing, it will be considered more intensively than agriculture.

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\(^1\)See Wolf, 1955, for a similar account of Mexican peasantry.

\(^1\)\(^8\) The fact that merchants made profits in the process of redistribution does not affect the fundamental result of their actions.
Before the 1900's, fishermen brought their catch, dried and cured, to the merchant to have it "culled," or valued by a culler. The culling process was carried out by a man hired by the merchant (although he technically was under an oath to make fair assessments) and involved the separation of a fishermen's catch into piles of three or four grades depending on quality of fish and cure. The final decision on quality rested with the merchant's employee.

During World War I fish prices reached an all-time high and competition moved Newfoundland merchants to press for great quantities of fish of any quality. The result of this situation was the institution of the "talqual" system of valuation (a variant of the French tel quel): an average price was fixed to the catch without precise determination of quality. The Royal Commission commented on this procedure as follows:

In a short time it became the practice of merchants through the country to fix an average price for fish without regard to quality, i.e., they were so anxious to buy all the fish that could be produced that they were prepared to take the risk of the catch containing an undue proportion of inferior fish. Under this system, the man who cured his fish well received exactly the same price for the same quantity of fish as the man who cured his fish badly.

Under this plan, no incentive remained for the curing of quality fish. In fact, the merchant's desire to obtain fish immediately discouraged the delays required for quality curing.

The good fisherman, anxious to do his best, was thus

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19 This section follows closely the Newfoundland Royal Commission 1933 Report, pp. 104-106.

20 Ibid., p. 105.
penalized by the system and tempted to lower his standards. In many cases, subjected to the jeers of his fellows, he found the temptation too strong to be resisted.\textsuperscript{21}

In other ways, too, quality production was discouraged:

When the fishermen approach the merchants for outfits on credit at the beginning of the season, the latter know that in a number of cases, formerly a minority now a majority, the advances made will not be fully recovered, partly from causes outside the fisherman's control, such as the low price of fish or the failure of the fishery in some localities, and partly because, as the results of the combined operation of the talqual and credit systems, the less energetic fisherman can no longer be trusted to make a good cure. The merchants therefore fix their prices at a level which will ensure them against possible loss on their supplies. This means that the good fisherman who may be relied upon to do his best, is paying for the possible shortcomings of his fellows. The lower the price of fish, the greater the margin required to safeguard the merchants against loss, and the greater the burden borne by the good fisherman.\textsuperscript{22}

Similarly, high productivity was not always encouraged among fishermen during a typical fishing season: first, prices might be such as to make extra work simply not worth the effort, and second, if the demand for fish was low, a merchant could reject part of a catch.

At the other extreme of productivity, the less skilled fisherman and curer was strongly encouraged by the mercantile system to keep at least a minimal level of quality and quantity.

\textsuperscript{21}\textit{Ibid.}

\textsuperscript{22}\textit{Ibid.}, pp. 105-106.
Although a merchant would normally carry on credit an individual who had had a bad season, or possibly even several, there were limits, and the obviously careless or indolent were dropped from credit. Much these same procedures operated for agriculture, particularly in that no grading system for farm products was in effect for years, and today, virtually none exists for much of the island.

As a consequence of these marketing procedures, the redistribution effort and its results can be clearly observed. The entire productive effort of the parish is absorbed by the merchants, then levelled, and distributed back to the parish. Production and productive "income" are thus pulled to an "average" level, and bursts of high productivity and quality, as well as non-productivity, are thwarted and even scorned.

The centrality of the merchants as outsiders-in-residence and as focus figures of production flow is reinforced by their year-round function of dispensing credit in the form of basic goods. In this sense, although agricultural and fishing production occur largely during three or four months of the year, the entire body of producers and marketers are held together throughout the yearly cycle through the continued dispensing and renewal of credit. Thus, through the mercantile system of redistribution, income is levelled and production units across the parish are tied together on a year-in, year-out basis.

The world depression of the 1930's had significant and
long-lasting effects on the Valley's people. First, it marked the closing of the U.S. borders to the easy back and forth flow of Canadian workers, and focused movement towards the mainland of Canada. Second, the world fish market dropped to the point where it was more profitable for the parish to convert exclusively to agriculture. Not only were prices at a minimum, but taxation on fisherman's equipment, gasoline, and salt was increased to the point where it became excessively expensive to fish. For most merchants in the Valley the strain was too great, and they closed up shop. The death knell for those left was sounded by the new Commission Government which encouraged agricultural and cooperative societies, as well as guilds for women's crafts. Increasingly, it was necessary for people to deal through government agents set up to organize farmers and sometimes literally to act directly in their name in the world market.

The expanding agricultural market that occurred with Great Britain's entry into World War II was joined with expanded opportunities for wage labor to increasingly expose Valley people to money and its power. The opportunities for wage-earning were welcome, for regular purchasing power added to a subsistence farming base was highly desirable. Still, there was doubt (and still is among many older persons) about the sale of one's labor.

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23 The Newfoundland Royal Commission in 1933 indicated that "no less than 75% of the revenue of the county is derived from customs duties." Ibid., p. 89.
to another, and the ideal of self-contained farm often ran counter to the desire for regular income. A local song, "Five-Boss Highway," made up during the building of the first highway through the Valley, expresses a peculiar ambivalence over the employer-employee relationship:

If the work it is hard boys,
These men you can't blame;
But there is just one rule no man can deny,
No man has a right for another to drive.

Oh that was the rule in the days of yore,
Of all we grandfathers that are gone before;
But it's not the custom of me or you,
So we'll just drop the old rule and follow the new.

The highway itself, as well as the railroad, opened the parish up to direct land contact with other areas, particularly Port aux Basques (long somewhat of a trading-fishing center), the American Air Force base at Stephenville, and Corner Brook (the seat of large paper mill operations). Thus at the same time as Co-op activity began to become a reality, it was also possible for individual farmers to now market their own produce through outside merchants, or through door-to-door sales outside the Valley. A more basic distinction became possible through the option opened to the individual as to whether to market himself as labor, or to use his farm as land (in the capitalistic sense) and market his crops. Within these choices, the market pattern took shape in the parish.

Without the merchant's centralizing function, parishioners' economic activities became widely diffused. A number of small
shopkeepers sprang up, carrying an extremely small selection of what merchants had previously carried, seldom extending credit, and never dealing with any other medium than money. The Co-op, although superficially similar to the old merchants (redistribution of profits, extension of credit), never really functioned in a fully centralizing capacity. First, the extension of credit was limited to the number of shares in the Co-op bought by the individual. Thus, the security of stability against fluctuations was dependent upon the ability of the individual to capitalize his funds. In addition, the profits shared annually were regulated by the number of "shares" purchased. Beyond this, there are the simple facts of the Co-op's collapse in the 1940's and a series of thefts in the 1960's to weaken the people's confidence in the Co-op as a central institution.

Confronted with money, it was necessary to learn to easily use a quantifiable, concrete medium of exchange, and to face the reduction of ambiguity implied in traditional economic transactions. Yet coming into contact with people dealing exclusively in Market transactions, Valley people quickly learned the rules of Market exchange and the necessities of bargaining in price-setting situations. Polanyi refers to this form of exchange as follows:

Higgling-haggling has been rightly recognized as being of the essence of bargaining behavior. In order for exchange to be integrative the behavior of the partners must be oriented on producing a price that is as favorable to each partner as he can make it. Such a behavior contrasts sharply with that of exchange at a set price. The
ambiguity of the term "gain" tends to cover up the difference. Exchange at set prices involves no more than the gain to either party implied in the decision of exchanging; exchange at fluctuating prices aims at a gain that can be attained only by an attitude involving a distinctive antagonistic relationship between the partners. The element of antagonism, however diluted, that accompanies this variant is ineradicable.\textsuperscript{24}

Yet Polanyi also warns that

No community intent on protecting the fount of solidarity between its members can allow latent hostility to develop around a matter as vital to animal existence and, therefore, capable of arousing as tense anxieties as food. Hence the universal banning of transactions of a gainful nature in regard to food and foodstuffs in primitive and archaic society. The very widely spread ban on haggling-haggling over victuals automatically removes price-making markets from the realm of early institutions.\textsuperscript{25}

But the assumption made by Polanyi is that prices are set by a process through which a buyer and seller haggle, the one for the lower, the other for a higher price, "gain" being the goal of both parties. However, this is not the way bargaining works in the parish. A simple case will illustrate how prices are set:

Frank approaches Archie to have some carpentry work done on his new house—to have the doors hung. Archie agrees to do the work, but no price is agreed upon between them. After the job is done, Frank asks Archie how much he owes him for his work. Archie sets a price far too low for this job—in fact, an absurdly low price. But Frank replies, saying, "No, Boy, your work is worth a lot more than that," and gives him a higher sum, which Archie accepts with thanks.

\textsuperscript{24}Polanyi et al., Trade and Market . . , p. 255.

\textsuperscript{25}Ibid.
In this, a most typical situation, the seller sets a price that is so low as to encourage the buyer to increase it.

But there are other possibilities in Valley price setting exchanges of goods or services. Seldom are prices set in advance, as the seller will usually request the buyer to "wait and see how it turns out." Another possibility, although a less likely one, finds the seller asking the buyer what he thinks the worth is, and accepting the buyer's price, whatever it is. Also possible, is the seller's request of payment in a non-monetary medium, such as help at a task; or the seller may refuse to accept cash and not suggest any other form of exchange. In these last two cases, however, price-setting is not important, and the act of exchange blurs into simple reciprocity. In such cases what started as simple exchange can be used to initiate reciprocal ties.

This form of inverted haggling has become more and more common within the parish (but across section lines, not within them) in the last thirty years. A similar bargaining procedure may sometimes be extended to outsiders and to the outsiders-in-residence, but individual circumstances (acquaintances in common between buyer and seller, relative differences between buyer's and seller's levels of income, nature of the service or goods exchanged, etc.) are always the decisive factors in exchanges across parish lines. Certainly the most common exchange behavior with outsiders is of the normal haggling-haggling variety, particularly where the Valley person is aware that this may be a once-in-a-lifetime exchange.
It should not be understood that parish people do not really know the value of goods and services on the larger Market and therefore are simply acting foolishly. On the contrary, their differential behavior towards outsiders indicates that they are well aware of the "going price" elsewhere, and some dealers even keep careful account of what similar things are costing in Corner Brook and St. John's.26

Several characteristics are held in common by all inverted price-oriented exchanges in the parish: (1) secrecy tends to surround the exchange from beginning to end, and quite often, the price set for an item is never revealed by any party to the exchange ("I bought this place from Francis, didn't ask anyone's advice, and moved in before anyone knew what happened...that's the way to get things done proper!"); (2) proposals for exchange, and "contracts" for work to be done are often approached cautiously, with little open commitment from either part. The person seeking service or goods will often outline his needs without ever directly requesting them from the listener. If the listener does not respond with an offer, the matter will sometimes be dropped entirely, and sometimes the initiator will at last make a direct request; (3) exchanges and contracts are usually made between two men only, and not between families, or sections; (4) at no point in the bargaining process

26My own case posed a difficult problem: for many individuals, my request for goods and services was met with a hasty inquiry to others concerning what I was doing there, how much money I had, etc. In short, being young, without obvious affluence and clear social position, yet living and participating in the Valley's social sphere, I was a "special case," as one man put it.
is there any "antagonism" over terms, except as the buyer will attempt to increase the seller's "gain," a matter wherein there is never conflict.

What in fact can be seen in the nature of these price setting exchanges is that there is a great degree of caution surrounding the formation and completion of all parts of the exchange, such that it is difficult and even irrelevant to ask who is in control or who is the "gainer" at any given point in the exchange. The secrecy surrounding the event assures minimal outside interference, and the caution during the approach to the exchange guards against the rejection for either party. Finally, there is no real room for disagreement over price, as the arrangement is such as to assure at least the semblance of affect and "gain" to both parties of the exchange. In the rare cases where an individual might refuse to honor his part of the bargain, gossip, and general withdrawal of social relationships are the public controls exerted on the affair.

Although caution in making exchanges is of obvious importance, the matter of interpersonal valuation is also important in exchange situations. Since the seller either allows the buyer to set his own price or sets it below the outside price level, the buyer is forced to be the last "judge" of proper price. His decision to set this or that monetary worth on an exchange is carefully observed and measured in terms of an approximate standard of worth used by all parties. If the final price set by the buyer is too low, the seller considers it an affront to his skill or his goods; the worst
of all possible insults in bargaining, of course, would be for the buyer to pay whatever price the seller first proposes. A Newfoundlander, asked what he would do if a man paid him just whatever the asking price for an item was, answered, "I'd do no more business with him, for sure!". In short, a harsh violation of good faith is punished with social withdrawal.

But here, as in reciprocal or redistributive behavior, the element of ambiguity is high. How are the two parties of an exchange to know exactly what the proper price for an item might be. In the case of tools or machines, how much should rent be? In the case of labor, even where city hourly rates are known, how does one judge worth when meals, lodging, drink and talk go with the job? And what are other parish persons charging for a particular item? Prices are being set, but their level is not uniform, nor even known by all people. Consequently, even where a buyer raises a seller's price to a level he thinks fair, there is always doubt, and doubt about equity will frequently send a buyer to praising his partner, or returning to him later for further service or trade. Since the seller has offered an exchange at a low rate from the first, his show of good faith and generosity remains even if the buyer has paid what he considers a fair price. No matter what a buyer pays, he can never remove the initial generosity.

Persons who bargain in such inverted price setting exchanges regularly are dealers in social resources as well as in goods and services: their positions are surrounded by an accumulated body
of affect with their customers, similar to that quality referred to in modern capitalistic accounting as "good will." Yet, despite what at first meeting seems an extremely effective means of integrating exchange behavior on a limited basis quickly runs into problems as the frequency of exchanges increases.

The few entrepreneurs who deal in a high frequency of exchanges (as in the case of two grocery stores, and three garage-service stations which also double as auto, tractor, chain saw, and household wares outlets) present a special problem. All of them are suspected of fixing prices and then cutting them for selected customers. The whole problem is intensified by their general failure to mark prices, and the tendency to change prices within short periods of time. Their general refusal to "bargain" over prices creates frequent tension. (It should be noted that the Co-op, which never cuts prices, is subject to the same criticism.)

All the garages employ one or two mechanics to do general repairs, and the price of repairs is fixed in advance by the owner, who never confronts the customer in the process of the transaction. In fact, it is apparent that these owners, by removing themselves from the bargaining procedure, have freed themselves from the weaknesses of inverted pricing (generally lowered gain, loss of efficiency, etc.) and been able to set prices at a level that perhaps the local area would not stand for on an individual, face-to-face basis. Customers having repairs done frequently find themselves in a difficult position to reconcile: on one hand, accustomed to individualized cautious bargaining,
they expect to create an affectual tie between themselves and the individuals actually doing the task (in this case, the mechanics); on the other hand, however, they are aware that the mechanic is not free to bargain, as he sends the customer to the office to pay a fixed repair price. As a result, many customers lavish tips of cash and even drink on the mechanics, in an attempt to create the affectual situation. As it will be seen later in a discussion of entrepreneurs, it is their very ability to so use such customs of the parish to their advantage that maintains their positions of economic dominance.
CHAPTER IV

THE FAMILY

The stranger to the Valley will invariably become enmeshed in the seeming confusion of family names; for example, over 60 adults are named Gale and 80 are named McIsaac, many of whom claim no relationship with each other. Then there is the problem of the Anglicization of names, so that of 54 adults named Aucoin or O'Quinn (pronounced the same), some Aucoins claim to be related to O'Quinns but not to other Aucoins. Again, on one occasion Valley people may claim no kinship with more than a dozen people in the parish, while at another time they will say that "we're all related here, sure!"

Yet, Valley people identify each other with great ease by linking a man to his father by calling him "Angus Archie," his father's name following that of his own. If this reference should fail (because the individual is too young to be widely known or because he has been away from the parish for some years) then the linkage is continued back two generations to his grandfather.
as "Angus Archie Dan."¹ A wife, too, becomes identified by her husband's name affixed to her own, thus marking her change of status.

The firmness with which a name fixes the individual's nuclear family and through it his status, is illustrated by a children's taunt, in which one child calls another by his father's name ("old Johnny Archie") or a girl by her mother's ("old Mary Johnny"), for which the child so called is forced to fight to "defend his family."²

The nuclear family is the core of social and economic life in the Codroy Valley, as it is in so many peasant groups. It is from this central position that all social ties extend outward, so that the individual cannot escape the integral mechanism through which his position is assessed. If his family is seen as a "fine type of people" he then stands a good chance of gaining a similar identity. In the same way, if his father or mother is known to be "hopeless" or "queer," he will have a difficult time escaping from this appraisal.

The nuclear family has been strong enough, it will be seen, to retain independent residence and to control its members to the degree that either labor or monetary compensation is required of

¹Another means of identity where confusion might occur is the use of characteristics or occupation to separate individuals, as in "Woods Johnny" and "Money Johnny," or "Black Jack Angus," "Red Tom," and "Foolish Neil."

²This practice is serious enough that a number of parents objected to a plan to separate the primary grades from the higher grades by putting them in separate schools, as it was felt that "older brothers and sisters shouldn't be pulled apart from their younger ones...they need to be there to help protect them when they're tormented."
all children at home or away until they are ready for marriage.

Families are given sacred sanction by the church, as it is often suggested by the priests in sermons that the family is "God's choice" as the proper source for "true human love, devotion, and discipline." In the same way the church encourages large families as expressions of a commitment to this value.

Beyond the nuclear family the social grouping of next importance is the kindred. It is within this group that an individual centers and measures most of his important actions. The members of this group have first claim over him at holidays and life crises.

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4The concept of the kindred has recently received a great deal of attention. But as Mitchell has suggested, "kindred" is usually defined in negative terms—by what it is not: "it can have no leader; it is never the same except for siblings; it is not a descent group; it is not a corporate group' it has no name except in reference to its personal focus; its boundaries are shifting, etc." William E. Mitchell, "Theoretical Problems in the Concept of Kindred," American Anthropologist 65: 350, 1963. This definitional deficiency, he indicates, is the result of a failure to give kindreds careful cross-cultural formulations, as has been done, for example, for unilineal descent groups. Yet, despite these difficulties, a working definition can be used for the parish that includes those people that a person calls his "relatives." Ego sees his relations as extending horizontally at least as far as his 2nd cousins (the inclusion of 3rd cousins is somewhat doubtful). Vertically, they extend up to his grandparents and down to his siblings' children and his great-grand-children. When he marries he also undertakes an extension that includes his wife's parents, her siblings, and her siblings' children. This, then, is an ego-oriented body of kin, if an asymmetrical one. Observations of the social relations between these individuals indicate that they indeed reflect definite economic and affective bonds.
He must defend his kindred to outsiders—or at least to those whose kindreds do not overlap with his own—and it is to this group that he turns first for aid.

It should be noted that the kindred, like the family, changes structure throughout the life of the central individual. Mitchell indicates that the structure and function of the kindred can vary according to the following variables:

(1) biological factors, e.g., Ego's sex and age, and the sex, age, and number of his living kin; (2) ecological and technological factors as these affect social groupings and communication; (3) sociological factors, e.g., residence patterns, kinship nomenclatures, corporate kin groups, reciprocal obligations between kin and the nature of the social sanctions that can be invoked for their recognition; and (4) individual personality factors, e.g. Ego's sentiment towards various kin and his willingness to accept the responsibilities of a kin relationship.

Thus, the picture of the Valley kindred as drawn here represents only a "typical" or "ideal" form of this grouping, but the variations that occur within the kindreds of various individuals are not of a nature to disrupt the generalizations made herein.

Marriage

Ideally, every young man and woman in the Valley is expected to marry and have children, but in actuality a certain number of older bachelors are always present, usually as householders.


6Mitchell, p. 350.
In fact, at no time in the past thirty years has the number of resident men in the Valley been less than 15% greater than the number of women.

A number of varied reasons exist for this male celibacy: some left to take a job and waited too long to marry a girl at home; others were left solely responsible for aging parents and did not feel free to marry. The largest number of bachelors, however, are those from the age group who reached marrying age during World War II and found themselves either working away from home on short-term war projects such as the U.S. Air Force Base, or else staying home and taking advantage of the prosperity that the war brought to farmers. At the same time, a great number of women of marriageable-age went to the cities under family pressure to get work, but unlike their male counterparts, had no promise of land or inheritance to bring them back to the Valley. It was thus more practical for them to marry in the cities, where a large number of U.S. and Canadian servicemen filled a gap created by the absence of eligible Valley bachelors from their homes.

On the other hand, the temporary nature of the employment offered to young men who had either given up farming or who had no means to continue it, left them with insecure employment futures that ran counter to their conception of a family, which, by definition, was to be large. Without a subsistence agricultural base on which to feed a family, a man could not hope to support the expected number of children to the age of maturation without some form of stable income. With conflicting demands
upon them, many chose to refrain from marriage, or as a saying has it, "they found the beer cheaper than the women."

But it is not easy to live the life of a bachelor. If he lives in a house of his own, as most men in this status do, he must wash, sew, cook, and clean for himself, as well as do the chores usually allocated to men and male children. The amount of farm work possible is then severely limited. A bachelor is pitied by all married people, and he is frequently invited to eat a meal or spend an evening with other families. The bachelor can never reciprocate, however, and visitors in his own home are usually limited to his bachelor friends and to the occasional married man that stops by without his wife.

Although there is little direct contact between bachelors and married women, at parties or dances a few drunken single men may occasionally ask married women to dance. More likely, however, is the small group of men who habitually spend a large portion of the evening drunkenly dancing in front of the "married women's side of the room." Sometimes even four or five bachelors will form a dancing line in front of the women, each dancing in his own fashion.

Bachelors are the subject of a great many jokes, all of which barely conceal the pressures against what is considered to be an unnatural state. A married woman will tease a bachelor about this or that girl friend he had years ago, subtly reminding him of his blame for the failure of the marriage to take place, or of
what he is missing by not having a wife. A married man will query his bachelor friends about their sexual exploits, particularly where he knows there are none. Within this joking relationship is concealed a continual reminder to the bachelor that he does not have sexual access to a woman. The expected response is for the bachelor to assume the role of sexual rogue and perpetual "almost to the altar" figure: he jokes of wearing his "wedding suit" to mass on Sundays, of having several girl friends in the next parish, etc. Occasionally the jokes go too far, and the bachelor retorts with a bawdy remark out of the context of the relationship.

Priests, too, pressure bachelors to marry, particularly where it becomes apparent that they do not plan to do so. At times the priest has gone to great lengths to provide opportunities to reduce the number of bachelors.

Until very recently, Valley people married somewhat late in life. Although not as late as those in the Highlands of Scotland, or in Ireland, they are well above the average reported by Miner for French-Canada and above the Canadian national average. From 1899 to 1945 the average age for a man to marry was 30, while a woman tended to marry at 25. Some older residents recall that in earlier years sons of French families married much younger than did those of English and Scottish background, and some evidence
tends to support this impression. Such differences along ethnic lines have since disappeared completely, however. Men born before the 1920's definitely feel that a man should be thirty or older before he marries. They see nothing wrong with a man marrying in his forties, and they frequently advise those marrying in their mid-twenties to wait.

The reasons given for delaying marriage are many, but several always appear. The first is illustrated by the following comment made by a man who married at 34:

I was always on the go to work out of the place. In those days (1930-1945) a fellow'd go anywhere for a few day's wages... ship off to the ice, work in the Sydney mines, cut pulp, anything. When we'd land here for awhile all the girls we knew before'd be gone... 'fore we'd get to know the new one's who'd come along, we'd be off again. I'd probably never settled down if I hadn't gotten hurt in the woods and promised my mother to stay home.

The five year difference in marriage ages for males and females assured that a young man would marry girls other than those he knew in school, since by the time he was ready to consider marriage, girls of his age group had already married. Potential wives were met outside of school, frequently during a young man's visits at home.

Although drawn from a small sample (65), a check of marriages between 1899 and 1907 and between 1915 and 1917 shows that males from Scots, French, and Irish-English families averaged the following ages for 1st marriages:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ethnicity</th>
<th>Average Age (based on marriages)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>French</td>
<td>27.6 (based on 11 marriages)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Scots</td>
<td>31 (based on 30 marriages)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Irish-English</td>
<td>32.3 (based on 24 marriages)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
A heavy outflow of girls since 1936 towards increasing employment and marriage opportunities also made marriage difficult. "These girls go to the city and get so used to the power [electricity] and the TV that they don't want to come back to cooking bread in the wood stove."

But the most often mentioned reason for postponing marriage is an economic one. Each young man should be able to afford a "place of his own," as it is felt that two nuclear families should not share the same house if it can be helped, particularly if they are closely related. In one of the few cases where families have shared the same house, a partition has been built to separate the two.

"You just don't get married if you don't have some kind of work and a house of your own."

"Some poor fellers are after courting for 6 or 7 years, just trying to get a little money to buy a house."

Even though a man may know that he is to inherit a house and a farm, he may wait until one of his parents is dead, or at least until he can build a small temporary house. But brothers, sisters, aunts, uncles, or one parent can share a house with a nuclear family if they are single or widowed.

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8 This does not mean that residence patterns are neolocal in the strict sense of the term, however, as the preferred arrangement would be for a young man to be given a piece of his father's land on which to build a house. He would thus be living patrilocally: "near the groom's parent's house."
While the manifest aspects of delayed marriage are economic and affective in nature, there is also the latent factor of population control—a point not considered by Valley people in making their choice for marriage age, but important none the less. A later marriage means less time available for child-bearing, and thus fewer possible children.

Minimum ages for marriage remained unchanged until very recently. The marriages that have occurred since 1957 have shown a drop in the male age of 2 to 3 years, while the female age has dropped a full five years. The differences in age between marriage partners have nevertheless remained at least 5 to 6 years. A number of factors are undoubtedly involved in this sudden shift to earlier marriages, but the central cause has been the increased availability of educational opportunities since Newfoundland's confederation with Canada. Before this time, almost no girls went beyond the seventh or eighth grade in school, and only a few boys went much further, usually to the ninth or tenth grade. Confederation brought the practice of giving bursaries to students to allow them to go away to various Newfoundland cities to high school, usually after the ninth grade, and the number of bursaries accepted for this purpose has increased steadily in the last few years. There is an extra inducement to stay in school as a child qualifies for family allowance benefits only as long as he is still in school.
that emphasizes earlier boy-girl relationships and earlier marriage. Therefore, "waiting" to be married frequently comes to be seen as a needless risk.

But the old norms of independence of the nuclear family and the newer ones of more schooling and younger marriage are not easily reconciled. In years past, a boy would finish his schooling at the latest by age 13 or 14 so that he was free to help his father, and later, to look for a long series of short-term jobs to prepare him for the expense of building a house and possibly buying land. He had roughly 17 years to develop his monetary or physical resources for the costs of marriage. Today, he remains in school until he is 16, possibly even 17 or 18, and then has only 9 years to prepare. If he chooses to marry a girl he met in the city while at school or on one of his first jobs, he faces the possibility that she might want to marry immediately. On the other hand, if a boy does not go away to school he is confronted with the difficulty that the largest number of possible future marriage partners are away at school for most of the year. When he attends a dance, the chief means of meeting a girl, he finds only girls much younger than himself. Even if he should become interested in one of these girls, it is likely that she will be going away to school within a year or so, and will be free to meet other possible partners in the city.
Choosing a mate

A Valley man would deeply resent being told that he does not have complete freedom in choosing a wife. But in fact a number of barriers prevent him from having absolutely free choice. The first proscriptions on marriage are those imposed from the "outside": by the Catholic Church.

The church has regulations that govern consanguineal, affinal, and spiritual relationships.\(^{10}\) Marriage is forbidden between consanguineal relatives in the third degree,\(^{11}\) although it is often believed by Valley people that it extends to the 4th degree. By the same token, marriage is forbidden between relatives of the second degree through marriage.\(^{12}\) Restrictions on spiritual relations forbid the marriage of godparents to their godchildren, and forbid the marriage of the giver of baptism to the receiver of it. It is

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\(^{11}\)In canonical kinship reckoning, degree of consanguineal relationship is determined by the number of generations separating given individuals in the same line of descent, or separating them from a common ancestor. By this method parents and children are related in the first degree, as are siblings; grandparents and grandchildren are related in the second degree, as are first cousins (siblings' children); those who share a common great-grandparent (second cousins) are related in the third degree, etc. Relatives unequally distanced from a common ancestor are reckoned so that the degree is that of the farthest removed. Aunts and nephews are thus related in the second degree.

\(^{12}\)For example, a widow is forbidden to marry any of her deceased husband's relatives within the second degree, as the church reckons ego's relatives to be related to his spouse as they are to himself.
also locally believed that godparents of the same child cannot
marry each other (although married couples may serve as godparents)
and, more important for local marriage patterns, that ego cannot
marry the children of ego's godparents or those of ego's siblings'
godparents; nor should ego marry the godchildren of his own
parents. 13

Dispensations can be granted for some marriages within the
proscriptions, although they are rare. Only three first cousin
marriages are indicated by church records, and in all a child was
born to the couple within 6 or 7 months of the wedding, indicating
the absolute necessity of recognizing a child's parentage, even
at the cost of recognizing the violation of another taboo. Only
nine cases of second cousin marriage have occurred since 1875.
Only one other case of restricted marriage is known to have
occurred, when a child was born out of marriage to an uncle and
his niece. Community censure was very severe in this case, and
the man committed suicide shortly after the child's birth.

Marriage between Catholics and non-Catholics is rare, at
least as revealed by the church records: only a dozen are listed
and all of these have occurred since 1956. 14 It is more common

13 Also section on "Ritual Kinship," this chapter.

14 The records do not reveal all of the marriages of Valley
males to non-Valley females, so that this number is probably
conservative.
for conversion to Catholicism to occur in such unions, particularly as this type of marriage is considered at least partially favorable, and parents who discover their children dating non-Catholics first ask them about the possibilities of conversion before they attempt to stop the relationship.

There are no "mixed" marriages in the Valley; those that have occurred are usually between Valley girls living in Newfoundland cities or on the mainland and their non-Valley husbands. Encounters of Catholic children with members of other religious denominations are a constant fear of parents who have children away at school or working. Children are warned against the possible tricks that are used to alter their religious views and it is frequently felt necessary to pray for their future marriages to "good Catholics."

The fact that all Valley children go away to Catholic schools where they are in close contact with members of Catholic religious orders helps to ease the fears.

While still at home children are carefully protected from exposure to different religious doctrines. Until recently, the Church of England was the only other church with close contact with the area and the relations with this denomination have been cordial but ultimately detached, with little pressure towards conversion of either's members by the other faith. But recently, several

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15In several sermons in which the priest stressed the need to "spread the gospel," he made pointed references to somewhat distant Port aux Basques, clearly ignoring nearby Codroy, the source of most Church of England members with whom Valley people have regular contact. Codroy is "held at a distance," as are non-Catholic individuals.
fundamentalist Protestant faiths have been pursuing active missionary work in Newfoundland, and Jehovah's Witnesses and members of the Pentecostal Church are often in the area. They frequently receive harsh treatment during their stops, and their "literature" is always "thrown in the fire before the children get hold of it."

Mixed marriages cause great distress in the Valley and strong parental pressures are brought to bear to prevent their occurrence. But, while a few parents have severed all contacts with their children who have married outside of the faith, this is generally felt to be extreme and without real benefit. Much the same thinking applies to families that refuse to recognize the potential marriage of their children to a member of another faith. "There's no sense to driving them from the door. . . you might as well try to convert them." But a "good marriage," i.e., one with a spouse with a good income or an inheritance due, will act to ease these feelings. The family will rationalize that "later" the non-Catholic may convert.

Marriage partners are sought outside of the section. Although largely a latent restriction, a few people when asked, saw the necessity of exogamy thus:

You always tried to marry girls from outside the section. After your family had lived in the place for awhile you were related to everyone. We always tried to get to know girls from other sections--nobody here ever married anyone from the place.
But in actuality, few people in a section are closely related, because of this very fact of exogamy. Rather, the basis for intra-sectional barriers to marriage is the pattern of godparenthood.

Ritual kinship

Godparents are carefully chosen, for it is known that the church considers them to be spiritual guardians of their godchildren; and it is hoped by a parent that if he or his spouse should die before the child is fully grown the godparent will assume responsibility for the child or will at least contribute to his support. In accord with this potential role of his godparent, the child is expected to show him "respect," i.e. he is expected to do small favors, run errands, etc., and on certain occasions such as Christmas, to take a small gift to his godparent. He should maintain close friendship with his godparent's children, as well. The godparent, in return, is expected to give gifts to the child, to give and offer advice freely, and to remain open to the child's requests for aid in times of need. At the same time, the godparent is expected to help, in a somewhat vague way, in the education and training of the child. He is thus said

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16In actuality, however, only godparents who are close relatives of the father or mother will "adopt" or act as guardians for children if a parent dies. A family is often "split up," though, with each child possibly going to a different guardian. It is felt that one or two children would create enough burden on another family.
to have the "right" to discipline his godchild. In this sense, then, the godparent has a role similar to that of "uncle," but yet a somewhat more informal one.

But the child's welfare constitutes only one side of the godparent relationship. As a large body of literature has already made clear, the relations between the biological parents and the spiritual parents are also of great significance, as godparenthood is considered an honor, and to be asked to act as such is to be recognised as being asked to enter into a permanent relationship with the parents of the child. In this sense, the child becomes the chief causative and sustaining factor in one of the "knots" in the network of social relations; or, in other terms, the child is the "living contract" in the agreement. As a result of this contract, the godparent and his family achieve partial "membership"


18Unlike godparenthood in Southern Europe and in Latin America, relations between the two godparents of the same child are not of particular importance, except, as has been mentioned before, as the relationship is considered a barrier to future marriage between the godparents.

in the child's family, and with this membership he undertakes many of the rights and responsibilities of a family member: he is invited to the life crises of the child and his family, and he is expected to offer his help as it is required; exchange and mutual aid between the two families move out of the realm of the possible and into that of the required.

The tie between the godchild's parent and godparent is one of ritual kinship, but it is also one of friendship—friendship of the variety that can be called "instrumental." The instrumentality exists in the fact that the two friends see themselves as being linked partly for the welfare of their descendants, but largely for the purpose of assuring access to resources. This does not mean that godparenthood is used as a technique for vertical mobility, however, such as is described for the Latin American *compadre*go complex.²⁰ Although a slight tendency exists for the "better off" families to be selected more frequently as godparents, the largely homogeneous nature of the parish's population reduces this possibility.

Who is selected to be a godparent? For the first three children, father and mother's siblings are given first choice, followed by "neighbors," grandparents, parents' first cousins, and parents' sibling's spouses (see Fig. 2). For later children, neighbors are first, followed by parents' second cousins, father's and mother's

²⁰ See Mints and Wolf.
siblings, parents' first cousins, grandparents, parents' siblings' spouses, and parents' second cousins' spouses. What is first evident in this pattern is that godparents are chosen from two essentially separate groups: the amorphous body of "neighbors," and the kindreds of the child's father and mother.

In choosing members of their own kindreds as godparents, parents formally indicate their desire to maintain and reinforce (or repair and restore) the existing ties among their kin groups.21 The godchild, as a result, comes to share, in part, his parents' kindreds in the form of a "ritual kindred."22 In this sense, it might be said that parents attempt to "pass on" their own kindreds

21 Gallatin Anderson, "Il Comparaggio: The Italian Godparenthood Complex," *Southwestern Journal of Anthropology* 13: 50-51, 1957, in discussing the similar operation of comparaggio in Italy, expresses this effect in the following:

As a social phenomenon, the system provides formal reiteration of the desirability of maintaining established directions in social participations, and of embracing the customary behavior patterns through which individuals as well as family groups interact and channel their day-to-day activities. Bonds of kinship, vastly important in social control and in the enculturation of the individual, are publicly restated and a badge of prestige is affixed ritually to enhance them.

22 The apparent emphasis on father's kin group as a source for godparents (as shown by Fig. 2) is due more to the fact that a third of the Valley's wives come from outside of the parish and are far enough away from their families' homes to make their participation in baptism ceremonies impossible or at least difficult.
Fig. 2

Godparent Choices

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>1st Child</th>
<th>2nd Child</th>
<th>3rd Child</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
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<td>FaBr 7</td>
<td>Neighbors 12</td>
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<td>MoBr 6</td>
<td>FaBr 6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>MoSi 6</td>
<td>Fa 1st Csn. 3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Neighbors 5</td>
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<td>FaFa 1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FaFa 2</td>
<td>FaFaBr 2</td>
<td>FaBr Spouse 1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MoMo 1</td>
<td>MoBr Spouse 1</td>
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<td>Neighbors 12</td>
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<td>Fa 2nd Csn. 4</td>
</tr>
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<td>FaBr 2</td>
<td>FaBr 1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Spouse 4</td>
<td>MoSi 2</td>
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<tr>
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<tr>
<td>FaBr Spouse 1</td>
<td>Spouse 1</td>
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</tbody>
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N=25 families
110 children
211 godparents*

TOTALS
neighbors 80
parents' siblings 76
parents' parents 13
parents' 1st cousins 14
parents' siblings' spouses 5
parents' parents' siblings 2
parents' 2nd cousins 14
parents' 2nd cousins' spouse 1

*Some godparents were not entered in the parish record, or the entries were illegible, thus making the total number analyzed here nine short of the actual number for 110 children.
to their children and to make them overlap as much as possible.
The child and his siblings have their godparents drawn from father
and mother's siblings, parents, 1st and 2nd cousins, and the various
spouses of these kin. Thus, the only members of the parents' kindreds
not drawn upon are grandparents, uncles and aunts, and third cousins,
and these individuals tend to be dropped from the child's kindred.
In most cases, great-grandmothers' maiden names are not known by
their great-grandchildren, and great-uncles and 4th cousins
(parents' 3rd cousins) are seldom known. On the other hand, it
must be remembered that because of delayed marriage, a child's
great-grandparents, and often his grandparents and great uncles
and aunts, will be dead by the time of his birth and baptism. Yet
it is obvious from Fig. 3 that the members of the parents' kindred
drawn upon as godparents for a child and his siblings provide the
child with a sufficient persona from which to ramify his own
kindred: 1st cousins are traced through parents' siblings, 2nd
cousins through parents' 1st cousins, etc. Since 4th cousins are
not considered as a part of personal kindreds, it is of little
purpose to reinforce ties with parents' third cousins.

Through the mechanism of godparenthood, then, the ties within
a child's kindred are doubly bound by both real kinship ties and
ritual ("spiritual") ties. By the same token, the child's kindred
Fig. 3 Godparent Choices Among Kindred.
is doubly reinforced as an exogamous group: he must take into account two sets of marriage prohibitions before he can marry into this group. From another point of view, he must be doubly aware of his obligations to this group and of their obligations to him.

The other source of godparents is the larger body of non-relatives: the neighborhood. Only in exceptional circumstances

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23In Deshon's study of godparenthood on a Yucatecan hacienda it was noted that a high selection of godparents from parents' kindred was closely linked with residence patterns (extended family). Although the Codroy Valley people practice independent housing of nuclear families, much of the same emphasis on kindred choice still exists, and thus suggests that Deshon's basic explanation still applies:

... the selection of resident kinsmen insures the continuation of internal social cohesion, partly from the pervasively respectful and restraining influence of the compadrer relationships produced, and partly because these relationships correspond closely to the ideal kinship patterns between generations. ... In this situation, compadrero not only duplicates the alignments of the kin statuses in the household, but serves to reinforce the regulation of behavior between co-resident generations. ... it acts as a stabilizing and integrative mechanism. This (the selection of close kinsmen) is due to the appealing familiarity of local tradition, to the face-to-face relationships existing in small communities, and to the similar kinds of stresses these close relationships entail. By re-affirming or rephrasing kin and in-group relations among the households, this type of selection and the subsequent compadrer ties created provide integrative functions for the community. Deshon, p. 580.
was a non-relative godparent traditionally chosen from outside of the section, and a common expression (concerning families of 16 or more children) was, "With all them kids he had to go out of the section for godparents, sure!" The result of this "inturned" godparenthood relationship is an internal solidarity within the local section or neighborhood based on individual, "kin-like" ties. Since neighbors are chosen so frequently, particularly after the first three children, the nature of these relationships tends to become equated with those within individual kindreds.

"When you pick a godparent for a baby, you want him to be a real friend... and you want him to know that you're his friend."

"It has to be a good friend, you understand... you want someone who'll look after the child if something should happen... you want someone you can treat like your own family."

The section is in this way brought into a large kindred-like structure, with one man's kindred linked into another's through a child, with no actual consanguineal or even affinal relationships being necessary. The result, as has been noted before, is an unstated and implicit restriction on marriage within the section. Here, two norms—that requiring non-kin godparents to be chosen from within the section, and that of the taboo on marriage of "spiritual relations"—link together to produce an effect that is not perceived by the actors themselves: exogamy. In turn, this resultant effect operates to reinforce the norms that produced it. For this reason, such a function may be dependent upon its "silent" or "latent" character.
In cases where "outsiders" have moved into the section with sons or daughters or marriageable age, marriage has frequently occurred between those young people and others of the section before godparent ties can be established. But there is nevertheless a strong tendency to integrate all persons new to the settlement through these ties, and newcomers and even occasional "servant girls," hired to aid during the last months of a mother's pregnancy, are asked to become godparents while they are in the community.

The godparenthood complex in the Valley operates from two points of view: (1) inside (from Ego's central position)—godparenthood relates individual members of a kindred to other members of his kindred, as well as to non-relatives and members of other kindreds, in a particularistic manner; and (2) outside—godparenthood brings one person's kindred into an overlapping if not coterminous position of those of his parents, and, when in effect between non-relatives, creates a kindred-like grouping between otherwise disparate groups.

Intrafamilial Relations

The average Valley married couple at the end of child-bearing has nine children, although it is not unusual to find families with 16 or 17 children. There are very few "small" families, but at least one childless couple exists in each section. The child (and by extension, the family) is felt to provide the "meaning" for life. All work is said to be done for the family; the most important problems that an individual faces are said to
be those that concern "how to make a living that's fit for your family."

Large families are the norm, but they are not without their problems, and size of family is often the subject of jokes among men and women. Since birth control methods are disapproved of, not easily available, and often unknown, abstinence is the chief means of controlling family size and is the key focus of anxiety. Persons with large families sometimes say "there's no trouble getting started; it's finding the shut-off valve that's hard!"

A certain amount of child-spacing also occurs when some mothers keep their last-born child in bed with both parents sometimes for as much as two years.

The youngest child of the family is given almost constant attention from his parents and siblings during all waking hours. Often an infant will not leave some older person's arms for three or four hours continuously. They are talked to, sung to, teased, rocked, and bounced. Siblings are required by their parents to show interest and concern in their younger kin, and in most cases they do so. This attention to the youngest member continues until either another child is born (who then receives their attention) or the last child born grows into adolescence. For this reason, people often speak of the youngest as being the "favorite," or the "pet," and last-born children as being "spoiled" as he grows up.

Once a mother knows that she is pregnant again, the youngest child is given increasingly less attention in preparation for his
new status. For the first time he may be spoken to harshly, and
strongly required to act against his will. He may seek comfort
from his older siblings, but at first he frequently cries alone
from the rest of the family. As soon as the new child is born,
he is expected to take his position as a guardian for the younger
child, with a complete loss of his favored position.

Yet it is not only the younger child who is indulged, for
all Valley children are given a great deal of freedom and attention.
Children are not toilet trained or weaned until approximately two
and one-half years of age, and some are not fully toilet trained
until four or even five. Crying and complaining at any age is met
with the offer of food: at an early age a bottle or breast is used,
later a piece of bread and jam, or a cookie. By the same token,
children are expected to be hungry, and a crying child is first
thought to be hungry. One father suggested that the first sentence
a child might speak would be "I want some bread."

Children are seldom struck or spanked. On the rare occasion
when they are, it is in the parent's anger, and the outburst is
usually apologized for, the parent hugging and kissing the punished
child. On the other hand, children are continually chided for their
misbehavior and warned with dire threats of punishment. But
threats seldom, if ever, materialize. Even when a child is told
that his behavior requires a certain restitutive consequence, he
is usually freed of it shortly after it has begun (as, for example,
in being sent to bed without supper). Much of a mother's stream
of conversation to a non-yet verbal baby or to a small child, is sprinkled with cautionary remarks, such as "you're bad, you," "be good," and "you saucy thing." Teasing of children is also frequent, even through adolescence, and jokes of small matter are often played on them, always followed by pats or kisses, reminders that all was "in fun," and nothing was serious. The child at a very early age learns that there are serious threats and teases, and there are those with no import, the latter always predominant. By context, tone of voice, and gesture, the child learns to sort out the meaning.

Among adults, too, teasing and "practical joking" is frequent, and just as some people are known as "cases" (frequent and expert jokers), others are known as "hard to fool." In all persons, however, doubt plays a large part, and sham is frequently suspected in many affairs. It is compatible with local ways for some to believe that Russia and the United States are perpetrating a giant hoax with their "Man-in-Space" programs, or that the claims of travellers about mainland Canada are attempts at foolery.

Although conversation is the only means of gaining information about human beings other than direct observation, there is considerable doubt about its use, and learning this doubt is a large part of the child's early experience. Exaggeration, metaphor, allusion, all are considered valuable and admirable aspects of verbal communication in the Valley. But aesthetics can interfere with "truth" and the two must be carefully weighed. The
chief desire is one of receiving as much information as possible in a conversation without giving away material which can be damaging. Direct questions are scrupulously avoided, and skilled conversation is that which talks around a subject. By this, a child learns that it is valuable to be "seen and not heard," and to hear much of what adults have to say. In addition, this behavior is directly rewarded.²⁴

In the child's early experiences he learns to be at once cautious about being "taken in," and used by others, and at the same time aware that it is to be expected that human beings should deceive some of the time. That deception is expected does not make the individual cynical or resentful of human relationships, but makes him aware that social life is not a simple matter, and holds many alternative possibilities.²⁵ Where predictability is not felt to be positive, caution can go a long way in carrying the individual through social life.

²⁴See Chapter V.

²⁵A similar situation in a Greek village is discussed by Ernestine Friedl in the following:

The total situation does not result in an inability to predict the behavior of others to the point of chaos in human relationships, but rather in an expectation on the part of the villagers of a wide range of alternative actions and responses by others. There is uncertainty within set limits, but there is also an enjoyment of, and a taste for, the unpredictable.

Boys and girls are always physically close to their parents. Until the age of nine or ten, boys help at home with household and farm tasks that are quite similar to their sisters'. From the age of ten on, however, a boy will often work with his father as much as he is able, and fathers speak of their sons as "good company," and "someone to talk over the day's work with." Fathers and sons do considerable talking about their common affairs when other adult males are not present. When father and son are together with other adult males, the son of any age assumes a child's pose of silence while his father controls the conversation. From the age of 13 or 14 on, a father's demands on his son decrease, and there is a corresponding decrease in the amount of the son's obedience. The father usually decides whether a son or a daughter will get extra money, or stay out late at night, but there is a tendency for the mother to assume control over daughters.

Brothers and sisters of close age are not particularly responsive to each other's demands for obedience, but much older siblings are able to command a greater degree of responsiveness from younger members of the family. Fighting does sometimes occur, and children often say that a "bigger" brother can require obedience. Uncles, aunts, and grandparents are given much the same respect as parents, but more formality exists and there is less likelihood of argument between them.

The large size of families presents a problem in the "placement"
of children. Daughters were traditionally married, without dowry, to local young men, or were sent to "visit" relatives elsewhere, or to work as "servants" in distant settlements, or possibly even to work in Nova Scotia or the United States. Since only one or two sons were ever needed to help their fathers at the level of agriculture practiced, it was desirable to settle some on land of their own as soon as possible. Through most of the history of the Valley this has not been difficult for there was always some land available for expansion or through replacement of those who left to work in the cities. It was also desirable to educate a few young men so that they might get jobs as teachers or clerks in the city, or to join the clergy as a priest or a brother.

Available land did not make inheritance a major problem for Valley people. Consequently, a number of alternative methods of inheritance came into being. Predominately, the "most interested son" was given the father's land. Normally, that meant the son staying on the longest, and not necessarily the youngest. Other possibilities included the oldest, or a favored son-in-law. If no child seemed particularly interested, or if more than one son expressed interest, the father's farm was split up equally. Today a number of large farms are fragmented to the point of making profitable farming impossible. Many such lots are in effect abandoned as the inheriting owners have left the Valley to work elsewhere with the express intent of "retiring at home." Yet, many such plans fail as the owners find city life congenial, and
property has within the last few years begun to fall into the hands of persons in more distant communities who wish to have "summer cottages," a practice sharply condemned for the intrusion it creates.

In all cases of inheritance, a problem is created by the fact that most fathers hold onto their land until old age, many not signing over their deeds until they are in their 70's, and in this way discouraging sons from raising a family on the farm and splitting the profits with their father. The matter of not wishing to give up one's authority over property is heightened by the common belief that the making of a will hastens death. The fact that the priest traditionally makes out wills at the time of death aids the belief.

* * *

Husbands and wives in the Valley do not show affection publicly, nor make any references to sex, even in jokes, with each other present. Men are expected to be the judges of what is wise for themselves and their families. Yet, there is considerable sharing and cooperation between husband and wife. A man is expected to discuss all important decisions with his wife, even if they provoke arguments. He is expected to "win" the arguments, and those that do not are joked about, or directly censured. General household decisions are made by the husband, but matters concerning children usually fall to the wife ("A man doesn't have time to be bothered by all that.")
In general, the nuclear family is a closely related group that spends a great deal of time together in a great number of activities. As a result of high interaction, their mutual identification is high, and the family unit is the basic unit in parish society.
CHAPTER V
SOCIAL RELATIONS

When normal people greet each other without saying anything, they smile and nod in agreement. The Newfoundlander smiles and nods "no."

Willem Frederik Hermans, *Ken Landingspoing on Newfoundland (Attempt at Landing on Newfoundland).

People of the Valley see themselves as very democratic; they will always insist that "everyone is equal here and that's the way it should be." But this egalitarianism is not inspired by a noble humanism or even by a theologically-based concept of finite and humble man. Instead, equality for parishioners is an enforced standard, as far as enforcement can be executed. The fear is that as with George Orwell's *Animal Farm*, some will become "more equal than others": in short, equality in the Valley is not so much an ideology that elevates the lowest to the level of the highest, as it is a mechanism that attempts to reduce the highest to the level of the lowest. The common expression, "no one can get high and mighty here" expresses the point.

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Associated with the conception of equality is what George Foster calls the "static economy."¹ Valued goods and resources are conceived to be in a fixed or "static" state, with no possibility for expansion or development by local individuals. Those who attempt or succeed at increasing their own holdings are seen to be disrupting the balance of local resources. One person's gain must be accomplished only at the loss of others. When some individuals show obvious gains, they do so at the risk of alienation, or at least, of being constantly reminded of small favors done for them in the past and accused of bad faith in interpersonal relations.

In a setting of conceptual egalitarianism, as Julian Pitt-Rivers has suggested, contract, not status, is the chief determiner of interpersonal relations outside of kin-based associations.

Where all men are equal conceptually, the basis of their cooperation can only be reciprocal services; a voluntary reciprocity dictated by the mutual agreement of the parties, as opposed to the primary reciprocity of ranks.²

As opposed to a man's ascribed, affectual relations with his kindred, then, his relations with those outside are achieved on a voluntary

¹Foster, "Community Development..."

and personal basis. These chosen relations between one man and another constitute "dyadic contracts."³

Dyadic contracts, as has been suggested, are used to establish relations with other individuals outside of the nuclear family. Thus, married brothers, already bound by some form of obligations, may still find it important to establish these relations with each other. Dyadic relations are established, one at a time, with other individuals, although this pairing up of persons does not suggest that three or more persons cannot be brought into a sustaining relationship with each other; rather, dyadic contracts encourage such ties by the "sponsoring" activities of the dyad. In a dyadic relationship, each person of the dyad acts to "sponsor" the other to other individuals with whom he may also have relationships, both kin and non-kin. Thus, every pair of individuals in the Valley bound together in this way are potentially connected to an infinite number of persons through the common set of relationships held between the two of them, and they may feel free to exploit this possibility of relationships from time to time.

But dyadic contracts do not allow for direct corporate relations, the "terms" of the contracts being too personalistic to allow for this; only the makers of the terms are bound by them.

although other members of the makers' family may also honor them. Dyadic contracts are informal⁴ and are supported only by community norms that prescribe the full honoring of them, and by the sanction of the other partner's strength in influencing the rest of the community--no legal basis exists whatsoever, and it is unheard of for a member of a dyad to complain to the law about his partner's actions.

Dyadic contracts can exist in two basic forms. Foster describes these in the following:

The first type of contract can be called symmetrical, in that it binds people of equal status, and its associated reciprocal obligations can be called complementary since, averaged out over time, they are the same for both parties. By the same token, the second type of contract can be called asymmetrical, since it binds people of different statuses, and its associated reciprocal obligations are noncomplementary, since each partner owes the other different kinds of things. For example, in the symmetrical contract partners exchange similar goods and services of approximately equal value (measured in time and monetary terms) over a period of time. In the asymmetrical contract, partner A owes partner B something quite different from what he receives from the latter, and vice versa. Moreover, it is difficult and sometimes quite impossible to strike an equivalence in time and monetary values.⁵

In the Valley most dyadic contracts are of the symmetrical type.⁶

⁴In the sense discussed here, ties created by godparenthood are not dyadic relations. But godparenthood relations imply the necessity for creating dyadic ties, and individuals who do not create and maintain informal ties to support the formal ones are considered unworthy of ritual kinship.

⁵Foster, "The Dyadic Contract. . . .," pp. 1174-75.

⁶Asymmetrical contracts will be dealt with in Chapter VII.
Most dyadic ties appear between persons sharing the same residential area, although by no means exclusively so; thus, for example, a man is most likely to create and maintain ties with members of his own section, and secondarily, with members of the sections contiguous to his. This is not to say that there are restrictions on making more distant ties, for they do frequently occur; but rather to say that common residence offers a ready-made basis for common-interest, and provides a natural setting for dyadic relations. By the same token, this does not mean that a man must maintain ties with all of his section-mates: the ethos of "neighborliness" known in many societies is simply not that strong in the Valley. In fact, there have been several notable conflicts between individuals within the same section, usually disputes concerning land. What is important is that whereas dyadic contracts are not normatively required between all members of a section, it is necessary that these ties be easily and quickly created if the situation demands it. Such a situation occurs when members of one section rally against members of one or more sections in a conflict. Section-oriented godparenthood ties, as previously described, in combination with common residential basis, act to offer an ever-ready basis for intrasection dyadic ties. It is difficult to stay alienated from another individual if he lives within a short distance of one's home, and if birthdays, Christmas, and other holidays demand reassertion of spiritual godparenthood ties, even in the face of other conflicts.
By the same token, the sense of community is a result of these reciprocal relations. The recurrence of dyadic relations criss-crossed within a limited body of individuals naturally means that interaction frequency is high for the total body. But since affect must underlie all such relations each exchange renews and builds a reservoir of positive feelings, and it is this reservoir—a halo of affect or potential affect surrounding this limited body of persons—that constitutes a sense of "neighborliness."

Reciprocity provides the mechanism both for creating and sustaining dyadic contracts. Reciprocal exchange can take an infinite number of forms; the form, however, being secondary to its function as an expression of exchange. In the Valley, it is literally "the thought, not the gift" that matters. Traditionally, food exchanges constituted the most expressive form of reciprocity; in fact, food (in the form of "staying for a meal" or having a "lunch") still remains the chief mechanism. To refuse to stay for a meal is unthinkably rude, and causes serious damage to a relationship, or prevents one from forming. In one instance observed, a nephew and his wife kept their coats on in an aunt and uncle's hot kitchen for over two hours, until the host's wife began to prepare tea, when the two guests jumped to their feet and said that "we only came over for a few minutes... and there's no reason for us to stay for lunch." A series of first joking and then somewhat angry protestations started, until finally, the hosts attempted to block the door and prevent their leaving. Some
amount of grappling occurred, until finally the nephew assured his aunt and uncle "that we'll be back on Wednesday night for lunch." After making them promise, they were released, although hesitantly. The extracted promise both called attention to the bad form of the behavior, and also allowed for correction.

A few cases of refusal of food have occurred where the guests have been "havin' hard times," and were unable to return the exchange. Consequently, individuals thus incapacitated are soon out of the flow of community exchanges, although they may be "loaned" food or goods to help them through their difficulties.

Food and drink are easily substitutable commodities, and today in the Valley one finds that among men, at least, alcohol has become the chief medium of exchange. It would be no exaggeration to say that beer is almost always close at hand in the Codroy Valley. Men quite frequently carry several bottles of beer in their parkas when they go out visiting, to be placed in the hands of friends that they might meet by chance or design and who might be without beer at hand. Those travelling in cars or trucks will often carry a case under the seat, or at least, a few bottles in the glove compartment. Beer then is both the constantly ready symbol of friendship and the occasion for its expression in an encounter.7

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The small, face-to-face encounters of men drinking, talking, joking, and singing are sustained by drinking activities that provide a boundary around the participants which excludes certain personal characteristics that participants may bring with them, and yet allow for a certain expansion of other characteristics (gregariousness, etc.) In the same manner, other activities, such as games, also achieve some of the same results, and card-playing provides one of the very few activities where drink is not seen as necessary.

Drink offers a unique form of reciprocal exchange, as it on one hand functions to provide a framework for a social relationship to begin or to continue, and on the other, because of the physiological concommitants of drinking activity—levity, depression of inhibitions, etc.—it also enlarges the realm of behavior which may be exhibited within the framework it provides. In addition, drink acts as a leveling agent, removing individual differences in deference to the encounter at hand. Drink is, in summary, a levelling, specifying, focusing source of activity.

But food and drink are certainly not the only media for exchange in dyadic ties. Help (or service) and the exchange of goods provide some common examples. Even goods that a recipient might use to advance his own interests are exchanged in the formation of dyadic contracts, as it is expected that a relationship will be rewarding in its own right, and will at the same time bring the initiator an equivalent return at one time or the other. It
has been seen that even where money is exchanged for goods and services, a form of reciprocal obligation accrues from the relationship. 8

One of the most pervasive forms of exchange is the flow of gossip and information that forms a system of interlocking channels that assures a very rapid and efficient flow of "news." Not only is gossip valuable to its users as a medium of exchange, but the system as a whole functions to maintain a traditional method of realignment that is crucial to the operation of the dyadic contract within the social structure. 9

In the patterns of exchange that validate dyadic contracts a striking fact is the view of the participants that their exchanges should, in the long-run, at least, be equivalent. As a consequence, if A gives B a particular item or act of help, B is not necessarily expected to return it in kind—in fact, he may not even be expected to reciprocate next. A may again give B some form of aid or an item, but does so only with the thought that the act of giving will be beneficial, and that B will at a later time return his acts in an equivalent exchange. A form of balance and equivalence is expected in any given time, or sequence, or form. In fact, each participant in a dyadic relationship may hold a different conception of the relationship, its purposes, and the motives of his colleague. This point deserves further expansion.

8See pp. 79-81.

9In the following pages gossip is discussed more intensively.
In the act of agreeing (implicitly) to participate in a dyadic contract, the partners begin their relationship with the initiating acts of one and the accepting behavior of the other (e.g., A invites B to join his family for cards and a meal, and B accepts). There is no "face-value" to aid and gifts: there is nothing self-evident about them. George Foster has described the meaning of such "favors":

Any favor, whatever its form, is part of a quid pro quo pattern, the terms of which are recognized and accepted by the participants. The favor or act simultaneously repays a past debt, incurs a future obligation, and reaffirms the continuing validity of the contract binding the partners. 10

Now it is clear why Valley people are offended when their offers of favors are rejected. The rejection of the favor is a rejection of the giver.

I asked him over here for a drink too many times and he never came... he's a queer sort... so if he wants to be left alone it's fine with me!

But beyond the simple act of initiating a contract, there is no simple sharing of motives that controls and regulates the exchange process and by doing so produces socio-cultural integration. As pointed out in the Introduction, Wallace has shown that all that is required in a sustaining social system is a "system of equivalent behavioral expectancies": i.e., a "complementarity of cognitions and motives." 11

10Foster, "The Dyadic Contract...", p. 1187.

11Wallace, p. 41.
What this means for the Valley is that individuals, although not certain of their fellows' motivations, have at their command (through learning processes) certain conceptions of the "others'" behavior under varying social circumstances. Put differently, each individual has the ability to predict the behavior of others under various circumstances (within certain approximations), and can relate "others'" behavior to his own. This act of "relating" is achieved by grasping and sustaining "cognitive maps" (guides to action) complex enough for them to sum to "equivalence structures" when combined with the "maps" of other individuals in the society. Those who cannot maintain such maps are the "deviants"; i.e., their brand of diversity has placed them outside of the social system's allowed range. Thus, when two men in the Valley establish a relationship on the basis of one's favor to the other, it is not necessary for one to know the other's motives except in a broad, generalized fashion. The giver wishes to establish a relationship with the receiver; but why? The receiver need not know for certain; or vice versa, the giver need not know the receiver's motives for accepting. Other things are not known as well: how much does the other party expect in exchange? How often must exchanges take place to maintain the relationship? Does the other partner seek a particular goal as a total result of the relationship, or is he only interested in the exchanges themselves? Is he acting out of "genuine" motivation--"does he like me"--or is this only necessary to reach other goals? Does the partner wish a long-term or a
short-term relationship? A multitude of other possibilities suggest themselves.

What is critical in the Valley's dyadic relationships is that there must be provided a modicum of trust, or more rightly, simply the belief that the other party of a dyad is not acting in pure self-interest and seeking rewards at minimum personal cost, but with little regard for the partner's losses. Such assurance is provided by the public imagery of equality and its attendant feature, reciprocity. No partner in a dyadic relationship as described here would persist in a contract if he felt he was being exploited by his partner. Pitt-Rivers discusses a similar situation in speaking of friendship in a Spanish pueblo:

The paradox, then, is this: that while a friend is entitled to expect a return of his feelings and favour he is not entitled to bestow them in that expectation.\textsuperscript{12}

The favor that initiates and maintains these relations is both an "emotional attitude and also the material gesture which might be thought to derive from this."\textsuperscript{13} But at the same time as one is not expected to profit at another person's expense, so there can be no simple one-to-one exchange between partners and still allow the relationship to persist.

A functional requirement of the system is that an exactly even balance between two partners never be

\textsuperscript{12}Pitt-Rivers, p. 139.

\textsuperscript{13}Ibid.
struck. This would jeopardize the whole relationship, since if all credits and debits somehow could be balanced off at a point in time, the contract would cease to exist. At the very least a new contract would have to be gotten under way, and this would involve uncertainty and possibly distress if one partner seemed reluctant to continue. The dyadic contract is effective precisely because partners are never quite sure of their relative positions at a given moment. As long as they know that goods and services are flowing both ways in roughly equal amounts over time, they know their relationship is solidly based.14

But if the analysis made here of such relationships in the Valley is correct, it would be impossible for partners to ascertain accurately such a balance for the very reason that individual motivations of others is not known. Where one does not know exactly why another person joins one in a social situation, it is likewise impossible to know exactly when a balance has been struck. In addition, goods and services exchanged may be roughly similar, but their value changes from person to person, time to time, and situation to situation. The assumption that the value of goods resides in some common factor, such as the amount of labor required to produce it, has been called by Kenneth Boulding the "fallacy of intrinsic worth":

A great deal of popular economic discussion assumes that things have an "intrinsic" worth. . . . However, it becomes clear that what a thing is worth to us depends on how much of it we have, and that therefore

the "worth" is not anything "in" a commodity. It is not a physical property of an object like weight or volume, but it is simply "how we feel about it." Things are "valuable" because somebody thinks they are, and for no other reason whatsoever.\(^{15}\)

Only the symbolic value of goods exchanged may stay the same, and this, too, can be reasonably doubted. An example of this dilemma is seen in the following example:

Jack Angus was having trouble hauling his winter's cut of wood out from his camp, several miles in the woods from the road. He had no tractor, and had recently lost his horse in an accident. Tom, a financially better-off wood cutter, offered to haul his wood out with his tractor. No bargain was struck in advance, and once the wood was out, Jack offered to pay for the work. Tom rejected the offer, however, accepting only a few bottles of home-brew in exchange for his efforts. There was no doubt that Jack still felt indebted to Tom, for he told of the kindness of the act at every opportunity he had. Similarly, he sought to do a number of small favors for Tom, such as offering first to help him cut some of his wood, and later to sell him some sheep at a very low price. Yet this did not discharge the debt, for as Jack Angus put it: "I'd like to do him a good turn like he done me, but he don't need anything I could do for 'em. He's after making a pile this winter, so his worries are over. Still, I feel as I'd ought to do something for him... I owes 'em a lot."

Jack's point of balance in this relationship is as difficult for the anthropologist to ascertain as it is for Jack.

The difficulty in ascertaining balance and equality in reciprocity has not prevented participants from trying it. Each

participant keeps his own form of social accounting system in operation and always has some idea of who is "in complement" (a local term) to whom at a given time. Consequently, before a man acts in a social situation, he appraises his "credit" with the other party(s), and decides in light of his "balance" the course and nature of his actions. To stay in debt to another party too long is considered bad etiquette as well as bad sense from a practical point of view. To leave a relationship "owing" the other party can be an indictment that will hurt all future relations with other parties.

The imagery of balance is a method of aiding the total maintenance of interpersonal relations by giving direction and certainty to situations that carry a degree of ambiguity caused by the lack of knowledge of other person's motivations, as well as by the equivocal nature of the exchange act. But despite the functions of this device, interpersonal relations in the Valley remain somewhat tentative at all times.

If attitudes towards interpersonal behavior in the parish could be summed up in one word, it would have to be "cautiousness," for wariness surrounds all behavior. But "unfriendliness" and "hostility" are not the overt concomitants of wariness and caution, for Valley people are always open to alliance. Nevertheless, openness is always tempered by a sense of caveat emptor. Alliances are always somewhat suspect, for as we have seen, the best an individual can do in forming a relationship is to approximate the
outcome on the basis of past experiences; he cannot hope to understand his partner's motives, nor, (except in a general way) understand the future of the relationship. Relations with others are contracted quietly--sometimes secretly--and with little reference to those outside the dyad, except where the contract is formed specifically to create further relationships through "sponsoring" activities. All dyadic contracts are deadly serious in their intent, and there is no such thing as a "casual" relationship: too much of the self is involved to allow for frivolity. The complete "person" is involved in the dyad in the fullest sense. This point becomes clearer if we briefly examine the roles played in the Valley.

If initially we conceptually separate the areas in which roles are played by Valley adults, the categories of kinship, politics, economics, religion, and recreation suggest themselves as useful, if somewhat ethnocentric, divisions. Yet, in a peasant group such as this one, any role played by an individual may cut across all of these categories. In this way, to take just one example, the father-son relationship operates in all classes of behavior. Of this, we say that "role-definition" is quite broad. At the same time, role-relationships are largely overt in nature, because of the face-to-face social conditions encountered in small communities such as this. There is little possibility of the latent role-
relationships¹⁶ that urban life provides, as in the role of fellow-member in a voluntary organization. Instead, an individual in the Valley is aware of all persons with whom he can play roles, as well as the form those roles will take, if they are ever played. Consequently, a "mutual steering" occurs whereby the performance of one role provides guidance and preparation for another, possibly yet unused.

Putting together these characteristics of broad role definition and the overt and public nature of role relationships, it is evident that Valley people have little recourse in "hiding" the self, or "retreating" into different roles that are highly insulated from each other, as are those in the urban area. In the parish one is what one is: farmer-father-son-brother-husband, etc. There is no escaping this public recognition, or the accompanying judgment that one undergoes in all of these roles. All actions that a person performs in any area of life towards any individuals in role-relationships with him potentially affect the appraisals other persons in other role-relationships with him will make.

This vulnerability to appraisal in all areas of social life is particularly evident in the function of gossip, the chief medium for the expression of this appraisal. It is impossible to separate

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¹⁶Following A.W. Southall, "An Operational Theory of Role," Human Relations 12: 17-34, 1959. I am indebted to Dr. Ronald Frankenberg for calling my attention to this concept.
gossip from "information" in its appearance in the Valley--"fact" and "opinion" are not easily separable phenomena. Evaluation is a given fact of oral information flow in a face-to-face society. When Valley people seek gossip they seek not only the who and the what of an event, but also the why and "so what" that the information carrier is also expected to comment on. From out of the reported flow of events--who went where with whom, how much did he get for it, what did he sell, etc.--comes a series of case histories on each person and family in the parish, and every person in the parish carries some form of history of each other person. Each of these is a unique version. Yet, at the same time, there evolves a summary statement of community opinion; the gossip process provides a form of tally sheet of community values on given subjects. Each person gains from this flow an impression of how his fellows feel on the subject. For as gossip recirculates and passes the same persons a number of times, a number of different evaluations are shared. For this reason, a man will listen intently to a re-telling of the same piece of news he may have heard several times before, as he knows that each gossiper will also pass on his own opinions along with a description of the events. For the same reason, too, a person gaining a piece of news will be anxious to pass it on: not only will he be able to air his views, but he will also gather his listeners' opinions as well. There is no "I've heard that already" here. All news worth hearing is worth hearing again.
Gossip is both the medium and the occasion for exchange. But, being a vehicle for community opinion, it also is a form of social control. It is realized that actions cannot be easily hidden, and the gossip process can be a greatly feared result of the violations of norms. To be discussed back and forth from so many sides is not a bright prospect for the potential transgressor.

Much in the fashion that gossip is used to maintain community norms, so several other techniques exist: song "making" and imitations. Although only a few song makers are recognized as fully qualified in every generation, the song is a potential weapon in all hands for controlling and censuring the behavior of others. All songs function in the Valley as entertainment for group gatherings, and the most caustic and pointed of them is not seen as out of place at such gatherings. Thus, in the context of what is ostensibly an evening for fun, vast levers of criticism can be used against individuals. No violation of norms, no matter how slight, is free from the possibility of a song: well-known creations exist on such subjects as over-zealousness in love affairs (on the part of males), indictments of those who had become "too high and mighty," the failure of a man to assert his manliness with his wife, the misadventures of poachers (with particular emphasis on the stupidity of game laws and game wardens), the misadventures of bachelorhood, the unfair working conditions of particular jobs, and an infinite number of other topics. One such song marks a
particular evening of dance and drink, and the "foolishness" of
two young men's argument over a girl:

Now, as 'twas time to go home,
And everybody had his own;
And everyone was getting his own,
But Johnny Park had n'ar one.

Now up steps he to Tom Patey,
Saying "What are ye doin' along with she;
She used to go along with me,
And she'll do it again this morning."

Now Jack and Tom get in a clinch,
And n'ar a one of they would flinch;
And when the fight came to an end,
The maiden she was gone, sir.

Now all young men take warn from this,
And don't go fightin' o'r a lass;
'Cause if you do, 'twill cause a laugh,
And you'll be left with n'ar one.

Songs of satire are accepted by listeners as great fun, and
some songs have lasted several generations; the survivors of the
individuals involved have now inherited the criticism levelled in
the song. Complaining about a song is considered bad sport on the
part of the accused, so he must suffer its criticism in silence.
Some objections in the past have been turned into an extra verse,
all the more critical. Song makers themselves are held somewhat
in awe despite the ill-feelings that may persist over their
creations--another song is always possible. On many occasions
where the makers have not been present at an event, others have
carried the details to the creator with the request to "song 'em."

Much in the same vein as the song maker, is the popular sport
of imitation. A large number of people in the parish make a
specialty of doing imitations of other individuals, and those that are recognized for this ability have an uncanny skill at duplicating their sources. Much as songs are used to relate events that have been censured by the community, so imitators often, to the great delight of their audience, act out the event, or satirically relate the incident from the point of view of the wrong-doer. In effect, imitators duplicate events in "prose ballads." Not so well-known today, but common some years ago, too, was the verse, usually recited, though sometimes left pinned to some public spot, such as the church door.

In the face of the high degree of exposure of the self to community evaluation and comment in the face-to-face social environment of the peasant society, protection of the individual is accomplished by the use of several devices, primary among which is "impression management." The control of public impressions requires a certain degree of secrecy, or a limited "backstage" area where impressions are controlled. Despite the common observation that peasant families have little privacy, it is apparent that Valley people have established a system which guarantees them maximum "preparation" for the coming of guests--i.e., a knowledge of who is coming--to maintain a demeanor of openness and welcome. First, houses invariably do not have usable or at least

used front doors— if there are such doors, as in some of the newer houses that follow modern plans, they are usually locked and without steps leading up to them— so that a visitor must come to a side or a back door for entry, and in so doing, walk around the house in full view of all inside. Second, most houses are built close to the road in order to facilitate observation, both of the flow of traffic around the parish and of visitors coming to the house. In the same manner, early settlers built their houses along the main thoroughfare of travel of the time, the river. In later years, after roads were built, most of these homes were moved up to the road. There is a mixture of suspicion and wonderment at the stupidity of those few people who have built their houses far back from the road.

At the houses, children and dogs are ever on the alert to warn householders of coming visitors.\(^\text{18}\) Although children are not formally required to act as lookouts, such behavior is encouraged and rewarded, and a child may sometimes be mildly rebuked if he fails to notice a visitor coming: "Didn't you see Mr. Y coming, Francis? You must have been up to something."

Consequently, the visitor invariably arrives on a scene best described as "domestic neutrality" as he enters the house: there will seldom be any talking, the wife will be at the stove or the

\(^{18}\)On one occasion of observing for this particular point, of 17 houses with children available for this work showed children either in the yard or at the windows.
wash, the husband in a chair by the fire, the children quiet. But at night when it is not easy to see a visitor coming, his arrival may be greeted with apprehension: "Who could be coming in now?" "What's that noise?" This concern has been explained as: "you never know who might come in when you're unsuspecting at night."

Discussions on the roads are not considered particularly desirable, as the participants expose themselves to the community's conjecture regarding their conversations. At the same time, however, to say of a particular piece of gossip that "I heard it along the road," is to express rudely one's desire not to reveal a source.

With barriers erected to free access of information on the "true selves," certain devices have been enacted to maintain free flow. One such device is the child: possibly the universal case of the "non-person."¹⁹ Children, being without publicly recognized fully developed selves, are free both from the sanctions of gossip and to observe and to report what has been observed. They are particularly free to go where adults fear to tread, as their presence is ignored, even if they are uninvited. Although a child may not be sent specifically to report on other adult's behavior, he is often asked to give a full accounting of what he saw. As a non-person, he is allowed access to the back-stages of other households and may stay as long as he likes. Children learn that

a parent's leading question, "And how was Mrs. X today?" has broader implications than simply the current health of Mrs. X. If he is sketchy, he will be pushed to fill in details. This gathering of data is especially easy for children, too, for they usually remain silent when adults are near, and listen with apparent great enjoyment to adults' conversations. It is not uncommon to see children spend a whole evening sitting with their friends listening to the talk of adults, with hardly a word passing between them during the evening.

As a result of all this, a child is seen by his parents as a reservoir of information on other families' lives. Questions addressed to adults about their neighbors' ages, or their relations with their siblings are often referred to children for answering. Parents and children both take pride in the information children have gathered, and children indeed often show great ability at this exercise.

Another side of the same coin is the ability of the child to perform "face-work" for the parent. His non-person status not only provides him both with access to otherwise closed areas, but also gives him freedom from worry about his self-image among adults. Borrowing and repayment are frequently done by children, particularly when the parents' ability to make a later exchange is in doubt. In

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this manner, the parent is not required to expose himself in times of hardship. In one case (although a rare one), a family on relief had been removed from the relief rolls for drinking and for their refusal to take offered work. Nevertheless, the children were sent by the parents house to house begging for food and money to buy it with. It was commonly said that "I wouldn't give that hopeless case a cent, but his poor children deserve what they can get."

Children are often sent as messengers to invite adults to social occasions, particularly where the inviting hosts are not sure of their relationship with the invited. If the invited guest turns down the invitation, no face is lost either way. Children also act as collectors for local fund drives and as salesmen for their families' special products (strawberries, small items for the household, etc.), thus avoiding the adults' embarrassment at being turned down, or at having to turn another adult down. In the same manner, children act as transmitters of sanction, as on one occasion when the priest was hearing confessions in the local school and a child came to the author's house with the following message: Mommy asked me to ask you if you would like to come down to confessions... everyone in the section is there." A priest, too, will sometimes send a child on ahead to warn the family of his coming, or to suggest that his family has not been to communion lately.

These children's roles have two sides: on the one hand, they provide a mechanism through which necessary gossip-information can
be gained on another's actions and on the events of the community which are not public. This information is necessary in the sense that in a small community such as this, the group must necessarily be aware of and be able to predict shifts in alignment, splits, and the effects of outside influences in order to maintain unity without the formal structures available through organizations among urban peoples and corporate kin structures among primitives. On the other hand, children as non-persons also provide protection for the self in a society where the self is constantly exposed in all of its roles and functions. Lacking a number of discrete groups within which to play a diversity of roles insulated from each other, the individual must expose himself in all of his interpersonal behavior. His greatest means of self-diversity lies in the establishment of various and numerous dyadic contracts with individuals outside of his kindred. Yet, even in these, the criss-crossing of dyads still allows full opportunity for his friends to compare notes on his behavior and their appraisal of this behavior, a possibility not so omnipresent in urban society, for example. The child as a face-worker is such a means of protection from unwanted overexposure and challenge to the self.

One other factor causing a cautious approach to interpersonal relations in the parish should be mentioned here: the possibilities of exploiting the relationship created by the dyadic contract's ambiguous nature. As was hinted at before, the ideal partner for a symmetrical relationship is only an ideal, and the imagery of
equality helps fill the gap between what is desired and what is. In reality it is possible to use one's multiple contracts with a number of individuals to cross purposes: it is fully possible to maintain contracts with several persons who are not on good terms, thus realizing the benefits of staying between opposing parties. To the person who is able to accomplish this, it seems to be a sensible method of avoiding strife; but to his partners who are in conflict, this is at best a shaky arrangement.

There are some people who can let on like they're lovely friends with you, but you never have any way of knowing what they're sayin' to the other chap. They could be runnin' with tales from one person to the other, just for the fun of it." It is here that gossip serves its function perhaps best: by passing information back and forth between one's many ties, it is possible to discover who among one's partners is "acting like a friend," and not exposing one's actions to others for what it can gain him in another situation. Gossip thus provides a necessary mechanism for continual realignment and rearrangement of social ties, as well as being a means for determining the relative solidarity of one's relationships. Nevertheless, this situation creates a cautious attitude on the part of potential contractors, lest they fall into a situation that can do them more harm than good.

Another subject of concern in forming relationships is the manipulator of exchange—a type of person anticipated in the discussion of the equivocal nature of exchange arrangements. A situation ostensibly equal in nature can easily be turned into an
asymmetrical tie, one in which one individual has developed such a superior position in relation to the other that the former can exert virtual patron-client powers over the latter. What should be overgenerosity on one person's part might very well turn out to be a plot to gain a position that is impossible for the other person to escape from. Although there is no real protection against this possibility if a partner is a skillful manipulator of affect and exchange, there is at best a fear of the possibility that tempers all but the oldest and most firmly grounded relationships.

This, then, is a picture of the factors that cause a motif of caution to pervade all social relationships in the Valley. But to understand this phenomenon properly, we must first ask additional questions about the basic functions of dyadic relations in the social system.

Cooperation, as such, is not an important fact of interpersonal relations in the Codroy Valley. To be sure, in the early days of the settlement cooperative work was carried on, but always in the context of social activities. For example, wool cloth "millings"—work sessions where new wool was "worked" and made soft by a group of people seated around the table pounding the cloth in time to a song directed by a leader—were open to all who wished to come. Volunteer labor for these affairs was encouraged, first, by the
social nature of the gathering, and second, by the food and drink supplied by the host family. "Cutting sprees" were held for gathering a family's winter wood supply, and in much the same social setting as the milling. Hay-making, too, could be the subject of such a social-work party. But it should be noted that the nuclear family is quite able to carry out any labor needed to maintain the typical one or two acres of crops, to cut the wood (whether for sale or fire), to fish, or to do any of the other tasks required at one household. At this level of technology, as Foster has suggested for peasant societies in general, the need for an effective nuclear family is maximized and the need for larger cooperative groups is minimized.

A possible objection might be raised at this point that these cooperative work ventures constitute a non-reciprocal mode of production-distribution within the section. However, what is important about such events is that (1) they did not occur with great frequency and consequently had the atmosphere of festivities, not work events; (2) "sprees" occurred only in the realm of non-competitive production, e.g., winter wood cutting, haymaking, etc., or in times of crisis (such as rebuilding a house after a fire). None of these events involved forms of production that resulted

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21 Assuming here the "typical" family, with at least one or two sons and as many daughters.

22 Foster, "The Dyadic Contract. . . ." p. 1181.
in goods valued by merchants, and consequently did not unbalance the community. In fact, group production only reduced the amount of inequality potential by giving aid to those who were falling below the standards maintained by the rest; (3) In the strictest sense of reciprocity, many of these cooperative work sessions can be called reciprocal, as the organizer and chief recipient of the work efforts was often responsible for supplying entertainment, food, and drink in large quantities. At times (such as wood cuttings) it would appear that a need for wood plays little part in the affair, and that the occasion itself and the affect created by the event are most important.

As cooperation, then, is not a great concern in the parish, neither is consensus. Rather, it is the avoidance of dissension, that is important. Although there are no doubt common "values," in a narrow sense of the word (for example, a farm-based livelihood, residential commonality, Catholicism, etc.), a greater interest exists in avoiding conflict than in creating harmony and agreement. It is obvious that this point is consistent with one

23Following, here, the usage of van den Berghe, as there is no exact antonym for "consensus," and this form is preferable to the neologism "dissensus." See Pierre van den Berghe, "Dialectic and Functionalism: Toward a Theoretical Synthesis," American Sociological Review 28: 695-705, 1963.

24There is no logical or ethnological reason why the avoidance of dissension as a key concern of a society should not be consistent with a notion of social integration. Some recent writings have argued in detail against the Parsonsian-functionalist assumption of value consensus as a prior necessity to the existence of a social system. See particularly Florence R. Kluckholm and Fred L. Strodtbeck, Variations in Value Orientations (Evanston: Row, Peterson, 1961), van den Berghe, and Herman Turk, "Social Cohesion through Variant Values," American Sociological Review 28: 28-37, 1963.
introduced earlier: i.e., the integrated behavior possible even with a minimally shared set of "understandings." If it is not possible to predict with certainty the factors that make for alliance and consensus, at least one can attempt to avoid factors that lead to disunity and dissension.

The concern over maintaining control over dissension is brought into the foreground in some more recent developments in the parish. With World War II and Confederation, the parish's exposure to new elements of social organization as used by the "outside" world has increased. In addition, increasing labor opportunities both in and out of the parish have carried men to greater and greater distances from one another and from the parish as a whole. All the while, there has been a process of economic and educational diversity under way that is assuredly a part of urbanization. These factors all add up to an increase in heterogeneity within the parish, greater independence and self-containment of individuals, and larger distance between individuals, both structurally and geographically. It is inevitable, then, that the members of the parish will become less and less subject to the traditional social controls, less in touch with the gossip-information flow, increasingly unable to utilize previous techniques for avoiding dissension (such as using children as face workers and gossip carriers), and, as a result, become more and more susceptible to a new form of aggression and competition, at least until other forms of control are developed.
It is in this crucial early period of change, however, that the greatest weaknesses occur, as it is here that the old techniques are tried in vain. It is apparent that two factors of the "new ways" are already disturbing: the increasing economic and social distance between men has combined with newly instituted "democratic" processes to disrupt the traditional uses of information flow and face-work as defenses against dissension.

The chief tool of government in rural Newfoundland is the "meeting": there is the implicit, and sometimes quite explicit, assumption that, as one government agent had it, "if you have groups, you can develop leaders... as it is now, there's no place for them to emerge." On this assumption, all serious requests or protests to the government are answered by suggestions to organize a meeting, where "views can be aired democratically." As it will become apparent later, the organization of groups was encouraged by government subsidies and the promise of action on local requests if these came formally from fully constituted bodies. For almost every government subsidy or grant, the organization of a group of representatives is required to channel the funds.

A greatly frustrating factor to government officials, however, is the amount of drinking that occurs at these meetings, for drinking has become a necessity for all public gatherings: now weddings, funerals, Christmas, New Year's, Easter, dances, political meetings, the meetings of the road board, and all ad hoc meetings have become the occasion of heavy drinking.
Drinking acts as a "subordinate activity" at meetings, subordinate to the business at hand, i.e., participating in the business, or at least listening to what is being said. As a subordinate activity it is always available as a potentially dominant activity, as a release from situations that might be damaging. For the moment one can cease the flow of the activity to change or simply reconsider the flow. Chairmen of meetings have sometimes called for breaks or asked for time to gather together materials when meetings are on the verge of hostilities.

Drinking at meetings performs a needed safeguard against divisive and disruptive matters that may occur in the normal course of business. The manifest function is that it reduces all large gatherings, formal or informal, to the same basic social framework as that of the small drinking encounter (although without the exchange-treating patterns that reaffirms relationships): that is, it attempts to put relations in these meetings on the same friendly, "loose" basis as the small social gathering. In short, it reduces social distance created within the formality of the meeting's structure.

But the latent function of drink is even more important. It allows for an excuse to be always at hand to explain away public outbursts of hostilities, and at the same time, resolve them. In all the meetings observed, antagonistic behavior was later forgiven as irrational: "He was full and he didn't know what he was after," or "Poor Jack, he can't hold the beer and he gets odd." After
meetings the antagonistic individual will also frequently go to the subject of his attacks and explain his drunken condition, or at least, he will make a point of telling others of his heavy drinking.

This explanation of drinking makes clear several other patterns of parish social behavior as well. It is understandable why women's drinking has not increased beyond the minimal level it has always held: women have not had their patterns of information flow impeded as have men, and their encounter relations operate in much the same manner as they always did. And perhaps most important, women do not usually attend meetings and participate in the overt group decision process, so that drinking is of no value to them in this instance. It is significant in this light to see that speaking out at meetings and drinking are both seen as "mannish" activities for women. The same point gives additional material for understanding the attitude towards the teetotaler. When a parish man takes the "pledge" from the priest not to drink for a certain period of time, he at the same time voluntarily pulls himself out of community participation, now not feeling free to attend meetings or even encounters, as he cannot drink and thus fully participate. He thus withdraws from normal social relations with other men. His pledge behavior is seen as somewhat unmanly, and frequently it will be said that "he's sprouted little wings."

But drinking as a means of controlling the new processes of social decision-making is just one side of the technique. There is also no doubt that most decisions are made outside of meetings in small groups (as was done traditionally), or "government by committee." If disagreements are predicted through gossip flow, there is created a fear that these will erupt during the formal proceedings of the meeting, for in such a setting the traditional processes of long-term gossip and community evaluation, as well as face-work possibilities, are sidestepped. Within a short time, then the friendlier and less committed members of opposing points of view will meet over beer to attempt to reach some solution before the meeting. If none is forthcoming, an attempt is made to discourage the conflict from appearing. An incident of this sort occurred when it became apparent that the road board had decided to leave one man's road out of the annual budget, thus providing him with no repairs. First, the injured party spread his grievance around the parish, making clear his position. He carefully outlined his plan for challenging the budget at the meeting. By the time of the meeting he did not turn up, later saying that he did not wish to cause any strife, "and if they want to do me dirty, that's all right!" When the new budget had been read, and the request for comment had been given, one of the neighbors and distant relatives of the injured party rose and

\[\text{For a similar occurrence in a Norwegian parish, see Barnes, "Class and Committee in a Norwegian Island Parish," Human Relations 7: 48-52, 1954.}\]
asked if the man's name and road had not been left off by mistake. The chairman, after assuring him that it was a possibility because of the hurried preparation, the badly written copy, etc., said that, sure enough, he had forgotten to read it. Most persons at the meeting were fully aware of the conflict and its details, but the illusion was carried off without overt strife.

Thus, such few meetings as do occur in the parish are largely a means of formalizing (for the purpose of government or the "outsiders") previously determined arrangements. For this reason attendance at meetings is always low, with just a few people from each section attending, "just to see that nothing goes on." Large attendance only occurs at meetings where the community lacks previous control over events, such as when government officials come to the area to outline their plans for the Valley, or when politicians are campaigning. Significantly, drinking at meetings like these has been high, and outbursts and shows of temper have been widely noted by officials.

Pre-planning of meetings is clearly shown by such practices as delaying the meeting for perhaps thirty minutes while small groups carry on discussions before hand. One of the potentially most divisive moments could be the election of officers, but here the problem has been solved by the virtual reelection of all old officers who do not resign. If more than one person does get nominated to an office, the second one usually declines. A conscious effort is always made to staff offices with individuals
that represent every section, and the defeat of such plans as the Community Council must partly be blamed on government laws that restrict the number of officers to a minimum below the number of sections, thus preventing what is felt to be fair distribution of power.

As Barnes has indicated of this sort of governmental procedure, "each man's worth is fixed relative to another's, and discussions leading to votes are cautious and tentative. . . they try to win support by agreeing with all." In fact, all members rising to qualify anything said before them, begin with the phrase, "I agree with everything that's been said here tonight, but. . ." When real disagreements are not settled, the antagonist will usually withdraw from the meeting, later rationalizing his behavior as a means of not offending a friend.

It is apparent in this discussion that agreement is not as important as "non-agreement" (if this is not a linguistic tautology). If agreement is not easily reached, activities and goals are abandoned rather than create dissension: thus, the "crippling" and "disabling" of public projects, so bemoaned by community development agents.

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The essence of interpersonal relations in the parish--openness to alliance tempered by caution, the ambiguity of the

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27Barnes, p. 51.
terms of relations, and the value of ritual in creating and destroying relations—is clear to the observer in a unified form in a single seasonal ritual of archaic sources: mumming at Christmas time. The presence of all of these characteristic conditions in a single form of social behavior recommends it for detailed consideration.

The Twelve Days of Christmas in the parish are celebrated by freedom from work, and by a high degree of social interaction in the form of house parties and the visiting of family and friends. A month or so before the Christmas season, large brews of beer are made and set aside in kegs to age. The women bake numbers of fruit cakes and large batches of cookies, and open up jars of preserved moose, chicken, jams, and vegetables. A cow or a pig is usually slaughtered so that all visitors can be given a meal or a "lunch"—a late evening meal—of the highest quality. Hospitality and generosity are very much in evidence.

Starting with the end of fasting after Midnight Mass on December 25, the holidays begin. On returning from Mass, food and drink are consumed in full quantity as presents from one member of the family to another are opened. Adults go to bed quite late, and children wake in the morning to find more gifts, those left by Santa Claus. From Christmas day through the rest of the days of Christmas visiting begins. Whole families go together to other houses, beginning usually with their immediate relatives and moving next to the neighbors living in the same section. These visits
begin somewhat formally, but frequently wind up in partial or complete drunkenness among the men. Even the women, normally quite hesitant about drinking alcohol, may take one or two glasses of wine or several hot toddies of rum. House parties, particularly, are scenes of drinking in great quantities with many men reaching a state of drunkenness. Although drinking occurs on some other festive days during the year's cycle—such as Easter, weddings, etc.—there is no period of greater license than the Christmas season.

When boys and girls reach the age of 16 or 17, or even slightly before, they may begin to visit others of the same age in their homes, and, depending on the parents involved, may be allowed to have a few glasses of beer. Certainly, by the age of 19 or 20, a boy will be expected to do a "light bit" of drinking, if not more. Men and women too will visit from house to house in single sex groups, visiting others of their same age group, much as they did before they were married. Most visits are made in the afternoons and usually extend into a meal, although some individuals will also visit in the mornings and evenings. These visits are seen as signs of open friendship, and are looked forward to with great relish. "The Twelve Days are for good times with family and friends," say the parish people.

But the nights are another story. At nights, roaming from house to house, come groups of mummers. Mummers have always been known to go about at Christmas time in the parish, although no one has ever heard of the mummer's play. Masked figures are as
much a part of Christmas in the parish as Santa Claus and alcohol.

Mummers dress in household odds and ends: table cloths, burlap bags, hip boots, torn dresses, battered hats, woollen underwear, long coats, and gloves. Men usually dress as "generalized" women and women as "generalized" men. Shapes become blurred as the pile of coats, sweaters, table cloths, and padding reduce individual differences. Veils of various materials completely surround the head and are held in place by battered men's and women's hats. For mummers, a covered face is a necessity, as is the inverted sex disguise.

Mummers move from house to house in small groups of two to six, always after dark. They enter houses without knocking, but always stamp their feet heavily as they approach the door and as they pass into the kitchen. Once inside, they begin a jogging, half-dance, half-shake that is the "mummer's walk." They often move about the room freely, and will sometimes even go into other parts of the house; they are aggressive, and may nudge or jostle members of the household, or begin dancing with them or other mummers. They may also make jokes about the family. Frequently, musical instruments are brought by the mummers, and they may play on guitars, violins, or beat on breadpans. Traditionally, one or two mummers might stepdance if asked to do so, although now the younger ones will be more inclined to do the Twist if called upon to "give a step."

As mummers reverse their sexual roles in their dress, so they
reverse their speech. On deep gulps of breath, words are swallowed in a rapid monotone of short phrases. Mummers will answer questions about themselves, but their veracity is doubtful, as they usually sprinkle false clues to their identity among the true.

But there are other means of determining mummers' identity. The overall physical appearance of the mummer, although well disguised, is important in this process. The relative height of individuals and the appearance of hands (when they are exposed) are key determiners. The male-female inversion of dress acts as an indicator of sex. Articles of clothing, naturally, are used to recognize individuals, although some attempts may be made to disguise these articles by mixing them and by using them in an unorthodox fashion.

This last point of identification implies yet another method of recognition: the make-up of the mumming group. The sexual makeup, physical characteristics, and number of mummers in a particular group are taken into account to relate the "unknown" group to a "real" social group. "If you guesses one right, boy, s'no trouble to guess the lot of 'em." Thus, in questioning mummers particular attention is paid to who does the talking and the effect of the spokesman's statements on the group. In the same way, the questioner observes the general effect his questions and guesses have on the group, as when he watches for laughter accompanying his fixing names on the wrong persons, or the "inappropriateness" of his questions for particular mummers.
Since mumming is a "voluntary" social activity, persons who 
mum together are normally co-actors in daily social situations. 

As a general rule, then, only friends and kin go mumming together. 
One young man who went mumming several years ago with a group of 
other young men from a village 10 miles away, said of their 
success, "Even my brother was after mistakin' me, sure!"

Although it is obvious that mummers go to some lengths to 
disguise their identity, it would seem that there is usually no 
wish to stay completely unidentifiable. It is felt that there is 
no fun involved when there is complete failure at identification. 
It is significant, too, that in most cases mummers are eventually 
recognized by their hosts.

When identification is positively made, mummers are expected 
to "strip"--to remove their masks--not to do so is considered an 
affront to the hosts, and even fellow mummers may try and force a 
reticent masker to identify himself. If a host fails completely to 
identify a mummer he may try to remove his mask forcibly, conse-
quently producing a scuffle that may become quite rough. A host 
may also offer a drink to the mummer he fails to know, but it is 
felt that an unidentified person should remain thus, and pass on 
to another house without accepting offers of food and drink if they 
should be made.

But once a mummer has been identified he ceases his aggressive 
behavior and takes a seat along the wall, returning to the usual
demeanor present in normal social encounters. When children are mummers, the change of behavior is even more noticeable, as their unmasking and identification cause them to return to their normal behavior before adults, i.e., a "seen-and-not-heard" manner that has them sit a distance away from the adults, carefully avoiding any position that could be construed as placing themselves on the same level as adults. Thus, children will not eat at the table with adults, and they avoid sitting on a day bed while an adult sits there.

Hosts are expected to offer recognized mummers drink or even food. If these are not forthcoming shortly after the unmasking (an almost unheard of possibility) the mummers soon become uncomfortable, and quickly, and somewhat formally move on to the next house. In this manner, some houses have become known as "good houses for mummers" for the quantity of food and drink that is given the maskers, as well as for the general atmosphere of hospitality that prevails in such homes.

In recent years there have been very few changes in mumming practices among adults, except for the fact that not as many adults now participate. On the other hand, many more children now go house to house, even those only four or five years old. There has been some blurring between Halloween and Mumming for children, so much the same behavior is found on both days. Within the last few years, then, a few younger mummers have begun to play pranks on their hosts, such as picking up small objects while they are in the
house and leaving them in someone else's house. As a result, a few older people say that they do not welcome the mummers, as they are "too much bother."

In interpreting this ritual of social behavior, it is necessary to raise and answer a series of questions that present themselves as crucial to identifying its function: (1) why should parish people go visiting, masked, at a time of the year when visiting is a formal gesture of reaffirmation of social and kin ties is already prescribed? We may contrast this with the French-Canadian practice of mumming at Lent, when visiting is not normally expected.) What is the "value" for people who, as mummers, visit individuals whom they may have visited just a day or so before, or will visit shortly, in an unmasked state? (2) Why do mummers become aggressive and lose normal inhibitions once they are masked and yet reverse the situation once they have been identified? (3) Why is it considered "no fun" to go completely unrecognized on a visit, and yet also "no fun" to be identified too soon? These questions, it seems to me, lie at the base of the mumming practices in the parish. To answer these, the ritual must be looked at more closely.

Mummers go visiting at night, a time when the surprise of visitors is at its maximum. As mentioned before, houses are always open to visitors and no warning of entry is considered necessary, yet, children and dogs warn the householders of coming visitors almost without fail, thus allowing the family a certain amount of "preparation." At night, however, this is impossible, and a visitor can cause considerable alarm if he comes unexpectedly. It is
noteworthy that curtains are drawn only on the windows that face
the path that connects the house to the main road, the main approach
to the house.

The mummer's entry into a house at night, then, is a discon­
certing event for the householders. The usual formal relations
that surround the entry of non-family members into a house do not
now apply: 28 i.e., a certain etiquette of greeting, of locating
the guest in a particular chair (usually near the fire), of allowing
the host to initiate conversation, of offering food and/or drink,
etc. The family must act and protect themselves the best they can.
It is for them an uncomfortable situation, as it is impossible for
them to know what role or self to put forward.

For the mummer, on the other hand, this can be a great deal
of "fun." It is a pleasure to see the "naked self" of the hosts
exposed--"caught off guard"--and to see them struggle with the
situation. But perhaps more important to the mummer is the
aggression 29 which he can freely express towards his hosts, and

28To a people who still maintain protective strictures on entering
houses (such as "always leave by the same door you came in or it's
bad luck," and "count the four corners of the room when you come
into a house you've never been in, and make a wish"), this seemingly
simple act is something of a territorial rite de passage. Arnold
van Gennep, The Rites of Passage (Chicago: University of Chicago

29That mummers express hostility and aggression is clear from
the description of their behavior towards their hosts, but even
more so by the widely reported violence connected with mumming in
various parts of Newfoundland. It was just such violence that
caused mumming to be outlawed on the island.
yet be protected from the usual reprisals while he is in this "otherworldly" or (in Durkheim's terms) "sacred" state. A mummer can get quite "nasty" or "mean" and yet be forgiven as he is considered to be just "actin' like a mummer should," and if the host were to act otherwise, he would be publicly labelled a "bad sport."

Mumming also presents an excuse for visiting the "unvisitable": those people whom one requires an excuse (such as a business offer) to visit. In most cases, these are the people in another village, particularly those who live on the border of the mummer's own village. Mumming thus provides an opportunity to extend one's ties by artificially extending food and drink exchanges. Since it is considered bad taste not to offer a mummer "a drop," the mummer puts himself in the position of having an opportunity to later invite this somewhat distant person for a reciprocal drink. Although theoretically, there are no homes where a mummer will not visit, as a rule his activities are limited to his own village or those that border on his own. In this way, the "mumming area" of a particular village tends to be coterminous with the area usually considered the "neighborhood," the place in which constant renewal and affirmation of social ties is seen as most necessary.

Some individuals will occasionally mum in distant villages if they happen to have a very good friend or a kinsman there. In such cases, however, it is more common for a man to mum away from home with a friend or kinsman from the distant area.
If a mummer is identified, he properly "plays fair" and unmasks--a person who will not do so is frowned upon by both his mumming comrades and his host, and his fellow mummers are likely to try and "strip 'em," during which some fighting may occur. After unmasking there is laughter over the deception, with the mummers taking the customary seats along the wall. The host gets beer or rum for adults (candy or cake for children) and perhaps food and even tea, with the strong possibility that the mummers may not get to other houses that evening. If, in the rare case, no drinks are offered, the mummers move on quickly, often later complaining of the rude and ill treatment they were given at this house.

Thus, from the time of identification on, the atmosphere is that of a normal social encounter between members of different families, and thus is dependent upon the rules of such encounters.

Once the return to the normal social encounter has occurred, there is an easing of tension when the householder is free of his vulnerable position for licensed aggression, so that now he can return to his "safer" (i.e., more predictable) role as host. For the mummer, too, strangely enough, there is an easing of tension, for although he has enjoyed his position as aggressor, by being identified he has been "recognized," returned to the group, as it were. He is aware that he is familiar enough to his identifiers to be recognized; this familiarity, he has discovered through the host's eased manner, and the offered food and drink (and thus an initiation of a drinking exchange) has enabled him to renew an
otherwise uncertain relationship. The dyadic exchange has begun again—the ex-mummer must later reciprocate in order to maintain the relationship.

At the same time, by travelling in a group, the mummer has been identified (in two senses of the word) as a member of a group of friends and/or kin, as his house-to-house travels with the group affirm his ties with the members. All of these individuals are then bound together with the host in the same food-drink exchange, thus giving a multi-person dimension to the relationship. So it is with the identification and subsequent unmasking of mummers and the sharing of food and drink that a common framework is established—one that in effect says "we are not like mummers," and so the norms are reaffirmed and reestablished.

But perhaps the meaning of the mummer ritual is most easily seen when a mummer is not recognized by his hosts. If mummers are not identified, they will leave without revealing their identity and thus without receiving food and drink. This is seen by most mummers as "no fun" and many feel that such a stop was a "waste of time." The mummer leaves with a sense of not being recognizable by his host, and the host remains in a sense of tension at not knowing who his "tormentors" were: i.e., he had been shown hospitality with no sense of relief at the end, and no reaffirmation of friendship or norms.

31 Although, significantly for this analysis, a host will often try to coax mummers into unmasking with the promise of drink.
It is thus understandable that in cases where very close friends or kin do not recognize a mummer, he will often unmask voluntarily. By the same token, this explanation also makes it clear why most mummers do not go to their own homes or to the homes of their kindred. For kin, reaffirmation of ties is handled in a different manner (i.e., in a corporate, rather than a dyadic manner): through the sharing of Christmas meals and the giving of gifts. In addition, perhaps, to go unrecognized by one's own kin is not a particularly pleasant experience.

But from another viewpoint, the family would not seem to require the expression of aggressive tendencies in its midst. The close emotional and economic interdependence of the family in the village both provides for greater expression of hostilities, and at the same time, reduces them by stressing common interest.

Granted all this, why the concern with old clothes and topsy-turvy behavior?

Social control in the parish is not always perfect—tempers do flare and fierce fights have broken out at times; weddings and parties are expected to produce fighting; drinking encourages hostile outbursts; and conflict at public meetings, while formally excused by drinking, is a recurrent phenomenon. In-group aggression, then, despite the sanctions against its occurrence and despite the inculcation of "norm-oriented motivation" during socialization, does occur. Motives forbidden by the social system may be inhibited by social control, but the drives which create these motives persist
and demand satisfaction. Thus in looking for means by which forbidden motives are handled, one is led to look for methods of resolving conflicts between personal motives and cultural norms in such a way as to satisfy the individual and at the same time help maintain the social system. Societal defense mechanisms, analogous to the mechanisms of ego defense, suggest themselves. 32

In the patterns of mumming described for the Valley there is enough evidence to indicate that in effect a displacement mechanism operates to distort an otherwise forbidden motive—in-group hostility—and provides it disguised gratification through a "symbolic (ritualized) expression of the motive." 33 The deviation from norms so evident in mumming draws particular attention to the importance of the events occurring and gives them dramatic setting. Important, too, is the fact that the events that occur during mumming are not directed at particular individuals, and aggression is very broad and generalized. Therefore, despite the seemingly disruptive nature of mumming practices, the ritual culminates in a reaffirmation of ties that expresses a formal societal rejection of the sort of behavior portrayed in the mumming.

Although similar rituals of displacement operate in many societies (such as in the form of witchcraft), not all provide for


33 Ibid., p. 488.
the "two-edged" function seen here. Hostility is expressed towards the hosts through the mummers' aggressive behavior, while the hosts show similar hostility towards the mummers in the form of anxiety over the unpredictability of the situation. Through the aggression of both, the frustration is resolved.

Rituals that seem to have a great deal in common with those seen here have been discussed extensively by Max Gluckman. However, he has primarily described African rituals where rebellion is expressed against authority, and he has been led to argue that rites of rebellion exist only in societies where the social order is unchallenged and the social system stable. But from the nature of the mumming ritual as we have seen it in the parish, it seems wiser to say with Norbeck that rituals of social hostility occur in societies where social life is highly organized:

Where other safety valves are inadequate, ritual expressions of hostility seem most expectable in societies that exercise firm control over the behavior of their members through highly formalized institutions.

The parish's highly structured system of social relations through dyadic contracts, mediated by the imagery of equality and caution in making alignments, allows for the cathartic expression of

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34Max Gluckman, Custom and Conflict in Africa (Glencoe, Ill.: Free Press, 1959), and Essays on the Ritual of Social Relations (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1961).

represed motives on this one occasion of the year, one in which the deviant events themselves mark the importance of the occasion: the direct gratification of forbidden hostilities through ritual means and the subsequent recreation and renewal of the social order. As public imagery helps control the unpredictable elements of social relations, so an image of rebellion aids the release of culturally undesirable motivations, and again affirms the entire system.

Rituals of social reaffirmation mark Newfoundland communities off from the larger part of the Western world; where the urban-oriented world rejects and denies social conflicts and repressed hostility, groups such as those found in the parish are able to utilize this same material in open expression and thus to limit the strength of conflict in the group. The fact that adult interest in mumming is waning in the parish, the practice passing into the realms of children's play, is only another sign of the village's gradual acceptance of the values of modern society.

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The interpretation of interpersonal relations pictured here differs significantly from that most common in the writing on peasantry today. The full implication of this difference will be returned to in the Conclusion.
CHAPTER VI

ASSOCIATIONAL LIFE

Government agents and fieldworkers often complain of the Codroy Valley that "there are no groups or leaders. . . there's no place to begin improving things." A priest has said of Valley people that "like Lucifer, they choose to stand alone." Although there is some truth in the priest's observation, particularly if the Valley is considered from an urban point of view, the individualistic nature of life in the Valley does not appear quite so simple if we consider it in terms of associations.

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Social groups appear to us only through their operation in institutional contexts. We see a group as "real" when we can observe people remaining in relatively stable relationships in patterns of purposive action, frequently set off by a certain uniformity of style, etiquette, dress, etc. Associations are groups that can be said to display "codes of behavior"—normative structures to direct behavior in certain patterns—as well as "charters"—values around which the group organizes. They may or may not be voluntary, and they may or may not be closed.
If we distinguish three broad classes of institutions in a social structure as being those based on kinship, locality, and shared interest, we can crudely classify associations according to their institutional context. When we do this, however, we usually find that all three categories may be in operation together in one association. For example, the family may be seen as a kinship-residence-common interest association (kinship being the focus, but residence being a very important factor, to say nothing of the common interest involved in, say, peasant family cooperative agricultural pursuits); the village can be seen as a residence-kinship-common interest association; and the church as a residence-common-interest-kinship (ritual kinship included) association. In each, the chief criterion for recruitment constitutes the observed focus of membership activity. The family by this token is primarily structured along kinship lines, the latter two associations on those of residence. Thus we can refer to an association by one of these dominant classes of institutions as a short-hand method of naming.

We have already discussed the basic associations of the Valley as being the family, the section, and the church (the parish itself

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being the geographical or "residential" manifestation of the church). As the other associations of the Valley are discussed it will be useful to keep in mind the three classes of institutions to observe their interdependence and direction. As we leave the realm of kinship, we will find that common interest will play a greater and greater part.

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The Valley's associations will be discussed in a chronological order, departing only to show the more recent changes in some early groups.

1820-1911

In the early days of the parish common-interest associations were hindered from development by the multi-ethnic and multi-lingual nature of the parish: the expression of common-interest is not easy where a common language does not exist. The priest thus acted as the mutual link between families, their commonality of interests being expressed through the church, both the symbolic and practical expression of community. At this same time, the priest acted to articulate the local society (the parish) to the larger social world. This articulation is most clearly seen in the First Monsignor Sear's political activities, as well as in the fact that he acted as the "board" for the first activities to bring local institutions and groups into the same sphere as the government, such as the road building project. There is no evidence of any participation on the part of parishoners in common-interest groups at this time;
individual protests were voiced over such matters as the building of a new church in Searston rather than on the old site, Great Codroy (the old church burned down shortly after 1900), but these were strictly individual, and were in no sense formalized.

1911-1944

The Second Monsignor Sear's program to establish villages and to make them autonomous units within the parish structure called for minimal common-interest groups along these lines, and the school committee answered this need. The committee, appointed by the section's adults, acted as the basis for forming cooperative work groups to maintain the section's school. The committee members, usually about five in number, acted (and still act) in a strongly ad hoc manner. During Monsignor Sears' tenure it was he who called their meetings during the weekly announcements from the church altar; in this way they were told of their particular school's needs and they were asked to organize some type of function in order to raise funds, and to organize a cooperative work group to accomplish the task. Dances, card parties, and the more popular "garden parties"—picnics with dancing and entertainment—were the usual means of gaining funds, and all other sections of the parish were obligated to attend a particular section's function. Afterwards the local school committee turned its funds over to the priest, who announced the sum made during the following week's mass. Periodically, he would also announce the current status of each section's "accounts."
School committees have no formal mechanism for collecting money from the section's members, and although this was not a problem in its early days, recently parents have preferred to donate or pay a fixed sum toward the upkeep of the school rather than prepare fund-raising activities. By the same token, each family with children in school is expected to furnish a share of fuel for the school's stoves. Each family with children is expected to contribute equally to the school's operation, but very recently some have failed to pay their share. A number of reasons are offered for this action:

"They got more children in school than we do... let them pay these extra coal bills! It was them that used the extra!"

"Archie is better able to pay this than me... all I had last year was the summer work on the highroads and the unemployment... himself's been working steady for three years. It's not right."

Of their alternative source of funds, the party, the following is said:

Those garden parties cost too much... and it was an awful job gettin' 'em ready. I'd just as soon pay the money than to do all that work... Besides, it was only the few of us doin' the work... the rest of 'em had no interest at all.

A dance is the best way to get money now, but of course nobody but the young ones come out for 'em. They want to hear that twist stuff, and the old ones just sit all night and look at each other if they do come!

It is fair to say that the children do more towards the support and the maintenance of the schools today than do the adults. Nearly every year the local 4-H clubs carry out a fund-raising project,
the funds from which are in turn allocated for the repair or improvement of the school. In the same way, the Jr. Red Cross Clubs within the school devote a certain amount of funds to school development.

Formally, however, the school committee still operates and attempts to collect funds from all adults with children in school, but they are frequently unsuccessful, and show no means of forcing payment of school "dues." In the same way, the school committee still sets up times for the school to be cleaned by the mothers, but only a few ever turn out at a particular cleaning, and on at least one occasion the few who did appear cleaned only the area surrounding their children's seats.

**Farmer's Union**

The Farmer's Union was organized by a new member of the House of Assembly for the parish (a St. John's man, as have been most of the members for this area). This group had no economic interests that conflicted with the merchants'; in fact, if anything, they advanced merchants' interests as well as farmers'. With the help of their Member, the Union attempted to improve breeds of stock and seed quality. A large thrasher was also purchased and was used cooperatively to thrash oats.

The Farmer's Union was a loosely structured group made up of representatives sent from each of the settlements of the Valley, and met only as the need demanded. It depended heavily upon the
efforts of their representative and the parish priest for initiating action. The Union ceased to function with the change of representatives.

**Codroy Valley Cooperative Society**

By 1933 several of the parish's young men who had been away to school at Antigonish, Nova Scotia (they had been sent partly on grants and partly on parish money, as they were seeking the priesthood) returned and attempted to implement some of the programs being advocated by the Antigonish Movement of St. Francis of Xavier University by starting a cooperative society. The first officers of the group were three of these men.

The CVCS started modestly but not without problems. The first president and one of the founders put it this way:

> At first this was just a buyers' club. We only got flour and a few other things by the carload. It wasn't easy though, because we had to meet in secret... only people we could trust were in on the first of it. You see, the merchants were against us starting and they tried to stop us. They told everyone that we would put them out of business, and said that it wasn't good for everyone to have money, because then the merchants couldn't do business and everyone would lose. They tried everything... they picked on the people that owed the most to them and threatened to demand payment if they joined us... then they even tried to stop credit for people who needed it the most. After we got started, we once asked one of the merchants to let us use one of his fields for a field day and picnic to earn some funds, but he wouldn't let us do it.

From the first the Coop Society had its members appointed from each section and all decisions were referred back to the sections for confirmation. The group was moderately successful, but only
within the bounds of its buying activities. No attempts were made to sell produce directly on a large scale, but this was obviously the long term goal of the group.

The older people didn't seem to care much for money, but all of the younger people wanted some. There was just no place where you could get a little cash outside of leaving the place and working for somebody else. A man was lucky in those days if he could get hold of more than $50 a year.

The Model Cooperative Society

In the early 1930's the Newfoundland government began to encourage the cooperative movement, and in fact set up a Coop division to speed its development with various schemes of help. Under government sponsorship in 1939 the CVCS became fully incorporated as a cooperative society. A field worker was placed in the area to set up operations, and a central building was constructed for meetings and storage. Under the cooperative scheme a board of directors was elected, but executive positions were largely distributed on the basis of at least one representative coming from each section. In addition, there was an attempt to put a branch store of the Coop in each section, so that by the early forties there were branch stores in St. Andrew's, Codroy, Tompkins, O'Regan's, and South Branch, in addition to the large store-warehouse in Upper Ferry. According to the original scheme, the large store was to be the "model" for the others.

Each section paid for the construction of the branch in their community and thus "owned" their own store. The clerks and the
manager of the branch stores came from the local section, so that each unit was actually residentially based. In the years that followed the founding of the Coop there were a number of financial peaks and failures, with a number of managers passing through the store, several of them leaving the association on the verge of collapse.

Slowly the Coop has regained its footing and, through expansion, increased marketing, and more efficient operations, is showing increasing profits each year. Still, membership is low, as is the interest of those that are members. It is still felt by many that it is not worth the risk of again losing money in another financial collapse. Too, in recent years, the store has had two major robberies (both unsolved by the RCMP) with resultant substantial losses in cash. Also, as the Coop does not extend credit to non-members, a further block to customers is presented.

Jubilee Guilds

Another government-sponsored activity was the work of the Jubilee Guilds of St. John's. Field workers attempted to teach women various skills that could be used to increase cash earnings (sewing, weaving) or to simply increase household efficiency and economy (specialized canning, and gardening). These work units were again organized along section lines, and one night a week the

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[3] Membership and interest have always been highest in the sections closest to the Upper Ferry store, i.e., Upper Ferry, Great Codroy, and O'Reagans. By the same token, most of the clerks have come from Upper Ferry or one of the other two near sections. Other sections have said, in the same connection, that the people in Upper Ferry "think everything should be in their section so they can run things."
women of a village gathered to work communally. They were visited sporadically by Guild fieldworkers who gave them further encouragement, taught them a new skill, or collected finished goods for sale in the Guild store in St. John's. These local groups were moderately active until approximately 1957.

**Agricultural Associations**

In the late 1930's the Newfoundland Department of Agriculture began to encourage the development and organization of local Agricultural Societies for the specific purpose of improving the quality of produce and livestock, and to provide mechanisms for more economical buying of farm needs. These groups also were organized on a section basis, and were moderately successful in gaining membership, but of only slight success in their buying arrangements. Part of the blame for their lack of success might rest with the fact that the government was at the same time encouraging organizations that rivaled each other in their purposes, and consequently detracted from their overall effectiveness in terms of quantity buying. Their rivalry was quite effective, as all coop and agricultural societies were given generous grants at their beginnings. But by 1962 only one (out of a total of six) of these Agricultural Societies was still operating at a small level, other farmers having turned most of their farm supplies buying activity toward the Coop.

Under the same government scheme for encouraging agriculture a series of sheep raising groups were also set up. Under these
arrangements each section could sponsor its own sheep fair, the government paying the cost of prizes. Because of the small size of the sections, each year's fair promised winnings to a large percentage of each section's families. Today, only one of these live stock groups are still active. Much the same situation applies to the Jr. Agricultural and Livestock Societies organized for children; however, in this case many of the same activities have been absorbed by the recent institution of 4-H Clubs in the Valley.

Credit Unions

The Newfoundland Cooperative Union began to encourage the organization of credit unions soon after the establishment of the Cooperative Society. In 1939 the first section formed a group, and most of the others followed suit. Under names like Grand North, Valley Pioneer, and Lakestream, these local savings and loan organizations were initially very successful, and had close to 100% adult male membership in each section. The government attempted to encourage women and older children to join but with little success. Later, a plan was devised for a woman's branch of each group, but only one was successful, being made up of only 5 of one section's women.

A Credit Union operates by members buying shares which are in turn invested by the central Credit Union Organization in St. John's. A member can then, with the approval of the group and with proper collateral, borrow from the group. The organization calls for a president, vice-president, secretary, and treasurer, a three-member
credit committee, and a three-member supervisory committee, so that potentially, at least, most families in a section could be represented in the leadership. Meetings are held once a month and are limited to the discussion of credit union business; there were never any chartered associated functions of the group, so that meetings are short, and limited to the formal structure of Credit Union meeting procedure. When the credit unions started they provided a means of insuring a year-round source of money. Previously, cash was only available in the fall after harvest, and in the winter when woods work was available. Now, money could be obtained for the critical period in spring when cash was low, and seed and other farm goods were needed. As farming has become less and less a subsistence activity there is less interest in these groups (although 4 out of 6 are still operating). Interest rates are fairly high as contrasted with the bank's in Port aux Basques, and the capital of these groups is too small to stand very large loans.

An attempt was made to revive interest in Credit Union activity in 1963, and, in addition, to increase the loan potential of these groups by consolidating the remaining groups' capital and by making the Coop building in Upper Ferry a central office with a full-time clerk. Opposition ran high to the idea, to the point when a number of members threatened to quit. Finally, the centralization idea was dropped. Opposition to the move was expressed in these terms:

We didn't have any need of that. Besides, here in the
section we know everybody and we can keep the money here. If somebody needs a loan we can be sure of how he'll use it... we can trust him... we can get it back this way, too... there's no chance of throwing it away.

I didn't like the idea because it would take things too far away. I didn't want to have to go over to Upper Ferry if I needed a loan. If I needed it in a hurry, all I have to do is call Jack--he's my first cousin--and he'll hurry up a meeting of the credit committee.

There was no sense to it. To my mind, it seems that the fieldman was just out to feather his own cap. Then he could tell 'em in St. John's, "Look, I've started this big Credit Union in the Codroy Valley." The Credit Union was started by us, and I plan to keep it that way.

From remarks like these, it would appear that there is strong allegiance to the local credit group. But this is far from the truth. A secretary of one of the groups put it thus:

We just don't seem to be able to get any interest. When we have meetings everybody makes excuses to get out of 'em. And when they do come, they hurry off to a dozen places to have a drink as soon as they can. You'd think they was a bunch of strangers the way they acted. I tried once to get up a study club after the meetings to talk about fixing up the school, and things like that, but they wouldn't have any part of it. They said this was a Credit Union and we shouldn't waste time on stuff that doesn't concern it.

There is increasing resentment about the structure of the groups:

It's always the same people has their say. When you wants to get a loan, you has to go to Jack (president); then he goes to the chairman of the credit committee (Jack's brother); then they talk to the chairman of the Supervisory Committee (Jack's son). Why should I have to do that? Down to Port aux Basques, they don't say anything about whose brother you are.
They keep getting young fellows in here. They're in a month and they make a big loan to go away to look for work. Then they pays it back, draw out their share capital, and you never see 'em again. I'm tired of supporting everybody's young fellow while he looks for jobs.

The current status of Credit Unions is shaky. Meetings are held sporadically, and little interest is shown in them; members increasingly put their savings in the nearby bank and maintain only a token amount in the local organization. Loans are sought from the section group only as a last resort, and capital is increasingly being withdrawn. The general attitude towards these groups is summed up in one man's account of how he planned to finance the building of a new house:

I'm getting the money from the bank. I'd like to borrow from the Credit Union but the interest is too high, and I doubt if I could get enough from them anyway. Besides, I'd rather not have everyone know what things cost me, and what I'm doing. If I get stuck in paying the bank, though, I wouldn't mind borrowing from the Credit Union. They'd always carry me for awhile if I couldn't make the payments.

1944 to the Present

Medical Committee

Shortly after he came to the Valley, the current parish priest obtained a doctor in residence for the parish. Under the arrangement provided, the government paid a set percentage of the doctor's salary while the local population subscribed to his services through annual fixed payments. The Medical Committee was appointed by the Monsignor to collect the funds and to pay the doctor. In only one instance did they broaden their actions. On one occasion the doctor
left the Valley for a few days to substitute for another doctor absent in another area. On discovering this, the Committee, without the Monsignor's consent, deducted a sum from the doctor's pay to compensate for his absence, which directly resulted in the doctor resigning.

The plan continued through several doctors until after confederation when the new Provincial government offered the parish an alternative scheme. In this plan, the government supplied the doctor, built housing for him, controlled his services, and reduced the cost of health fees per family. The priest opposed this plan because of the loss of local control and hiring, particularly as it allowed non-Catholic doctors in the area, and, potentially, at least, the introduction of birth control. Nevertheless, over his objections, the Provincial government's plan was adopted by the people, and a new home was built for the doctor in Great Codroy. The Medical Committee was thus dissolved.

**The Cooperative Council**

Under the original plan of the Cooperative fieldworkers, the Valley's Coop stores and Credit Unions were to be joined together in a wide-reaching group called the Cooperative Council. The Council came into being in the middle 1940's, and was made up of the presidents and treasurers of each section's credit union, from which the Council's own executive was drawn. The Council's activities were financed by small contributions from the Credit Unions. Initially the goal was to have the group meet each month to work through
community and credit union-Cooperative problems, to plan courses of action, and finally, for the representatives to introduce these plans at their local Credit Union meetings for vote, in order to gain the support for Council action. Stationery was purchased which listed all the names of the sections in the Valley under the banner of "District Cooperative Council: A Federation of all Cooperative Societies in the Codroy Valley." To the outside, this body was the official spokesman for the area, representing all its interests. But such was not the case.

With the rapid abandonment of the small local Coop stores in 1940's, the Credit Unions were left as the main interests to be represented on the Council. Interest in Cooperative buying had fallen considerably with their removal, and now small privately owned stores began to appear in all sections except the one containing the large Coop store, Upper Ferry. Another problem was presented by the fact that officers of the Credit Unions were often not interested in the Council, and failed to attend regularly. But as only Credit Union officers were eligible for membership on the Council, some sections slowly slipped out of its ranks. As a result of all this, few delegates attended meetings (which were held in a different section each month to "give everyone a chance") and a shifting group of eight or nine, together with the priests and the Cooperative fieldman (after 1954) continued the meetings, although several sections drifted away entirely (St. Andrew's and South Branch) and never regained interest. The Council's charter
was clear to all its members, but it failed to get much sympathetic action. As the president of the Council put it in his annual address in 1957 (no doubt echoing the sentiments of the priests and the fieldman):

I feel sure that the primary aim of this Council will continue to be the fulfillment of its first purpose—assisting the cooperatives, that it may be a more solid bond between the societies to help them to work together by bringing their leaders and delegates together. This does not mean, of course, that the Council would interfere in the internal working of any society, but the strength of the future lies in the coordination of effort, not in a policy of isolation, whereby one society stands aloof from another. The Council itself is powerless to change this or anything else in the purely cooperative field unless the societies cooperate more fully with it. To start with, they could see that their delegates attend regularly its meetings.  

The Council, as the president remarks, was intended to bind together the sections through their individual cooperative activities, and, as such, was the first association chartered to cut across sections, other than the church itself. But even here it was clear that the church was firmly rooted in the Council to the degree that the priests attended all meetings, held office (secretary), and in 1958 were formally ruled by the president to be "honorary members with voting powers," which they had, in effect, been all through the Council's history. Further, meetings were held on Sundays, shortly after the priest announced the meeting

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4 Minutes of the District Cooperative Council’s Annual Meeting at the parish hall, Searston, June 2, 1957.

5 Minutes of the District Council meetings of October 5, 1958.
at Mass (usually with a short talk encouraging participation or discussing some current Council activity), and were held in the parish hall or in the schools in various sections, thus affirming the church's support and participation. It was perhaps inevitable, then, that Protestant Codroy, so carefully included in the original Coop scheme, slowly withdrew from Cooperative activities and finally established its own "Community Store." The priests, fully licensed to move freely between sections and to represent the parish as a whole to the outside world, by giving support to the Council, gave it what life and public interest that it was able to gain.

But if the Council can be seen to have its charter underlain by the church's approval and participation, it is equally true that the priests, too, validated their own political behavior vis-à-vis the outside through the existence of the Council. Where an earlier Monsignor unquestionably represented the people of the parish in their outside interests, it became increasingly difficult for priests to do so as the bureaucratic structures of government extended themselves into the local parish social structure. After confederation, particularly, the priests' position in respect to the outside world became increasingly uncertain, although at the closest point of articulation with the outside, the district representative, the priest's position was still seen as dominant. With the Council nominally behind them, the priests were able to make demands on various divisions of government and at the same time transcend the difficulties encountered by clergy acting as political representatives.
The linkage between people, Council, priest, district representative, and government divisions is best seen in an instance: In 1957, the priest requested the District Member to hold a public meeting in the Valley to explain what the possibilities were for obtaining electricity and a new telephone system for the area (the priest had been pressing for electricity for some time). At the meeting in the parish hall, the Member suggested that the Council make up a formal request to the Public Utilities Commission for the building of a power distribution line and a new telephone system. This, he felt sure, would assure the improvements. The Council later did this, although electric power and new telephones did not come for another seven years. This pattern of procedures revealed the full operation of the priest-council operation. The priest's initiated action was sanctioned by a nominally representative body, thus carrying greater weight in achieving political goals than the priest alone could achieve; at the same time, incidentally, the local politician was able to channel critical, ad hoc agitation away from himself and into government bureaucracies.

Within limits the Council was effective and efficient. Without popular support it was unable to initiate and complete action on its own, but it was still able to operate with only nominal support and effect pressure on agencies outside of the parish. A sample of some of the achievements of the Council shown in the annual reports of several years are listed in the following:

- efforts made to set up a local Road Board
- efforts made to get electricity
efforts made to set up a Community Council
requested a new post office at St. Andrew's
requested and got repairs on local roads
requested construction of a new harbor for the area
requested and got snow clearing of local roads
requested improvement of reception of CBC radio programs
requested improvements on flooding of a local brook

The "outward-looking" nature of the Council is evident here, as only the first and third "achievements" are not concerned with initiating government action, and these two sought to create bodies to command even greater attention from the government, to say nothing of increasing allotments of government grants.

For several years the District Council attempted to dissolve itself into a Community Council, to be organised along the lines set out in the Newfoundland Community Councils Act of 1956. It had become more and more obvious to the Council members that attempts to make changes in the parish would require local initiative and internal action; there were definite limits to what the Provincial government could achieve from the outside. At the same time, the Council was aware that local actions taken by themselves would be opposed, and the Minutes of the Council after 1956 are dotted with discussions on the increasingly strong public feeling that the Council, not being chosen directly by vote, was not representative. In 1958 definite interest in forming a Community Council began to take shape.

Under the Newfoundland Community Councils Act, a Council could be established if a majority of 25% of the eligible voters voted in favor of it at a meeting. At the same meeting no more than five
unpaid councilors were to be elected, and the services and controls to be administered by the Council\(^6\) were to be decided upon by the same quorum. Councilors were then free to impose an annual tax, which would be $10 or less for each adult working for three or more months a year, as well as a business tax of not less than $2.50 a year. (although taxes are also payable in work or materials). An initial grant would be made by the government to the Council to help in its organization, and annual grants would be made at the rate of $2 for every dollar collected in taxes up to $1,000, and $1 for every dollar collected over this sum. Local road grants, already being made by the government, would also fall under the Council's jurisdiction. Taxes and grants were to be used to operate services and controls and to make other community improvements, the labor involved to be hired from the community. Further, with the organization of a Community Council, the Valley would become eligible for grants for special Federal government winter works relief projects.

In April of 1959 a representative of the Department of Municipal Affairs and Supply met with the District Council to discuss their plans for setting up a Community Council. Letters and booklets describing the projected Council were sent out to all Credit Union executives for discussion at their meetings. Meanwhile, however,

\(^6\)In the booklet, \textit{Questions and Answers about Community Councils}, (St. John's: Department of Municipal Affairs and Supply, 1958), the following are listed as permitted local services and controls under the Act: "SERVICES—drainage, fire prevention and protection, garbage and waste disposal, sewerage, local roads, street lighting, sidewalks, water supply, playgrounds, and airstrips; CONTROLS—building, subdivision, zoning, traffic, animals at large, and shop-closing." (p. 4)
interest in the District Council was waning, and only eight members and observers came to the annual meeting, three Credit Unions being completely unrepresented. By September, it was clear to the District Councilors that the proposed Council did not meet with general approval. An early objection, and one voiced by the Council itself, was that five councilors could not properly represent the possible 10 or so sections that might wish to be represented, and that there should be at least one councilor from each section (this was found to be impossible by law). It was reported at meetings that the people were "afraid that something was being put over on them."7

Hostility to the Council idea grew stronger and stronger, and many of the District Councilors found themselves without support in their own sections and Credit Unions. In the parish in general, hostility to the Councilors was great, and gossip was strong.

A man just doesn't work for nothing... those fellows was up to something. What could they care about this section?

You never know about those things until it's too late—they've got your money in their hands and there's nothing you can do. We never had a Council before and we done all right here.

The fieldman was behind this... he was trying to get the tax money for St. John's.

Some of those fellows was just after what they could get. Look at Bill. As soon as they got the taxes, he'd find a way to spend the money so's he'd come out with a pocketful. Just like he done when he was

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7Minutes of the District Cooperative Council, September 7, 1959.
on the Road Board... he quit and bought some tractors to contract for the job. The rest of 'em was just foolish. Old Art, he couldn't lead a sheep, the way he's been doddering around!

Another problem that the organizers faced was that of distinguishing a town council from a community council to the public, the chief difference being that a town council was free to make regulations without the direct approval of voters. Town councils had been in operation for some time in Port aux Basques and Stephenville, and a number of Valley people had opposed their operations in those towns while they had worked there. The news of a recent failure of a town council in Bonavista had reached them, and they feared for the kind of internal splits caused there. The government's booklets, too, had led many to feel that some needless changes would be made, garbage disposal, sewerage, sidewalks, and street lighting were obviously impractical for the area. Some felt that since the local roads would come under the new Council that they might have to pay for their upkeep themselves; others feared that the highroad would also fall under the Council and that Department of Highway employees might be put under the supervision of Councilors, perhaps even replaced. Still others feared regulations that would control the loose grazing of animals on all unfenced land. As one man (who owned no animals) put it:

It would be good to keep those sheep off of everything--I hates 'em enough myself; but it's not fit that those fellows be able to make 'em do it.

Even greater hostility was shown to the idea of taxation. Most Valley people were aware that a large number of their ancestors
had come to Newfoundland to avoid taxation in Nova Scotia, and the theme of pioneers was called to the cause.

Them old people would turn over in their graves if they knew about this business. It's not right that them people should be able to tell the rest of us that we have to pay them taxes just because we live here. We was here before the taxes.

But strangely enough, nearly everyone did and still does see the value of such a group. Most agree that leaders are needed if the Valley is to be properly represented to government, and they regret the flow of capable young people to the cities. Certainly, all were in favor of the works that would be brought into the area by the Council, and many felt this to be a very persuasive point. But the nays were too strong.

In October, 1959, a representative of the Department of Municipal Affairs and Supply met with the people of Great Codroy and Millville, as those areas were considered to be particularly hostile to the Council idea. Drinking was heavy before the meeting, and antagonism toward the District Council members was strong, so that arguments were free, and the representative was largely talked and shouted over by hecklers. The meeting was considered a major failure.

In desperation, at the November meeting of the District Council it was proposed that each section have its own Community Council, but the small size of the sections made it impossible. Another letter was sent to the Credit Unions suggesting that the Road Board (which had been established in 1958) might be converted
to a Community Council at its next meeting, thereby hoping to capitalize on the apparent success of that group. Yet it became more and more clear that, at best, people wanted "to organise to a limited or controlled extent." A few outspoken people began to appear at meetings, "to keep an eye on things." Arguments about taxes and controls began to appear. Codroy, which had recently been asked to join the plan, rejected it by mail. Returning to the equal representation idea, a ward system of electing representatives was proposed at a meeting, but found to be impossible by law.

By May of 1960, voting at Credit Union meetings revealed that most were opposed to the Council, and other District Council actions were coming under wide discussion and criticism. Gossip had become extremely critical, so that at the June, 1960 meeting, the president of the District Council resigned, explaining that the pressure had become too great for him in his own section. A younger man was elected to the Council in his place, but other Council meetings were never held. The former president of the Council explained his actions thus:

I'd had more than I could take. You put in all that time at all those meetings trying to make something of a place, and what do you get for it. Everybody was calling me a fool and accusing me of things. Even my own family was against me. So I flung the Minute books across the table and I was through.

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Cold Storage Board

In 1955 the present priest initiated the idea of constructing a cold storage building with facilities for slaughtering livestock. He personally investigated the possibilities for outside support and carried on negotiations with the Provincial and Federal governments, and a plan was arranged whereby the two governments were to pay 2/3 of the costs, while the Valley, through the sale of shares in the operation, would pay the other third. In the construction of the building, however, costs went much higher than expected, so that the Valley and the Provincial government absorbed the additional costs. The building and the installation of equipment were completed by 1956, but a misunderstanding in the management of the unit resulted in a breakdown of the freezing mechanisms on its trial run, with serious damages done to the mechanism. The cold storage was closed for the time being.

By 1957 the Valley had a Coop fieldman and was sponsoring the Annual Provincial Meeting of the Newfoundland Cooperative Union in Searston. Under pressure for the building to be open and in operation by the start of the meetings of the Union, an independent "provisional" committee was developed which took the management of the Cold storage building out of the priest's hands. This group called a meeting without the parish priest and elected a supervisory board, calling themselves the Codroy Valley Agricultural Cooperative Producers' Society. The group raised money by sponsoring bingo games and began slaughtering and freezing operations. Meanwhile, the Coop itself
had gone into marketing operations on a large scale, so that in 1959 the Cold Storage Board passed operations over to the Coop's Board of Directors (a group that largely overlapped in membership with the Cold Storage Board) and combined the two operations. A full-time operator and butcher was hired in 1959.

Road Board

The Road Board\textsuperscript{9} was organized by the Coop fieldman in 1957 to directly administer government grants to repair and maintain the "local roads": roads that are not considered public thoroughfares. By the large, most of the local roads are long drives that connect the main roads to houses that were never moved from the rivers or the coast line when the roads were put through the Valley. In order for these drives to qualify for the grants, they were made public by deeding the land to the government. However, many Valley people objected to using road money for work on land mainly used by private individuals. As it was explained, "Just look at this way: if Maurice's road is public, then we ought to all be able to reach the river from here on it, but you \textit{know} what he'd say if we used it! It's not fit that a few people should get so much spent on them."

Two dollars per capita is allowed for maintaining the roadwork in the area, the Board planning and administering the distribution

\textsuperscript{9}Again, there was an overlapping of membership, this time between the Road Board and the District Cooperative Council, the fieldman thus acting as informal organizer.
of funds and supervising the road work through a hired foreman. All work done on the roads is done by hired local labor. The Board meets annually to get public approval for its plans for road repairs, and every three years meets for election of a new Board, five members, one of whom is elected chairman from the Board. Interest in the Board has never been great and attendance at meets is small. On two occasions, at least, a quorum was not present, although it was recorded as such, and the meetings were completed, with rationalizations such as "if you counted every man's wife, we'd have enough," or "if the meetings hadn't started late, there would have been enough here."

Strife has accompanied each Board's term. During the first Board's stay in office there were accusations that they were favoring certain sections (Searston) over others (O'Regan's), and that some roads were being built that benefited one person only. Thus, at the end of the Board's first term, 1960, the entire Board resigned and refused to be considered for reelection. The second board was accused of hiring poor workers who wasted time, and of favoring a few people for work. Codroy objected that work in their section used no local people. Therefore, again, at the latest election, 1964, there were no older members returning to the board, and several angry outbursts occurred at the meetings.

Meetings of the Road Board are now attended largely by people who have personal interests in the work in the form of a road to be maintained, or as possible workers during the next year.
Sports Committee

The Sports Committee, or "the sports" as they call themselves, are the recent inheritors of a tradition of football that stems from the early 1900's and the introduction of soccer into the area by the priest of that period. During most of the years that football has been popular, its play was usually organized and supported by the priest and the doctors. Until the 1940's football was organized along residential groupings: first, the North side vs. the South side, and after the Second Monsignor Sears' division of the parish, along section lines. In recent years, however, football has been organized and played by a small group of men between 16 and 39 who have sold chances and held bingo games in order to obtain uniforms to wear in playing against teams outside of the Valley. They have been very successful against other teams and have been widening their range of opponents, although they still play teams only within driving distance. The players limit their interaction to practice and the games themselves (with beer drinking afterwards), but they show recent signs of widening their football ties into such activities as making hay together, or taking trips to see other teams play.

The organization of "the sports" is largely ad hoc, with various persons acting as treasurer. The other offices are more fluid, and largely exist in name only. To those outside the sports, they are not recognized as a group but are seen only as a group of friends who get together for football. The "fans" of the games
are comprised chiefly of other male friends of the players and a few girls.

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Now that the associational history of the parish has been displayed, we are ready to make some observations on associational development, or, as may suit the case, associational decline.

It is generally accepted that common-interest associations are a necessary part of the urbanization process. They are efficient sources of decision making, working with a minimal backing, sometimes only with nominal backing, and yet effective for articulation with national or international groups because of their specialized leadership. Associations both concentrate interest and power in a limited membership and at the same time reject weaker elements. Non-urbanised peoples frequently turn to common-interest associations in order to make the critical leap required by the pressures of urban influence. Robert and Gallatin Anderson indicate that many peasant groups adjust themselves to this form of association by overlaying the older institutions with the newer. The new "rational-legal" association, they argue, can be seen as bodies that reinforce and supplant the historical institutions of the villages, at least in part. Thus we find that the traditional social structure of the village persists today, but is overlain by a duplicate associational structure, the replicate social structure.10

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In this view, sports groups, music groups, and neighborhood associations can be built upon village structure, or men's, women's, and children's religious associations based on traditional church structure.

The replicate social structure is a useful concept, but as the authors themselves warn, it has its limits. In some "proto-urbanized" situations, they suggest, "associations appear to be notable for their adaptation to the local structure, than for their adaptation of it."\(^{11}\) The fragility of Valley common-interest associations and their general failure at development on a replicate basis, invites us to pursue the Anderson's last clue.

If common-interest associations have undergone an adaptation to the Valley's social structure, how has this been accomplished? First, it is obvious that the priest's role in the parish has always been a dominant one. In the early days of the settlement the church had considered it crucial to place a multilingual priest in the Valley. The priest and the church were, in a very real sense, the true sources of common-interest in this as yet unstable community of diverse people. Not only was the priest responsible for providing a community of interests through the church, but he also was the administrator of the affinal relations of the community, performing and sanctioning marriages and the rites of baptism (and through baptism, ritual kinship). In a time of relative isolation, it was

\(^{11}\) Ibid., p. 370.
the priest also who provided education, and most important perhaps, a point of articulation with the outside world and its hierarchical structure. In short, the priest "faced" both inwards and outwards.

In the act of "facing-inward," the priest interpenetrated all levels of the parish social structure. Not only did he provide a common link between all families, but through church dogma and through family value as well, he was considered an "honorary" member of every family. It was thus that a part of each family's production came to be shared by "Father" (in recent times, the practice of giving the priest a portion of freshly made butter, or a sack of potatoes has persisted, despite the formalized "dues" which are now paid in cash annually); the priest has always been a subject for divine help in the family's nightly group prayers; and dozens of children were named after each priest, using both their first and last names. But perhaps most telling was his role as adviser to otherwise quite personal family problems: the priest was called upon to offer advice where kinred were not even considered.

The establishment of sections within the parish demonstrated the degree to which the clergy could alter social patterns by structuring sections around the communal activities of the school. Since he administered the schools directly through the school committee and the teacher, he was deeply involved in section affairs. As a form of corporate identity grew within sections (shown most clearly by the occurrence of exogamy and intrasectional godparenthood patterns), both under the increasing ethos of residential
identity and neighborliness, as well as under earlier priests' policies of encouraging inter-section competition, the priest's communal linkage became formally important. Intersection parties, concerts, and games were validated by the priest, both by his granted approval and by his formal announcements from the altar. This dependence on the priest's validation is evident from the fact that after the creation of sections as formal bodies all associations formed in the Valley were structured along section lines. Outside of mass, few meetings were held intersectionally. Even after 1944 and a new priest's different conception of parish structure, meetings and associations cutting across section lines were always validated by the priest, as he was either asked to form such a group or to sanction it by his attendance as an honorary member. In making an announcement from the altar it was felt (and still is) that the priest endorsed the event. In more cases than not, meetings between members of different sections were held in the church hall after mass—neutral territory on a neutral day.

To understand further the particular history and pattern of common-interest association development in the Valley it is necessary to draw upon a distinction made by Nadel between single-purpose and multiple-purpose associations.12 A single-purpose association is one with a charter clearly stating the behavior

to be expressed by its members in a particular context, without
the formal necessity for the behavior to be carried over into other
contexts. For example, a board of directors or a bank are single-
purpose associations, their members, contractually at least, having
their behavior outlined for them only within the narrow range of
context. In a single-purpose association the group and the insti-
tutional basis for it are often in a one-to-one relationship. The
multipurposed association, on the other hand, is chartered to define
the proper behavior of its members over a much wider area of social
life. A clan, a family, or a modern State offer examples.

When we apply this distinction to all of the Valley’s associa-
tions, not just to those based on common-interest, we find that
the multiple-purpose groups of the family, the village, and the
parish have persisted with some strength, the family and the village
remaining dominant. On the other hand, when we turn to the consid-
eration of common-interest multiple-purpose associations, it is
obvious that there has been a dearth of these. Fig. reveals
further that what parish-based common-interest associations that
have survived have been those of single-purpose charter. We can
also discover, referring back to the discussion of these groups,
that no parish-based association formed from within by Valley people
has survived. (Although it is true that the Coop was started by
local people, it developed out of financial necessity into a
parish-based group, and, even as such, it has not shown very great
success). As a general rule, then, we can say that multiple-purpose,
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<th>ASSOCIATIONS</th>
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**Common-Interest Associations and their Purposes**

*Association never formed.*
parish-based groups seem likely to meet failure in the Codroy. Recent experience has shown this to be true. The most current attempt at such an organization (the Community Council) was bitterly opposed by all but a small group.

To understand this opposition to broad-reaching, many-purposed groups (which are, after all, similar to the type of group which is usually known as urban "voluntary interest" groups) we need to consider two points which the previous discussion has pointed up. First, the strength of the traditional multiple-purpose groups is still so great that the intrusion of new groups with similar interests and capacities is opposed. In the comments of opponents to the new associations, we can discover a thread of fear of loss of personal, family, and section autonomy, as well as a puzzlement over the necessity of such groups: "we didn't have any need of that," "... in the section we know everybody and we can keep the money here," "... it would take things too far away," "we never had a Council before and we done all right here." Worries were greatest over such matters as the freedom of sheep, the disposal of wastes, etc., all matters traditionally determined by the individual family, and at most, by individual relations within the section. In arguments against both the Community Council and the Central Credit Union it is significant that "them old people" and the "pioneers" were brought up as key arguments: the strength of tradition is still widely respected and major institutional changes are cautiously approached, even by the handful who backed the organization of the two ill-fated groups.
Before the family and the section are given up as autonomous groups to a new form of broad authority, more assurance of the fulfillment of needs is seen as necessary. Although they are speaking solely of the great strength of the family, Moss and Cappannari comment on a similar situation in Southern Italy:

The family serves not only as a status-giving unit but also tends to provide the individual with most of his psychological satisfactions. While intimate associations may take place outside the family setting, for the most part, the family tends toward self-sufficiency in the socio-psychological realm.

Yet because of its cohesiveness, the family has limited external contacts for its members and has actually stifled the development of voluntary associations.  

As has been observed before, most associations in the parish, have been organized in order to allow the local populace to bureaucratize its articulation with the outside world; the individual family is notoriously unable to make such an articulation on its own. Single-purpose groups, however, are not seen as threatening; their purpose is seen and weighed before approval is given. These very points were observed by the District Council as they faced organizational difficulties. From the first, they worried about representation that it would not be properly made along section lines, thus alienating the traditional basic associations. In a desperate attempt to save the idea of a

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Community Council it was suggested that each community might have its own Council, an idea they were sure would meet approval. Likewise, the District Council was correct when it diagnosed the consensus of feeling to be that the "people wanted to organize to a limited extent," the limitations being those that would prevent overlapping and conflict with the traditional associations. Bearing all of this in mind, it is evident now that the District Council was wise when it suggested that the functioning Road Board might be converted into the Community Council. In this case they observed that a single-purpose association stood a better chance for survival if it were organized across section lines, and they thus hoped that the Community Council might develop out of this group in such a manner that the "image" of one might carry over to the other. As one Council member observed on this action:

> If we could of made them think that the one was no worse than the other, it would of been all right with them. By and by, they'd of forgotten that they didn't like the Council idea in the first place. They didn't think there was any harm in the Road Board.

Broad-scale common-interest associations have been hampered by the fact, too, that their basic organizational structure is alien to the parish's traditional processes of opinion formation and communication (as previously discussed) and to the public imagery of equality. Leaders of multi-purpose groups are difficult to control, for the variety of subjects likely to come under their authority are difficult to predict. Meetings and leadership of single-purpose groups are troublesome enough to Valley people,
but in the simpler framework one problem at a time occurs, and can be rendered more predictable by the "government by committee" described previously. Great fear was shown for the type of activities that would be characteristic of Community Council affairs, for example. "A man wouldn't stand a chance there," one man put it. "Before they was through at a couple of them meetings, they'd have you right out of your house, and working for them!"
CHAPTER VII
INSIDERS AND OUTSIDERS: THE ROLE OF THE MEDIATOR

With all in-groups, there are always outsiders, people who don't belong. Since "pure" isolation of social groups is a rarity (if indeed it has ever occurred), the question of how one group relates to another should have always been a key problem in anthropology. Yet, surprisingly, the anthropological literature is frequently mute on the subject. The concern for the "social system" model of societal behavior has put an undue emphasis on the singular nature of socio-cultural units, implying and often directly asserting their independence from outside influences. Although acculturation, to be sure, has been a concern of anthropology for some years now, most such studies treat acculturative phenomena as if it were a once-in-a-lifetime occurrence, when in fact culture change in general and acculturation in specific would seem more frequently to be the rule rather than the exception in cultural life. Again, the spectre of the "pure" social system appears.
But concern should not only be shown for the relations between social systems, each treated as separate and distinct from the other, but also with systems within systems (e.g., village within state, state within nation, nation within civilization, etc.) Here, a part-whole relationship is in question, and it is the nature of the articulation between them that is of most importance. In peasantry—the "part-society"—the articulators are those persons who link together the "little" and the "great" traditions. These, for Redfield, were the "hinge" personnel; for Eric Wolf, they are the "cultural brokers"; for Donald Pitkin, they are the performers of "national roles"; for Sydel F. Silverman, the "mediators."

These are the persons who function in a status that articulates the local system to the larger system, be it nation, civilization, etc. At a "true" level of peasantry (a strictly pre-industrial society), such figures have a key function, and are essential to the preservation of the part-whole relationship. The mediator

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generally is a co-resident in the local area, and he is held to be of a different rank. As such, he guards his status carefully:

... they have near-exclusivity in performing them; exclusivity means that if the link is to be made at all between the two systems with respect to the particular function, it must be made through the mediators. As a result, the number of mediator statuses is always limited. To the extent that alternative links become available, so that the mediators lose their exclusive control of the junctures, they cease to be mediators.5

In all cases, mediators are the key representatives of the "other way of life," i.e., they assert a certain fashion that may or may not be current in the larger culture, but is frequently felt by the locals to be so.6 Sometimes the mediator is set in the local area by the government (as with the clergyman, teacher, or policeman); or comes on his own (as with the merchant). In the Valley these persons have had great importance, and local individuals have long cultivated relations with them.

Asymmetrical Dyadic Contracts

When Valley people make alliances with outsiders—either locally or when they are out of the Valley—they use a model of behavior that is an extension of their normal relations with their fellows: the dyadic contract. As with their social relationships

5Ibid., p. 173.

with equals (the symmetrical dyadic contract), parish people establish asymmetrical relations with persons "above" them (those with higher status and with greater access to power), what Foster calls "patron-client" relations. Essentially, there is little difference in the way in which patron-client relations and relations between equals are formed. In both types the parties establish themselves in a contract once that both sides recognize a mutual obligation. Yet differences do exist, first, in the fact that each person involved is aware of existing inequality; and second, in that different goods and services are exchanged between the partners, even though reciprocally. Here lies the basis of such relationships. "It is, in fact, the ability to offer one's partner something distinct from that which he offers which makes the system worthwhile."

Here, again, as with ties between equals, the maintenance and continuation of relationships is dependent upon a balance never being exactly struck between partners. Once again, the difficulty in determining what constitute an equal exchange creates an ambiguous situation that helps preserve such relations. Yet there is a difference here. Since the goods exchanged between non-equals

[Foster, "The Dyadic Contract in Tzintzuntsan..." 1963. Patron-client relations between men and supernatural figures are also established and could be dealt with in this same frame of reference.

Tbid., p. 1285.]
are of a different order, it is even more difficult to determine what makes for an equal exchange. How many potatoes, for example, should be the proper exchange for writing a letter to help a boy get into a secondary school on Prince Edward Island? However, paradoxically, since there is such a differential involved in the nature of the materials for exchange, each partner is quite sensitive to the fact that the main purpose for the relationship is to gain access and control over resources otherwise not available. In other words, in a patron-client type dyadic contract, partners are more concerned with the instrumental nature of the partnership than they are with the affect involved—in part, at least, this is given by their unequal status which prevents the equalized, give-and-take nature of easy reciprocity.9

* * *

Traditionally, in the parish, there were just two classes: "those that belong," and "those that don't"—insiders and outsiders. Insiders (born in the Valley, or migrated there during the main periods of settlement) were largely fishermen-farmers, though occasionally, blacksmiths, sailors, or sea captains. Their work and their position limited their contact with the outside world, and oriented them to the local or "little" culture, although they were never really unaware of the nature of the "great" culture.

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9Examples of patron-client relations will be given in this chapter under individual types of patrons.
Outsiders were those in residence (merchants and priests), those who visited the Valley occasionally (politicians, doctors), or those who only passed through (travellers, seamen, fishermen).

Merchants and Priests

The merchant was more than a commercial figure. As a representative of the outside world, his literacy and business ability put him in the position of administering a great amount of advice and aid to local people on diverse affairs: wills, deeds, government land surveys, possibilities for education and vocations outside of the Valley, and even advice on political figures. His links to the outside culture made him particularly important in helping individuals to make trips outside of the Valley. It was the merchant who usually shaped a person's travel plans, who gave him recommendations and established connections for him with people in St. John's, Sydney, Nova Scotia, and even the United States in times of crisis: illness, the death of close relatives living outside of the parish, times of poverty, etc. Even more importantly, the merchant was the sole source of cash with which to deal with the outside market-oriented world. As money was not commonly in circulation, a person was totally dependent upon the merchant's willingness to extend cash either as a loan, or an advance on credit already established. One aging Valley man referred to his contacts with a merchant in this manner:

They wasn't of much of a mind to give you money in them days—they didn't want you to stand on your own, you know. I went up to old Arthur McDonald's
house to get some money to send the oldest boy to Port aux Basques to the hospital. I stood in the room with his desk (I'd never been in there before) and he gave it to me, but not before he tried to argue it out of me—he said he didn't have enough on hand to give me, but he did, you know.

A merchant's kin and business contacts outside of the Valley were carefully maintained and cultivated, as they were some of his most important assets. Both symbolically and practically, he made the tie between the locals and the outsider. Politicians, only occasional visitors to the parish, were almost complete strangers, and not particularly trusted. Consequently, they depended very heavily on what a merchant told them about the area, and frequently they were lodged with the merchants while visiting the area.

Frequently, merchants owned ships and employed a captain, seamen, and fishermen to transport goods for them, or to fish on a share basis. Other merchants held considerable portions of land and hired several laborers to run them for them, although they seldom paid their employees in cash.

Priests, too, displayed many characteristics in common with merchants as mediators. Both were born outside of the parish, were better educated and initially wealthier. The priest was turned to for many of the same things as the merchant, and he too depended considerably on the peasant's exchanges of goods and service. The priests also owned private property and hired one or two individuals to farm it for them under their direction ("as an example to the parishioners," as one priest put it).
Significant (since priests and merchants formed the class of outsiders-in-residence in the Valley) is the fact that kinship ties often developed between them when a merchant or a member of a merchant's family married a priest's sister, cousin, or niece. More often, however, a merchant married another outsider brought to the Valley by the priest, as housekeeper, nurse, or school-teacher.

Priests, being literate and maintaining personal ties with the city (particularly as part of the church hierarchy), were appealed to for help in facing problems that reached outside the parish. Politicians were said to "court" the priests favor for the importance he wielded as political adviser. It was said of one politician, "he made straight for the parish hall as soon as he landed in this place, sure!" The priest often gave informal advice on political matters, and during at least one priest's term in the Valley, political allegiance was demanded from the altar.

In less formal but equally important matters the priest was depended upon to carry out the linkage between local and governmental affairs. The clergy started most group activities and motivated most political action in the parish from announcements and requests at Sunday Mass.

Although the priest was depended upon for his literacy and greater experience in governmental matters, his participation was not without tension. When his policies and suggestions ran against the general will of the people, his participation was openly
resented. The aura of authority that was desired to give validity to community actions on one occasion were resented on another:

I don't mind the priest having his say... it's only proper that he should be on the board, too. But when he wants to tell us what we have to do, what can you say? He is the priest after all. And come the day that you're lowered into the ground we're all going to need him. He makes it hard. If he'd only come to the meeting and say, "Look, forget about me being the priest! I'm just Francis Q., and I'm going to talk as himself!"

One of the parish priests recognized the same problem, and put it this way:

They want you to take your collar off when you come to a meeting. They won't recognize that a priest can have his own opinions, too.

The priest's role as mediator between the supernatural and man is desired and not questioned. In the eyes of parishioners this role should carry over into worldly affairs, too. But there is always some doubt. As the motives of a partner in a symmetrical dyadic contract may be doubted, so there is some question as to the mediator's motivation. Similarities between merchant and priest, too, have the effect of carrying over some of the merchant's commercial outlook to the priest. A widely-known Newfoundland song expresses a doubtful cynicism over the roles of the commercial outsider and the religious outsider (even though here the doctor is discussed instead of the merchant, the fact that doctor and clergyman are considered in the framework of "squearing-up time"—the time when a merchant reckoned the value of a season's catch—speaks for itself:

"There's five dollars coming to you, Mr. Nee,"
I doubt it Sir, she's no good to me;
Share it up 'tween the Parson and Dr. Carew,
For I wants to keep on the good side of them two.

If I've got to nagle on six cents a day,
I'll be wanting the Doctor by the end of next May;
And maybe the Parson will have to come round,
To help me square up 'fore I goes underground.

Politicians

The politicians that have represented the Valley have also represented a much larger area of the West Coast, and they have usually been residents of the East Coast, so that their activities vis-a-vis the Valley have been few, excepting their appearances during election periods. Yet, they too were frequently sought out, by mail or in person, to intervene on behalf of local people, particularly in matters pertaining to governmental welfare and grants. The Premier also was (and is) sought for the same favors, and his office is often filled with persons seeking everything from loans to a job for their sons.

To understand why Valley people, and indeed most Newfoundland peasants, see the elected officials of whatever rank to be personally indebted to them, it is helpful to look at the Royal Commission Report of 1933:

The people, instead of being trained to independence and self-reliance, became increasingly dependent on those who were placed in authority; instead of being trained to think in terms of the national interest, they were encouraged to think only in terms of their own district. Even within a district, or a church denomination, there was no public spirit; in the struggle to secure a decent living, the average man sought only his personal advantage. The government was looked upon as the universal provider, and it was thought to be the duty of the Member for the
constituency to see that there was an ever-increasing flow of public money. Since, outside St. John's, there was no municipal government on the Island, and no direct taxation (apart from income tax, which was only payable by the few) the people did not pause to consider how the money was to be provided or what would be the end of this orgy of extravagance. They were content that their immediate wants should be satisfied. The politician was caught in his own meshes. As there was no local Government, he was expected to fulfill the functions of a Mayor and of every department of public authority. In addition, he was the guardian of local interests, the counsellor and friend of every voter in the constituency and their mouthpiece in the Legislature of the country. Finally, under the peculiar system of administration adopted in Newfoundland, he was not only the liaison between the people and the Government but the channel through which the money voted by the Legislature for public purposes within his constituency was allocated and spent. The demands made upon him by the people increased from year to year. If a man lost his cow, he expected the Member to see that the Government provided him with another; if he had some domestic trouble, it was for the Member to put things right; if he fell ill, he looked to the Member to arrange for his removal to the hospital at St. John's at the public expense, to visit him in the hospital where he obtained free treatment, and generally to see to his comfort at no cost to himself. . . . Roads, bridges, town halls, and public building; all these, often superfluous luxuries, the Government, through the Minister, was expected to provide and maintain. The Member, on his part, knew that unless he gave satisfaction to the people, he stood little chance of re-election: consequently, he was tempted to concentrate his energy on obtaining the maximum amount of money from the Government for the allocation in his constituency. When it is said that, under the system adopted, there was no adequate audit of the money allotted, it will be appreciated what opportunities there were for waste and extravagance.10

This commentary, undoubtedly exaggerated, nevertheless is sufficient

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10Great Britain, Newfoundland Royal Commission Report, 1933, pp. 82-83.
to indicate that what was operating was a system of patron-client relations in which the voters exchanged their votes for certain governmental favors, and the politicians were equally bound by the system to do likewise in order to remain in office.

There is evidence (although only indirect) that this system of patronage ran all through the government of Newfoundland, the people participating with those of higher status as patrons, and their patrons in turn participating with those above them, on to the top.

It has been the practice for each incoming Government to side-track or sweep away all Government employees who were either appointed by or were suspected of any connection, direct or indirect, with their predecessors, and to replace them with their own nominees, irrespective of the qualifications of the latter for the particular appointments assigned to them. St. John's is a small city of some 40,000 inhabitants. The educated class, from which the administrative grade of the Civil Service is recruited, is very small: the members of it are all known, if not related, to each other: everyone knows everyone else's business and it is a simple matter to ascertain which way any particular Civil Servant voted or, if he did not vote, what are the political leanings of his family and his relations. If he or they voted the wrong way, then, under the rules of the game, he must be deemed to have forfeited his appointment and must make way for a personal friend or supporter of the incoming Minister. . . .

The closeness of priest and politician (as fellow mediators for a large body of powerless individuals) led to a system of mutual support. Church intervention in politics was not an unusual affair in Newfoundland history:

It has been shown. . . that up to 1861 sectarian

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11Ibid., p. 87.
rivalry was a marked feature of the political life of the Island; that it was the practice for each general election to be fought in an atmosphere of denominational jealousy and bitterness; and that the riots of 1861 finally led to an agreement that "all religious parties should be fairly represented in the arrangement of an administration and in the distribution of offices." This understanding has been faithfully observed since that date. The constituencies of the Island, now numbering 27, are divided equally into those which return candidates from the Church of England, the Roman Catholic Church, and the United Church of Canada, respectively. Similarly, the Executive Council or "Cabinet," with a membership of 12, is composed of four members representing the Church of England, four representing the Catholic Church, and four representing the United Church... Moreover, the underlying principle of equality between the Churches has been extended and amplified in some directions and modified in others, to the detriment, it must be said, of the best interests of the country. Thus, if a member of one denomination obtains a contract from the Government, then members of the other main denominations must be selected for some compensating favour. All appointments not merely to the Civil Service but to Boards and Committees must be equally allotted. On the other hand, the Minister in charge of a Department is commonly expected to show special consideration to the members of his own denomination, and here the principle of equality takes a different form.12

The Royal Commission summarized the influence of the various churches of Newfoundland in public life in this fashion:

It might have been expected that the influence of the Churches, so strong in Newfoundland, would have acted as a check to political malpractices. It is clear from our investigations that this is not the case, and we have reluctantly come to the conclusion that the denominational divisions, of which the people are daily reminded, so far from exercising a beneficent influence in the direction of clearer politics, have failed to check, if indeed they have not contributed to, the general demoralization.13

12Ibid., p. 88.
13Ibid., p. 89.
The Royal Commission called attention in a number of places to a phenomenon that is still widely spread among the peasants of Newfoundland: the conception that "someone else" is somehow responsible and more capable of making decisions that will affect the common good of the community. Usually the priest, the merchant, or the politician were held to be the most responsible persons, but responsibility was also seen to extend from the local "outsiders" to those at the top of the government. The following excerpt from an interview indicates the current form given the conception:

Q. Hasn't anyone in the parish done anything about getting better equipment in for land clearing?
A. It wouldn't be of no use, you see. It's for them that knows about such things to do. A man can only do so much. The government's after giving money to every "scheme" and "plan" and "project" that gets dragged to St. John's, but they got no interest in the little fellow who works himself to death over a bit o' nothin' for land. . . . Me and the two boys broke our backs pickin' rocks off that little field, till we figured it would take 30 years to get this place picked clean.

Q. Did anyone organize a committee through the Co-op to do anything about it?
A. Arr, for what? When you get through yellin' your head off and writin' them letters, it's still up to them that's in charge to do something. Them agricultural fellows was out here a few years back to see for themselves, and they know. No, boy, all a man can do is get by the best he can, and hope that someday they'll take some interest.

The ever present "they" can mean anyone: priest, agricultural fieldworker, union representative, tourist, the merchant, the Queen. Whatever the action requiring "public" or large-scale effort, the Valley person sees responsibility for such actions resting in the
hands of the larger society, people who are fully endowed by their stratified position with the power and authority to act in such a fashion. The peasant sees himself as virtually powerless in public actions. In this conception of the power distribution of the world, the Newfoundlander may be reflecting a view ultimately derived from the part-society nature of peasantry, and possibly widely spread throughout peasant societies.\(^{14}\) Even where change seems possible to the peasant, he bows in the direction of the hierarchically seen world, and surrenders his rights to action. Land act changes, educational improvements, marketing arrangements, all have been seen as somehow outside of the peasant's capacity.

Certainly the Newfoundlander's assessment of his power position has been, over much of Newfoundland history, an accurate one. Particularly in the Valley, has change been slow in coming, and government has been cautious in recognizing even the existence of local interests, much less their concerns. This has been doubly painful for the people of the Valley, for having committed themselves to agriculture as a full-time enterprise, they have thus suffered the difficulties of farmers in a country of fishermen, miners, and lumbermen. Even where the government has extended its help, the effects are slow in being felt in such a difficult land for agriculture.

\(^{14}\)See Frank Cansian, "The Southern Italian Peasant: World View and Political Behavior," *Anthropological Quarterly* 34: 7-14, 1961, for a similar case among Italian peasants.
The view of the outside world as hierarchy is strengthened too by the mediators in the act of protecting their positions. Merchants consistently rejected the bids of peasants to take any part in the marketing and exchange of goods. Drops in prices, irregularities in demand for fish, increases in taxes were all explained by the merchants as acts of the outside world about which nothing could be done. Priests, participating themselves in a religious hierarchy with definite limits on assertion of power, often encourage "obedience" from their parishioners. One priest was widely quoted in the Valley as having said, "As the curate must obey the priest, the parish priest must obey the bishop, the bishop the archbishop, so the people of the parish must obey the parish priest." At Mass, the priests have been heard to proclaim the wife's duty to the husband, and the husband's duty to the priest. Frequently when parishioners acted in a fashion that was opposed by the priests, it was stressed that their concern was "best left to those who knew best in such things." On one occasion, a group of men seeking educational changes were told "from the altar" to "enjoy yourselves: God put you on earth to enjoy its beauty, not to concern yourselves with worries better left to others."

It is evident, nevertheless, that parish men do participate in public action and government at least minimally. Voting turnouts are very high, with virtually all men going to the polls. Yet this participation, it should be seen, is considered part of
the dyadic bond formed by the favors posed by the representatives. 
At the polls the politician is repaid for his part of the contract, 
but this does not significantly affect the hierarchically conceived 
nature of the world and its responsibilities.

The changes that occurred in the Valley since the 1930's have 
chiefly been responses to outside influences: the use of money, 
shifts in markets for local goods, a change in government, new 
contacts with outsiders, all of these are still being felt as 
basic changes. But no more far-reaching change has occurred than 
that of the development of a local entrepreneur class.

With the disappearance of the traditional merchant class in 
the Valley, their function as marketing agents and shopkeepers 
was taken over by a few individuals who were able to mobilize 
enough capital to begin in a small way. The easiest means of 
seeing how these individuals came to strength is to look at brief 
biographies.

Angus G.--merchant, garage owner--father a sea captain; went to 
work in wood cutting in the 1930's; operated his own wood cutting 
camps, contracting wood cutting for the larger companies; was one 
of the first persons to sell chain power saws on the Island; brother 
is a skilled tradesman in another Newfoundland city; Angus had one 
of the first automobile dealerships on the West Coast; he now runs 
a service station-garage, and sells power saws and appliances.

Thomas R.--merchant, garage owner, tourist camp and lodge owner-- 
father was farmer, shipbuilder, shopkeeper, and customs officer;
Thomas worked on the government experimental farm in St. John's in its first years of operation, worked for his father as customs aid, ran his father's shop, operated the first local Coop store in his section; sailed on the Great Lakes, went into the horse business, shipping and selling horses from the mainland; opened a dance hall (providing the music himself); added a grocery and a garage to the hall, and began to show the first movies in the area; added tourist rooms and cabins and began to run hunting and fishing camps for tourists; opened an additional lodge, bar, and dance hall for tourists.

Bill M.—contractor, stockbreeder—learned to operate heavy road grading equipment, learned mechanics while working on first highway department outlet in Valley; bought several pieces of road working equipment and paid for them by doing work on contract with the highway and agricultural departments; breeds cattle, the first in the area to do so.

The entrepreneurs that have arisen in the Valley have devoted themselves to the following enterprises: service station-garages (4); tourist lodge (1); grocery and general stores (5); pulp wood sales (1); road working machinery (1); stock breeding (1). Nine individuals have moved into areas left unfilled by the transportation services of the railroad and by those not satisfactorily filled by the Coop. The tourist lodge, the service stations, and the road working machinery are all responses to changes in transportation created by Newfoundland's confederation with Canada.
These few entrepreneurs are in many ways a diverse lot; only a few of them have much interaction. Still, there are several characteristics that stand out in setting them apart from their fellows born in the area. All of them have travelled more widely than the average Valley person; all have worked for employers outside of the Valley, in several cases in other countries. These are important characteristics, as they indicate the opportunities these individuals have had to learn entrepreneurial techniques, but there is a more interesting common denominator to these men. All are in their middle 40's to late 50's, are married, and a comparison of their family size reveals the following:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Entrepreneur</th>
<th>Children</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>A</td>
<td>4 children</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B</td>
<td>3 children</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C</td>
<td>0 children</td>
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<tr>
<td>D</td>
<td>0 children</td>
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<tr>
<td>E</td>
<td>0 children</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>F</td>
<td>3 children</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G</td>
<td>2 children</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>H</td>
<td>0 children</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I</td>
<td>3 children</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The high percentage of childless marriages is particularly striking as barren couples are so few in the parish. By the same token, the size of family among those having children is quite small. It is not necessary to ask whether or not the entrepreneurial individual rejects large families, or whether the lack of a large family creates an entrepreneurial individual. Certainly the lack of a large number of dependents frees a greater amount of resources for capitalization. But a more basic point is that entrepreneurs, lacking the social resources created by raising children, and having them marry and
extend one's own social alliances, deal in the exchange of natural resources. These dealings, in turn, create their own form of social alliances, so that the entrepreneur still operates fully in the social system, but from a different perspective. ¹⁵

The new entrepreneurs in the parish are accused of a number of sins, some of them grievous indeed. They are said to be only interested in getting what they can out of the people; they are said to fix prices above a normal level, and to adjust them for friends and relatives; they are privately accused of "acting high and mighty" and of "forgetting their friends;" and it is often felt that they have used their friends and neighbors to achieve whatever they have. All of these are not just empty charges born of envy.

In a real sense the entrepreneurs have risen in part on the backs of their fellows. Credit Unions have been a usual source for gaining money not available to them from city banks because of their lack of security and the doubtfulness of their economic ventures. The usual course has been, however, for the new man of enterprise to draw his money out of the credit union as soon as he has begun to succeed at his investment, partly to avoid the control and surveillance of his fellows, and partly to gain higher returns on his money elsewhere. In some notable cases, these withdrawals of considerable funds have almost ruined the savings groups.

¹⁵For a full discussion of the social side of Valley "business," see the previous discussion of patron-client relations, and the discussion of "evaluation" in bargaining procedures in Chapter III.
In several cases, entrepreneurs have in the early years been active in forming or spearheading local improvement associations such as the Road Board, the Community Council, the Coop, etc. Holding executive positions in these groups, and thus having access to government plans for the local area, they have been in position to predict the needs for local enterprise to implement government plans and have taken advantage of this knowledge to establish themselves as entrepreneurs in a timely fashion. To their neighbors this is seen as abuse of authority and a violation of trust. To the entrepreneurs, however, this is no more than filling a need that "somebody would've made money on." In response to criticism, they have additionally argued that they were the only ones interested in the groups in the first place, and their withdrawal is thus claimed as a mixture of disgust with lethargy and a desire to fulfill a public function.

At least two entrepreneurial persons received their business training as managers of local Coop branches, and have thus been seen as traitors to the Cooperative cause, as well as exploiters of trust.

The accusation that the new entrepreneurs are attempting to isolate themselves as members of a class--by "putting on airs"--is not without a basis in fact. These men often dress more formally than their fellows; their affairs are more isolated; increasingly, as their ties spread to the outside world, their reference group changes to persons held at a distance by the Valley.
They have less time for entertaining and general socializing. It is not uncommon for several of these men not to see any of their neighbors in their own homes for months at a time. On several occasions, too, a few men have attempted to assert power in a fashion not acceptable to the others. A "new" merchant who attempted to get preferential treatment from the doctor ahead of a large crowd in the waiting room was seen as acting in an extremely alien and unjustifiable manner.

But in all cases, the new entrepreneurs have violated more basic trusts: they have ignored the public imagery of equality. In doing so they have altered the basis upon which their social relations might be created and maintained, and threatened the roots of community as they have traditionally existed. But their actions in reality mean much more to the Valley in terms of the nature of mediation between local and national culture.

The Priests and the New Entrepreneurs

The mediator's function in the parish has never been so apparent as in the last 25 years. Shifts of economic mechanisms, changes in sources of livelihood, a war, a change of government, all have continually bombarded the Valley in a few years. In all of these there has been felt a constant interplay of provincial, national and international forces. Yet, the Valley's place in these changes and its relation to the larger society around it has not always been clear to the people of the area. When some understanding was achieved, governmental symbols and institutions were not always
seen as relevant, and not always acceptable. At their best, mediators achieved a relationship between the inside and outside forces by making the outside culture meaningful through translation and reinterpretation. Not only through his literacy and understanding of things urban and national was this achieved, but also by acting as a living representative of the outside style of life.

Facing outward, too, he was effective. As a buffer to those cultural forces that ignored the peasants, the mediator drew attention to the other way of life, and reminded the urban government (particularly in the case of Newfoundland) that most of the people, though not often heard from, still existed. In this difficult position, facing in and out, the mediator walked the narrow line, and suffered all the strains of any person who finds himself "in the middle."

With the disappearance of the merchant, and the development of teachers from within the parish, the priest found himself virtually the sole representative of the outside culture. The isolation of the priest only increased the distance of the politician, who, although commonly of the same faith, was wary of being drawn into strong identification with church causes, particularly after confederation.

But during this very period of loss of mediators did the greatest need for them occur. After confederation the myriad of Canadian governmental functions unavailable under Colonial rule—welfare, taxation, transportation, electric power, medical care,
national elections—asserted themselves in the Valley. Through all
of this, the Valley's geographical and political isolation left
only the priest in position to mediate. As Chairman of the School
Board, he controlled the hiring of teachers and the spending of
government education grants on buildings, books, etc.; as a member
of the board of such groups as the Coop and the Cooperative Council,
he exerted authority in a diverse number of ways; until the time
that the people chose to join the government's plan, the priest
hired and regulated a doctor's practice for the Valley. If the
priest was successful in some things, he was a failure in others,
and in his unique position he took the blame for both his own failures
and those of outside forces.

Yet, in another sense, once new forms of national institutions
have reached the local area, the need for mediation is reduced:
government-supplied doctors and hospitals, agricultural aid, grants
to teachers and students, bonuses for mothers, child welfare grants,
and numerous social welfare benefits are administered without the
use of local mediation, and take on bureaucratic impersonality.
It is in the face of this new bureaucratization that the priests
have made some effort to retain the control that mediators tradi-
tionally held, using the somewhat accurate justification that the
"government doesn't know what the needs of the people are." In a
number of areas of change, no effort has been made by the government
to prepare the people for their new roles. As a result of the
clergy's conservatism a tension has been set up between government
agency and local religious leaders, a tension which the priests have done as much as possible to keep from erupting as a public issue. To do this, the priests have been forced to maintain to the outside that there is full community participation in all matters supported by the government, and to the locals it is necessary to indicate that their participation is forbidden, or at least irrelevant.

The entrepreneurs, however, in their travels and ties to other communities, have discovered that in other places the leadership and even participation of the clergy is seen as unlawful and, worse yet, a sign of backwardness. Pushed by church newspapers and magazines (printed in the United States and Toronto) to see their obligations as community and church leaders, and encouraged by national magazines and news programs by recent church-state conflicts in Quebec, they have attempted to assert their new power in various ways. The procedure as it has emerged so far appears regular: after discovering that there is a discontinuity between national or provincial policy and local affairs as administered by the priest, the new elite pressures the priest to alter his practices; if he fails to do so, they next attempt to pressure the church hierarchy to force the changes (committees are sent to see the Bishop, etc.); if there is still no response, then the matter is taken to governmental officials. At this point, only a few of the elite have ever proposed to circumvent the church entirely.

So far the elite has only attempted to assert strength in the
areas of medical care and education, both of great importance to local people. Their causes have not met with popular support, however. On the contrary, when their opposition to the priest becomes public, the result has typically been one of distrust and doubt for both priests and elite, with the priests being somewhat less suspect. Of the elite's public actions, it is often said, "Those fellows are not doing it unless there's something in it for them."

In this difficult period of transition, local leadership suffers, and the development of associations to carry out the work of articulating the two cultures is still incomplete. In challenging traditional authority in the form of the priests, the elite has endangered their own positions by inviting hostilities. But in another sense, what they have created is an atmosphere in which parishioners can see themselves as holding potential power in spheres as yet unconsidered. By shattering the imagery of equality they have disturbed the order of affairs, yet they have prepared the way for a form of horizontal articulation in which persons of the same rank can participate in affairs traditionally limited to upper status mediators. Their sacrifice on the market place of public culture will yet make itself felt.
CHAPTER VIII
CONCLUSION

Social life in the parish is ordered by a series of supportive systems—kin, "friend," economic—all of which relate since the same persons or groups interact in different situations, "an interaction which makes their mutual commitments in one situation or group greatly influence their behavior in others."¹ In all parish activities and the peoples' conceptions of them, the various "aspects" are related by the criss-crossing of the same people interacting. The separation of these aspects is difficult and somewhat arbitrary, but necessary to understand the workings of a small society.

* * *

The nuclear family unit in the parish is strongly self-sufficient and tightly knit. Each member is bound to the other by the most basic forms of moral controls, for religious, economic

and social concerns are deeply intertwined at this level. Unity is given structural support by the practice of reenforcing kin ties through godparenthood bestowed upon the parents' kindred, thus bringing a child's kindred into an overlapping position with his parents'.

The section, too, is tied together through kinship. Since marriage among section-mates is restricted, clustering of land and social resources is prevented, but on the other hand, godparenthood among section-mates creates an atmosphere of extended kindred that gives the section a sense of "honorary kinship": participation in each other's life crises and sharing in a kin-like atmosphere on holidays. Similarly, involvement in Credit Union and school affairs extends this ritual kinship solidarity into section-wide affairs.

Since marriage ties cross section lines, as likewise do some godparent ties, a number of individuals from other sections or from outside of the parish are related to each family in a manner similar to that relating the members of a section. In the same fashion, too, life crises and holidays bring together these kin across section lines. In this fashion, each section member has at least a few ties which take him beyond those of his section.

Beyond the spheres of "real" and ritual kinship, interpersonal relations are ordered by volitional, contractual ties between individuals. These dyadic contracts relate only individuals, and do not create corporate groups of any kind. The ease with which
these dyads are formed or dissolved assures individuals the maximum ability to test out sources of help in the world of the parish. Dyadic relations take place in the public realm, but violations of dyads are not morally reprehensible; rather violations are seen as simply a sign that the contract has ceased to function between two parties.²

All dyadic contracts, whether between members of different ranks or among equals, are somewhat ambiguous since individual motivations cannot be known, and all persons are thus subject to misunderstanding. The fact that there is differential information and motivation available in any social relationship does not weaken these relationships, but rather gives them part of their sustaining power. Ignorance³ is "functional" when it suppresses damaging information, and brings to the surface material which is mutually acceptable as "public culture." In making divergence mutually acceptable, a culture provides public imagery (which need not be

²Fred Gearing makes this point in elaborating Redfield's notion of the "moral" and "technical" orders. He indicates that the term "technical order" is more clearly represented if it is broken down into two forms: the form of interpersonal relations characterizing strangers doing business in cities, and that characterizing the more durable relations found among peasants (dyadic relations). See Fred Gearing, "Idioms of Human Interaction: Moral and Technical Orders," Symposium on Community Studies in Anthropology, ed. V.E. Garfield (Seattle: American Ethnological Society, 1964), pp. 10-19.

"true" empirically)—assumptions about what is or should be the case in the culture. This is the provision of "shared elements" that allows for societal continuation despite the variations in the private worlds of those who pass through it. Public imagery comes into being as the result of satisfactory complementary expectations on the parts of its participants, and thus is a functional adaptation to the problem of diversity. But imagery is also supported by congruent and reinforcing mechanisms in other spheres of the culture.

In symmetrical contracts a public imagery demanding equality and equalitarianism within the rank offers an assurance that equity can be reached through these ties. But by the same token a degree of caution and wariness must pervade the creation of these contracts. The imagery of equality is enhanced and the dyadic system furthered by reciprocity in information flow, goods, services, and hospitality (particularly food and drink). The Christmas season, with its mumming, assures a means for reaffirming the public imagery, the dyadic system, and at the same time allowing for gratification of otherwise repressed motives.

Asymmetrical dyadic relations are also plagued by ambiguity and doubt over motivation, but they are not aided strongly by the notion of equality, which is by definition inapplicable in this kind of relationship. Rather it is the very fact that exchanges involved in this form of contract are unequal that gives them their existence in the first place. The desire to obtain goods, services, or social resources not otherwise available among one's fellows,
leads to a contract with those of another rank. Holding as they do a view of the world as being hierarchically structured, people of the parish see alliances of this sort as risky, but necessary and proper.

Economic relations, too, are supportive of public imagery. Reciprocity, though strongest among relatives and section-mates (much as are symmetrical dyadic contracts), tends to be extended to all other people in the parish not labeled as "outsiders," and thus reinforces the image of equality by stressing a system of equity in exchange. Whether as part of dyadic contracts or only as affirmations of kin ties, reciprocity provides a mode for transacting resources, but also expresses a social relationship: in this case, godparenthood and "friendship" are the relations given form through economic transaction, and the imagery surrounding persons falling in these categories is reinforced. (see Fig. 5)

Similarly, the redistributive procedures provided by merchants (but also by priests as intermediaries between God and community, and as "redistributers" of mates in marriage exchanges) recirculated goods in the community in such a manner that the imagery of equality was assured, but also maintained the distance between merchants and the people of the parish, and thus reasserted the hierarchical view of the world.

In the important period of change following the depression of the 1930's--the shift from fishing-farming to farming-labor, the failure of the traditional merchant, the use of money,
Fig. 5. Transactional Modes and the Distribution of Social and Natural Resources.
etc.--economic behavior became diffused over a broader area with the provision of numerous varieties of occupation and opportunities for individual advancement. Particularly were positions made available to fill the functions previously performed by merchants. Money, a concrete, quantifiable medium of exchange, reduced the amount of ambiguity potential in economic exchange situations, and induced new patterns of production and distribution. New direct participation in the Market world introduced the new form, Market exchange, that has increasingly tended to replace both redistribution and reciprocity as central forms of economic transaction. Yet, in the price-setting exchange activities within a parish a form of inverted haggling has developed that allows enough ambiguity to exist to veil the overt antagonism implicit in normal price-setting Market activities in the Western world. The element of caution and avoidance of conflict has been retained despite the new forms of transaction, and the public imagery has been maintained. Meanwhile, haggling-haggling behavior controls exchange situations carried on with outsiders, so that two systems of price-setting operations are simultaneously in effect.

* * *

The picture of peasant interpersonal relations presented here differs significantly from other views common today. One of the most influential commentators on social relations in peasantry has
been George Foster,\textsuperscript{4} whose general framework is shared by Oscar Lewis.\textsuperscript{5} In illustrating peasant social attitudes Foster has drawn on a lengthy series of commentaries on peasantry by an impressive group of observers from a number of disciplines. In summarizing a list of such observations, he comments:

The list of examples could be extended, but the point should be clear: peasant life can hardly be said to have a Rousseauian quality, however successful it may be in satisfying the spiritual and material needs of its members. An objective appraisal of a peasant village, however fond the ethnologist may be of his people, will in all likelihood reveal basic strains and tensions in interpersonal relations that make it difficult to understand how the community continues to function. What may be the explanations for this character and how, in spite of it, do peasant villages continue without flying apart from centrifugal force?\textsuperscript{6}

To account for such conflict-torn levels of society, Foster develops his notion of the "image of limited good," a peasant cognitive orientation that seems to fit all observed peasant social behavior:

\begin{quote}
If, in fact, peasants see their universe as one in which the good things in life are in limited and unexpandable quantities, and hence personal gain must be at the expense of others, we must assume that social institutions, personal behavior, values, and personality will all display patterns that can be viewed as functions of this cognitive orientation. Preferred behavior, it
\end{quote}

\begin{footnotes}
\end{footnotes}
may be argued, will be that which is seen by the peasant as maximizing his security, by preserving his relative position in the traditional order of things.7

Whatever the reasons, peasants are individualistic, and it logically follows from the Image of Limited Good that each minimal social unit (often the nuclear family and, in many situations, a single individual) sees itself in perpetual, unrelenting struggle with its fellows for possession or control over what it considers to be its share of scarce values. This is a position that calls for extreme caution and reserve, a reluctance to reveal true strength or position. It encourages suspicion and mutual distrust, since things will not necessarily be what they seem to be, and it also encourages a male self image as a valiant person, one who commands respect, since he will be less attractive as a target than a weakling.8

Looking at peasant economy in this fashion helps us to understand why the successful person invites the suspicion, the enmity, the gossip, the character assassination, the witchcraft, and possible bodily attacks of his fellows. Any evidence of a change for the better in his situation is proof of guilt, all that is needed to show that, in some fashion, he has bespoiled his neighbors.9

But Foster wishes to go further, since it seems apparent to him that peasant interpersonal hostility is destructive. How to explain this, for he cannot conceive that a society could exist for very long in this condition? He decides (as did Redfield,

7Foster, "Peasant Society..." p. 301.
8Ibid., p. 302.
9Foster, "Interpersonal..." p. 177.
Durkheim, Maine, and others before him) that demography is to
blame:

I suggest that, in part, the strains inherent in
peasant society, and reflected in interpersonal
relations, are due to an image, or a concept of
community, held by the people themselves, which
in fact does not fully exist. A sociopolitical
structure based on a concept of face-to-face
relationships places the imposition on the
individual of knowing his associates; in a small
community this comes naturally, without effort
or thought. As the group grows, it is increas-
ingly difficult to have the knowledge about one's
fellow villagers that is implicit in the image
the peasant has of how his community functions.
Growing numbers make it more difficult to keep
tabs on the activities and interests, the alliances
and maneuverings of others, and these activities,
it is easy to imagine, may be prejudicial to oneself.
Frustration because of lack of fit between community
size and the ideal as to how it functions results.10

Oscar Lewis, commenting on this model of behavior, agrees
with Foster but wishes for a more complete and less deterministic
explanation of the "poor quality of interpersonal relations in
peasant communities," than one simply pointing out a static economy
and low productivity, "both of which limit upward mobility," and
"suggest that these factors become noxious for interpersonal
relations with the increase in the size of a community beyond
some optimal point. . ."11

10Ibid.

But Julian Pitt-Rivers objects to such discussions of the "quality" of interpersonal relations because of the implicit value judgments in such terms as "individualistic," "distrust," "suspicion," "gossip," "avarice," "hostility," and "unpredictability." Each set of phenomena denoted by these terms, he says, can be seen as positive with a slight shift in value perspective. For example, "distrust" and "suspicion" can be seen as "prudence" if the distrust is seen positively.

Can nothing objective then, be said about the quality of interpersonal relations? I do not think the kind of statement which Foster quotes is helpful for comparative purposes for it adds nothing to the detail of the ethnography but the author's feelings about the people he has studied. One cannot evaluate a value, one can only concur or dissent, and for an author to state his attitude towards the standards of another society is of interest only insofar as it throws light on his personality and method of working. It cannot provide a basis for the classification of societies.

The problems brought about by Foster's and Lewis' view of peasantry can be seen as resulting from two different, but related concepts: (1) that peasant peoples hold a single cognitive model of reality that shapes their social behavior; and (2) that (borrowing again from Redfield, Durkheim, et. al.) and others of the "dichotomous" school of social integration) urban, complex society is in some sense socially iniquitous, and that peasants

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12Pitt-Rivers, p. 181-82.

13Ibid., p. 182.
are damaged by the influence of this iniquity (a kind of "creeping civilization.")

In the approach I am attempting here, these problems are avoided by rejecting a search for a single orientation, in the approach that A.F.C. Wallace has called the "replication of uniformity." Instead, I have sought to understand peasant social phenomena in terms of the "organization of diversity." In this way, one is able to avoid value-laden descriptions of behavior as "back-biting" or "malicious," and instead to see behavior as appropriate in the face of the ambiguities of peasant life.

To take a single example, gossip can now be seen as functioning to facilitate information flow, interpersonal valuation, and social control, as well as serving as a substance for exchange, rather than simply ruling it out as disruptive.

* * *


15Ibid., p. 27.

16Foster recently (1965) has modified some of his earlier thinking, but he still seeks a single cognitive orientation among peasants.

17Max Gluckman has recently asserted a similar functional quality to gossip in maintaining the in-group, but he still is forced to say (because of his assumption of "replicated uniformity") that it can also be dysfunctional if it occurs where there is no "sense of community which is based on the fairly successful pursuit of common objectives." Yet, one is inclined to ask why a person would gossip (in the usual meaning of the term) with a person who is not a member of the in-group (the community). In short, it would appear that gossip is an indicator of a functioning community (particularly in a "face-to-face community such as a peasant society), rather than a symptom of a dysfunctioning one. Max Gluckman, "Gossip and Scandal," Current Anthropology 4: 314, 1963.
When private cultures become affected by changes in the
surrounding phenomenal world, there are two courses of action
available: the individual can rearrange and reorder the elements
of his private culture to accord with external changes (a common
recourse); or he can take in new elements. In most cases of change,
the public culture will remain intact much longer than the original
private cultures which make it up, the lag itself often being a
source of frustration and disturbance. In the changes that have
occurred in the Valley since the 1930's changes in the phenomenal
world have altered the applicability of the existing public culture
in many situations in which it was previously effective. New demands
on both individual and group have created new contexts which cannot
be met by traditional customs and routines. Pressures brought to
bear from without the cultural system of the parish have reduced
the scope of the traditional public culture to the point where
former means of ordering and controlling human relationships no
longer apply in the same manner. But this does not stop its par-
ticipants from trying to use it.

Prior to taking on a new culture, or even elements of a new
one, private cultures changed to accommodate new needs and demands.
Wide-scale attempts to reorder old elements in individual cognitive
maps have occurred at the same time as the public imagery remained
the same. The result of this condition has been new uses for old
elements. Previously mentioned was the reordering of price-setting
practices in market exchange behavior to accord with conflict-free
requirements for use within the parish, while the standard Western practices are used simultaneously outside of the parish. The demands of government bureaucracies for local "associations" to articulate national and international institutions without the help of traditional mediators produced a situation that provided no means for former techniques of dissension control to operate. "Democratic" associations and "meetings" were dealt with by the use of "government by committee" techniques to avoid the concentration of power and to accommodate the public imagery of equality. The reinterpretation of the social practice of drinking as a technique for rendering association meetings impotent, or at least, as occasions for excusable hostilities, reasserted the essentially equalitarian setting of human relationships. Finally, the refusal to accept multi-purpose associations marked a complete rejection of conflict-provoking situations that could not be dealt with by traditional public culture.

In the process of phenomenal change, some individuals always show change in private cultures faster than others. Some try reorganization of traditional elements and find the process unsatisfactory before others. Consequently, while some participants in a culture are reorganizing, others are seeking new means of dealing with change in phenomena, usually outside of the system, in another culture. Their sense of failure in attempting old solutions has reduced the rewards offered by the old methods, and hence weakened their commitment to the old public culture.
In the parish the new entrepreneurs are the first to reject the traditional public culture. Less committed to the traditional system than others, with less investment in it (small families and thus minimal social extension), and having private cultures that are more extensive in the number of variants of operating cultures (because of greater travel and work experience, often coupled with greater education, or marriage to schoolteachers from outside of the parish), they are the least likely to be satisfied with reinterpretation or retreat. Yet, they have not so much rejected the traditional public culture as they have used it to their advantage. Aware of the fact that they are able to operate at least minimally in both the local culture and the larger one surrounding it, the new entrepreneur is aware of capacities present in himself not shared by his fellows in the parish. Fully aware of the public imagery, he uses it sometimes to his advantage, manipulating others more committed to it, and at other times operates fully within it himself; the entrepreneur uses all resources at his command, clearly those of both local and outside cultures. Well aware of the techniques and mechanisms of Western public culture, he is able at times to justify acts which are considered repugnant within the local public culture.

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Ironically, as the new entrepreneurs increase the scope of their private cultures, moving always toward the larger culture, they increasingly move towards a position of articulation between the cultures, a position vacated by the old mercantile system and now held almost exclusively by the clergy. In the process of asserting their potential as mediators, the entrepreneurs come into conflict with the clergy, particularly in cases where the latter have shown little inclination to change their own positions in accord with the culture of the outside world. Although they frequently are not successful in their attempts to assert leadership in articulatory positions, especially where the clergy are being replaced, the entrepreneurs shatter, by example, the public imagery of equality, and indicate the potential power available to local people in accepting new elements of the outside culture.

There is no intent in this study to assert that this peasant community is in any sense either a "survival" or a "throwback" to another period, or to attempt to explain the rise of Capitalism or Market society. There can be no question that many of the pressures affecting this Newfoundland community are quantitatively and qualitatively distinct from those extended during the period of great Market expansion. There is no doubt, either, that this community has not "stood still," although it has "survived." A model has simply been presented, a model which attempts to explain, primarily, changes that affected the nature of one Western-settled community on the fringes of modern society. Still, one would hope,
the discussion that has evolved here has provided some insights into the nature of changes that have occurred in earlier times in other Western communities. And perhaps it would not be too much to hope, either, that some of the principles seen here might also be useful in looking at changes that have occurred in non-Western cultures as well.
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