

Cat Harbour

A Newfoundland fishing settlement

James C. Faris

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Foreword

Among the objectives of the Institute is the provision of a corpus of community studies from the Newfoundland scene, and the present volume is a new edition of a report that appeared in 1966. The earlier edition was multi-lithed for limited circulation and the stock was soon exhausted. Continual inquiries about "Cat Harbour" led the Institute to make available for sale this new edition in hard-cover. While revisions are included in this edition, it has not been up-dated and still refers to field research conducted in 1964-65.

St. John's
August, 1971

Robert Paine
Director of Sociological Research
Institute of Social and Economic Research
Memorial University of Newfoundland

Preface

The field research on which this study is based (from January 1964 to March 1965) was originally undertaken for an advanced degree in social anthropology at Cambridge University. A preliminary report was produced by the Institute of Social and Economic Research, Memorial University of Newfoundland in 1966. The present study is a revision of the earlier material, with several changes and the development of the ideas which appeared in the earlier work.

The study was supported by the Institute of Social and Economic Research, with monies made available under the Agricultural Rehabilitation and Development Act (Statutes of Canada, 1960/1961: Chapter 30). I must also acknowledge a small grant from the Worts Travelling Scholars' Fund of Cambridge University and financial aid from the University of Connecticut for the typing of the manuscript and drafting work.

I would like to thank the staff and directors of the Institute of Social and Economic Research, particularly Ian Whitaker and M. O. Morgan, for their constant cooperation and advice. Robert Paine, currently Director of Sociological Research of the Institute, has been the principal pressure on me to complete this book, which, at the same time has benefited from the work and stimulation of other students and researchers associated with the Institute.

I am grateful to A. Williams, formerly of the Geography Department of Memorial University of Newfoundland, for access to his land use survey of the northeast coast and for helping to procure invaluable maps; and to the several Newfoundland government officials who have given access to documents and records. For their stimulation and support, I wish to thank Meyer Fortes, Jack Goody, Edmund Leach, Roger Krohn, and Peter Newcomer. None of the above-mentioned individuals, however, are responsible for my treatment and interpretation of Cat Harbour data.

I owe a special debt to my wife and children. Not only did they open up constant sources of information to which I would otherwise have had no access, but they bore a rigorous environment without complaint, and helped me to establish rapport in breaking down the barriers between the native population and us – the strangers.

Lastly, and most importantly, I must acknowledge Cat Harbour folk, who number too many to mention by name. However motivated, they extended lavish hospitality at all times, and unfailingly answered my queries which

Preface

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often violated their subtle rules of etiquette. I now know their cooperation was often at considerable embarrassment and discomfort to themselves for which I must, in retrospect, apologize. My greatest regret is that this study, in form and content, is probably not the sort of thing they would most have me write, and will probably not contribute much toward improving their material conditions. Let me record here, however, my fascination with their world, my appreciation of and sympathy with their life, and my gratitude for having been allowed to share it fully for an exciting and memorable year.

Legend

Although all names in this study are fictitious, they refer to actual people. Cat Harbour surnames are disguised with the names of colours, while the original surnames of persons marrying into the community and those of outsiders are disguised with names of common birds. This dichotomization is quite in accord with local reckoning. First names are randomly assigned from those occurring in Cat Harbour.

I have also found it helpful to use letter and number codes for surnames, individuals, crews, and gardens. These codes have been used throughout the text and have special reference to the various charts, tables, maps, and appendix. Capital letters in all cases refer to surnames, and capital Roman numerals refer to gardens within a given surname territorial extension. Small case Roman numerals refer to cod-trap fishing crews and small case letters refer to trawl and net fishing crews. Arabic numerals refer to individuals in any particular genealogy. Thus, C6 is an individual (who can be located on Chart 1) of surname C. IID is a garden (which can be located on Map 4b) whose owner is of surname D (in most cases occupiers are owners – the exceptions will be noted). By a combination of the codes it is possible to specify an individual's genealogical position (with reference to Chart 1, Appendix) and family origin (Table 5, p. 69); and his residence (Map 4b) and fishing crew membership (Table 1, Appendix).

The reader who is familiar with Cat Harbour could probably determine the exact identity of any person referred to by a code or fictitious name. However, I am describing real people, locations, events, and behaviour; to this extent it is impossible to cloak the identity of specific individuals. But the degree to which I have attempted to do so should prevent any embarrassment and should not betray the confidence of those who contributed information. I can only apologize if this is not so.

Words, phrases, and sentences enclosed in double quotation marks are quotations from published sources or indicate emphases by the ethnographer. Words, phrases, idioms, and sentences in single quotation marks are of Cat Harbour usage.

Part I

The Setting

This study attempts to describe and explain a rural fishing community on the northeast coast of Newfoundland. It is an ethnographic account with explanatory anchors in social history and ecology. The presentation is to some extent holistic, but it is not exhaustive. I have concentrated on those aspects of the community's existence which enable the reader to conceptualize the way of life in Cat Harbour, the reasons for it, and to be able to appreciate and predict social behaviour.

These are hardly the goals of contemporary community studies or current anthropological monographs. But neither is "mere ethnography" today a pejorative label. It is now commonly accepted by anthropologists that any description is (or implies) a theory,¹ and contemporary ethnographers are more explicit about this theory. Methodologically, the critical point in being explicit about the theory behind any description is that the ethnographer's view of the nature of society and of social processes is clear, as well as his basic theoretical commitments.

The most theoretical and methodologically explicit ethnography is that stemming from so-called ethnoscience or ethnosemantics. Work in this area has been generally characterized by considerable rigour and empirical sophistication. It has been the focus of several attacks and also of a goodly amount of professional and academic reward. Both the attacks and the rewards are unfortunate.

The criticisms are weak, largely pedantic, misplaced (Harris, 1968), or even irrelevant (Berreman, 1966). Most ethnoscience or "New Ethnography" studies purport to understand each cultural and semantic domain on its own terms – in and of itself – and are thoroughly committed to theories of cultural and linguistic relativity. Some practitioners may aspire to broader statements,² but only in rare circumstances can we expect normal ethnoscience to yield general conclusions or sufficient explanations. When a

1 For example, Chomsky has argued (1957:49) that a rigorous linguistic description is in fact a theory of language – an approximation of the speaker's model of the language.

2 See, for example, Lounsbury (1965), Henderson (1967), and Basso (1968), who insist that work toward the establishment of an adequate *etic* base is methodologically critical. I would agree, but the process of determining and defining criteria for this base are not explicit in these works. Their methodology and lack of general semantic theory commits them to intuitive procedures and assumptions or *ad hoc* generalizations.

general conclusion does emerge, it is usually a discovery – not predicted, not accounted for (cf. Berlin and Kay, 1969); furthermore, any explanation of the conclusion is not forthcoming.

Science without explanation is hardly science at all. Ethnosemantic studies have been oriented to furnishing a reader with sufficient cultural rules and codes so that he or she could behave appropriately in the culture in question. This does not seem to me like an unworthwhile goal, and is in modest terms, one aim of the present study. But it is absurd to suggest that this may be accomplished by examining the particular culture without some attempt to explain how and why such behavioural grammars and cultural codes came about. Without knowing the process by which a rule or code is generated, a reader will scarcely get far in responding or anticipating appropriately. The goals of ethnoscience are commendable; they are simply unobtainable given the theoretical strictures.

Ethnosemantic elicitation techniques are used in this study, particularly in cultural domains where the cognitive patterns were less explicit. Linguistic methodologies are adopted, especially those characterizing transformational generative work (cf. Chomsky, 1968) with its emphasis on statements of process.

The present study is, then, a description. But more importantly, it is an attempt to suggest how and why the description obtains, to elucidate the process by which such manifestations come about, to explain what is documented. Explanation is a statement of process, and this demands attention to the history of any system.³ The history of Cat Harbour, so far as it is available, is crucial to the understanding and making sense of "appropriate behaviour" in the community today.

The methodology of general system approaches (cf. Bertalanffy, 1968) is particularly important here. This involves an examination of the several systems trajectories operative and their interrelationships, which thereby include causal considerations. It is clear that the explanatory determinates of Cat Harbour life involve wider systems; these are more than just the isolated fishing settlement, for the settlement's very isolation is a product of a broader series of social forces and priorities over which local people exercise no control. This is not a unique peculiarity of Cat Harbour. No community in the world today can be analysed without attention to broader systems. Were commitments to general system theory more prevalent in anthropology today, we should be able to anticipate and deduce this. Where such considerations are found today, they are largely intuitive on the part of the investigator, or an implicit part of his folk knowledge of the world, rather than an explicit part of his methodology.

The history of any social system must also be seen operating on given

³ Cf. R. Brown (1963:193), "... historical explanation is part of every scientific one, and their earlier divorce at our hands was one of convenience and not incompatibility."

physical situations – people in specific environments, in an ecological system. History, in short, must be seen as social processes in material settings and not as a chronicle of ideas or of events unrelated to material conditions. Material conditions prompted migration to and settlement in Newfoundland. And the harsh, severe material conditions of settlement are crucial to the explanation of local society today. Cat Harbour manifests cognitive orders which are a direct response to the historical-material base.

Operating on this corpus of cognitive orders (which might be called "knowledge" or competence) are various dynamics or transformation processes. The results (which might be called performance) tend to be conservative, and the dynamics normally operate in a supporting tradition, insuring successful interaction, and placing restrictions on individualism and premiums on predictable behaviour. In a small isolated community in tenuous socio-economic circumstances, bizarre and unpredictable behaviour was (and is) a very real threat. The transformation processes then steer, sanction, and reward perfected interaction and anticipated response.⁴ Those whose behaviour facilitates this are members of a moral community who subscribe to interaction dynamics which might initially strike the outside visitor as odd. These dynamics reveal a fundamental logic, however, and generate acceptable and predictable interaction which makes good sense given knowledge (competence) of the underlying historical and material setting and cognitive codes stemming from it.

There is, however, conflict, and this study will consider in some detail the various local sources of structural strain – for systems sometimes develop their own priorities. In all cases, people have had to live with these because of the lack of alternatives. It can be seen that some adjustments evolved, and equally, certain features are today survivals in the distinct Tylorian sense.

It is with the maintenance of successful interaction and the effecting of relationships that Cat Harbour folk most concern themselves, and of course, this has local functional value. Far from maintaining "solidarity," however, the premiums placed on predictable and highly formalized behaviour are survival responses in hostile circumstances. It is, moreover, tautological (or trivial) to premise a study (or conclude one) on the functional achievements of community solidarity and integration (Bruner *et al.*, 1956:16). Cat Harbour is a functioning system; but it is a functioning system which is part of other systems, a historical past, and a broader present without which it cannot be understood.

⁴ A concomitant of this is that people, where they have the opportunity, repress or avoid spheres of activity or encounters which are physically and cognitively threatening; that is, which are incapable of being ordered, anticipated, or predicted. It has been suggested that these areas of cognitive ambiguity are the locus of taboo and avoidance (cf. Leach, 1964).

As my efforts were concentrated on a single settlement, I cannot say with assurance that Cat Harbour is representative of rural fishing villages in Newfoundland, or even those in the more immediate area. In several ways, I know it is somewhat different (see particularly Part II of this study), but in many other ways I suspect it is like hundreds of other small coastal settlements on the Island.

In Part I of this study, the history and ecology of the community is presented in some detail, with an emphasis on those aspects of the world about them which Cat Harbour folk view as important and the historical and ecological factors which explain how these views have come about. Their territorial, kin, and economic arrangements – the substance of Part II of this study – are determined by these factors and these views. The patterns or frameworks⁵ of interaction which document how people are related physically, economically and residually, are a response to land, water, and events. It is largely these factors which determine relationships. Part III outlines the interaction dynamics: the mechanisms by which specific relationships are maintained and anticipated, and by which continuity of interaction is insured. These abstractions document the process by which appropriate behaviour is facilitated, maintained, and rewarded. Explicit linguistic models are utilized here as the interaction dynamics approximate transformation rules in a generative grammar; they enable actors to transform an underlying *competence* in the cognitive codes (the semantic store) into an acceptable and predictable behavioural *performance*.

5 The use of the term "framework" bears similarities to Barth's frameworks by which he refers to categories of people and social networks that to some extent define and determine various types of interaction, such as political choices (Barth, 1959:13).

History and Settlement

2

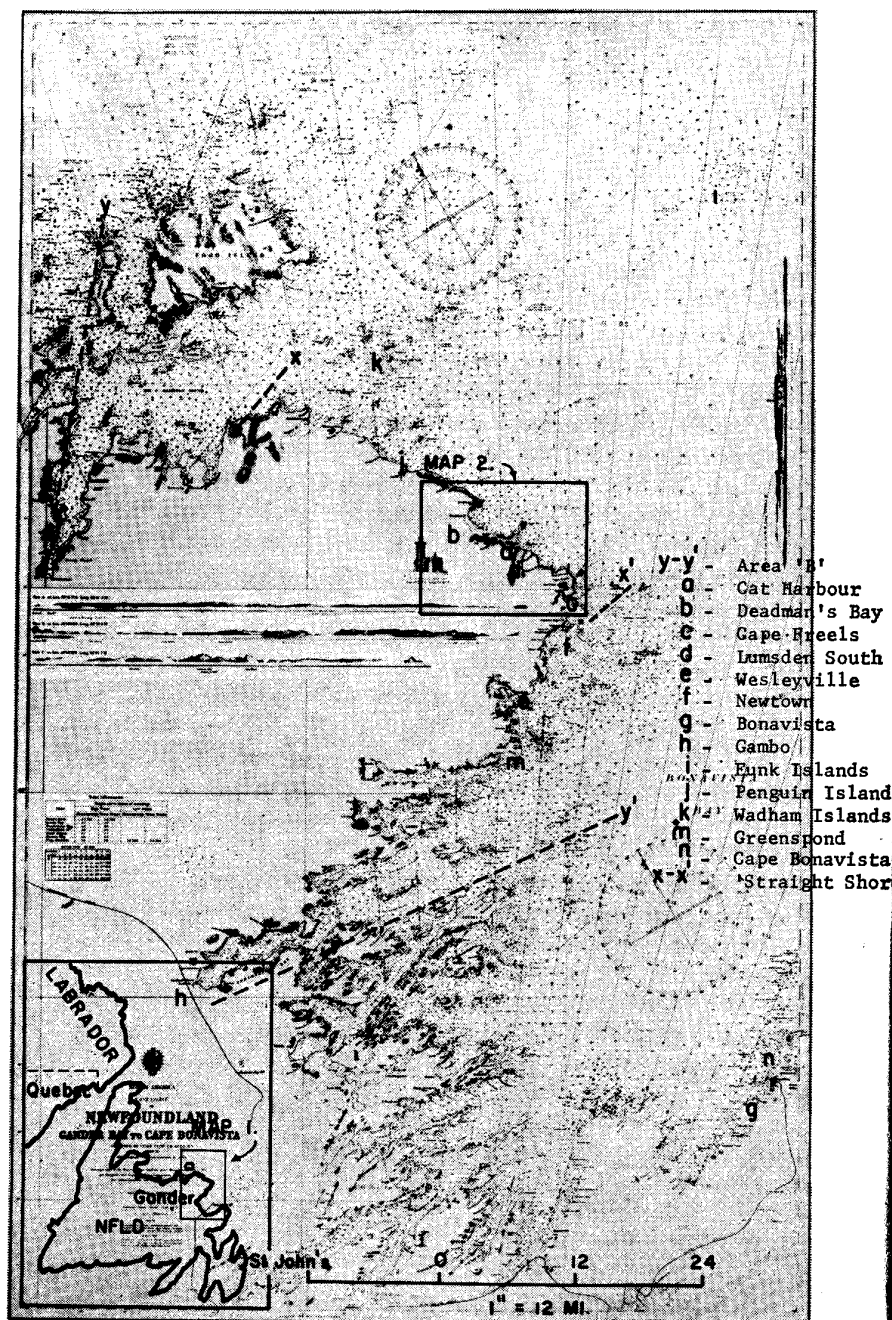
The history of Newfoundland, particularly of the outport and the northeast coast, is the history of its fisheries. The potential of the great cod fishery was first acknowledged in the 15th century with the voyage of John Cabot, and exploitation of the off-shore fishing grounds began almost immediately (McLintock, 1941:1). There is no record of the first European visit to Cat Harbour, but the 'Straight Shore' of the northeast coast (as the Cat Harbour coast is known; see Map 1) was well documented by both the French and the English by the second half of the 16th century.⁶ Anspach (1819:317) states the nearby Penguin Islands were discovered by Cartier in 1534, and certainly by the time of Moll's maps (circa 1709) and of Friend (1713), the area of Cat Harbour was known in some detail.

Cat Harbour is specifically marked on the 18th century French admiralty charts⁷ as an area to avoid, and given the ominous name of "Wrecking Harbour" (*Hav. Dechire*) probably because of the ease with which vessels were swept ashore on the sandy beaches. During the period of my research, inhabitants were still referred to as 'Cat Harbour Wreckers' as they had the reputation of plundering, with particular gusto, any hapless vessel that went aground on the peninsula. Cat Harbour has always been known as a rough spot, and people today keep alive stories of noteworthy schooners which came ashore as far back as 150 years ago.

Even though the area was known, documented, and fished as early as the 16th century, it is unlikely that Cat Harbour had any permanent settlers until sometime in the latter half of the 18th century. Settlement was prohibited, and records document many official repressive measures. As late as 1773, for example, an officer was appointed to apprehend *inhabitants* fishing in Deadman's Bay (P.R.O., Adm. 80/121:157). Though this prohibition did not prevent settlement later, it certainly did nothing to encourage it, and it continued until 1824. As late as 1821, the master of an English vessel was

6 To judge by the 16th century maps of the region; cf. Harleian Map (c. 1542), P. Descellier Map (1553), and the John Dee Map (1580), reproductions of which may be seen in Prowse (1895:41-59).

7 Carte Reduit de Terre Neuve, No. 3, *Neptune de L'Amerique Septent*, Neptune Français, 1784. These charts were probably taken from Cook's earlier survey of the Island (1775).



Map 1. The Northeast Coast of Newfoundland

financed for bringing settlers to Newfoundland (P.P: Papers and Accounts Relating to the Island of Newfoundland, XVI, 415:459, 1824).

England – in the interests of both keeping her young seamen at home for naval duty in the rising Imperial fleet, and of the West Country merchants who wanted to monopolize the fishing industry – declared all permanent settlements illegal. MacKay states:

Britain's policy toward Newfoundland had been founded upon the supposition that a fishery carried on from English shores would benefit British sea power. Since the demand for seamen to man the home fleets in time of war was incompatible with colonial settlement, the oldest British outpost in America had been ordained by law to remain in the same state as when it was originally discovered, without cultivation, without roads, without homes and without the apparatus of local legislation (1946:262).

There can be little doubt that the merchants of Devon influenced the Court as well, for recorded in the State papers are numerous letters and petitions to the Crown to prohibit settlement.⁸ The commercial interests of the West Country merchants were often masked under the guise of their concern for English maritime supremacy, but I think the documentation clearly shows their dominant interest was in the exclusive exploitation of the Newfoundland fishery (cf. Prowse, 1895; McGrath, 1911; McLintock, 1941; Lounsbury, 1934). England's opposition to settlement was not codified, however, until 1633 with the Star Chamber rules of Charles I (McLintock, 1941:5; Prowse, 1895:154); this occurred only after several settlements had become established. The significance of this initial foothold in Newfoundland appears to have been underemphasized by historians, for the explicit prohibitions on settlement after 1633 would surely have had more effect had there not already been settlers on the Island – relatives of those to come later, and examples for those who encountered the inhabitants on their summer fishing voyages from Europe. Descendants of these earliest settlers were, in fact, among those who first settled Cat Harbour, the surnames having been on the Island well before 1610 (Prowse, 1895:137).

According to partisan Newfoundland historians (cf. Prowse, 1895), the primary reason for the prohibition on settlement by non-seamen relates to the attempt to conserve the labour force in the British Isles for rising industrial development needs. The legislation preventing settlement was constantly being added to throughout the 17th century, but though illegal, the population of Newfoundland continued to grow. With the Western Charter of 1634, based upon the Star Chamber rules of Charles I which were renewed in 1660 and 1671 (cf. McLintock 1943:5), the judicial system was left in the hands of the master of the first West Country vessel that reached harbour each spring (Lounsbury, 1934:76-7). One can easily imagine the justice

⁸ Cf. C.S.P., A. & W.I.: Colonial Entrybook, no. 65, pp. 39-62, 1670, and C.S.P.A., A. & W.I.: Colonial Papers, vol. 35, no. 17 I-II, 1675. For a West Countryman's view, see Child (1694).

under such circumstances – the Newfoundland settler being delivered into the hands of his enemies. Later, it was decided that deportation was the answer, and “offenders” were sent to England to be tried. Masters of ships leaving England were placed under heavy bond to return in the fall with every man who set out in the spring (Prowse, 1895:192), and various schemes were proposed to transport all settlers to America or elsewhere (McGrath, 1911:45; McLintock, 1941:127–9). Moreover, there was specific repressive legislation and activity,⁹ and until 1811, it was illegal to erect a building of any sort in any part of Newfoundland without permission of the Governor (Bonnycastle, 1842:147). Finally, women were not to be allowed on the Island and it was strongly recommended that those who were already there be removed (Hatton and Harvey, 1883:21).

But apart from the prohibition on settlement, there are other factors which made establishment in Cat Harbour difficult, and under the circumstances, remarkable. From 1713 (with the Treaty of Utrecht; see Lounsbury, 1934:238ff) to 1783 (with the Treaty of Versailles; see McLintock, 1941:41ff), the northeast coast of Newfoundland from Cape Bonavista northward (thus including Cat Harbour) was known as the ‘French Shore,’ and though acknowledging British sovereignty, the French had certain fishing rights to the area. This was a constant source of trouble to the English fishermen and settlers, and several conflicts are documented on this section of the coast (Prowse, 1895:179–180, 206, 240, 282, and Lounsbury, 1934: 62n). The French were even given an extra government bounty in order to annoy and drive out English settlers (Prowse, 1895:280), and in 1704, with Indian help, they attacked Bonavista, the centre of the northeast coast fishery, approximately fifty miles from Cat Harbour (see Map 1).¹⁰

A third factor inhibiting settlement was the presence and activity of the indigenous Indian population, the Beothucks. Cat Harbour people claim their ancestors in the area lived first on the off-shore islands (especially Inner Cat Island, called locally ‘Souther Island’ – see Map 2) because of the Indian threat on the mainland. Numerous Indian remains can be found in the region today, and even though the Beothucks were extinct by the 1820s (Howley, 1915:93), local traditions relate many encounters with Indians, and records specifically document raids on Cat Harbour at least twice – the first just before 1800 (see Howley, 1915:276); each time they took ‘canvas’ (sails). Indians frequented this portion of the coast during the

9 The government of Charles II decreed the destruction of whatever colonial establishments existed. Berry, in 1676, was ordered to seek out settlers, “burn houses and root out population” (Prowse, 1895:171).

10 This worked both ways, however, for in 1784 a French brig ventured into Greenspond (20 miles from Cat Harbour) whereupon the inhabitants promptly seized and plundered the vessel (McLintock, 1941:45).

summer, travelling to the offshore Wadham and Penguin Islands, and as far out as the Funk Islands for birds’ eggs and to hunt the Great Auk (probably after which the Penguin Islands were named).¹¹

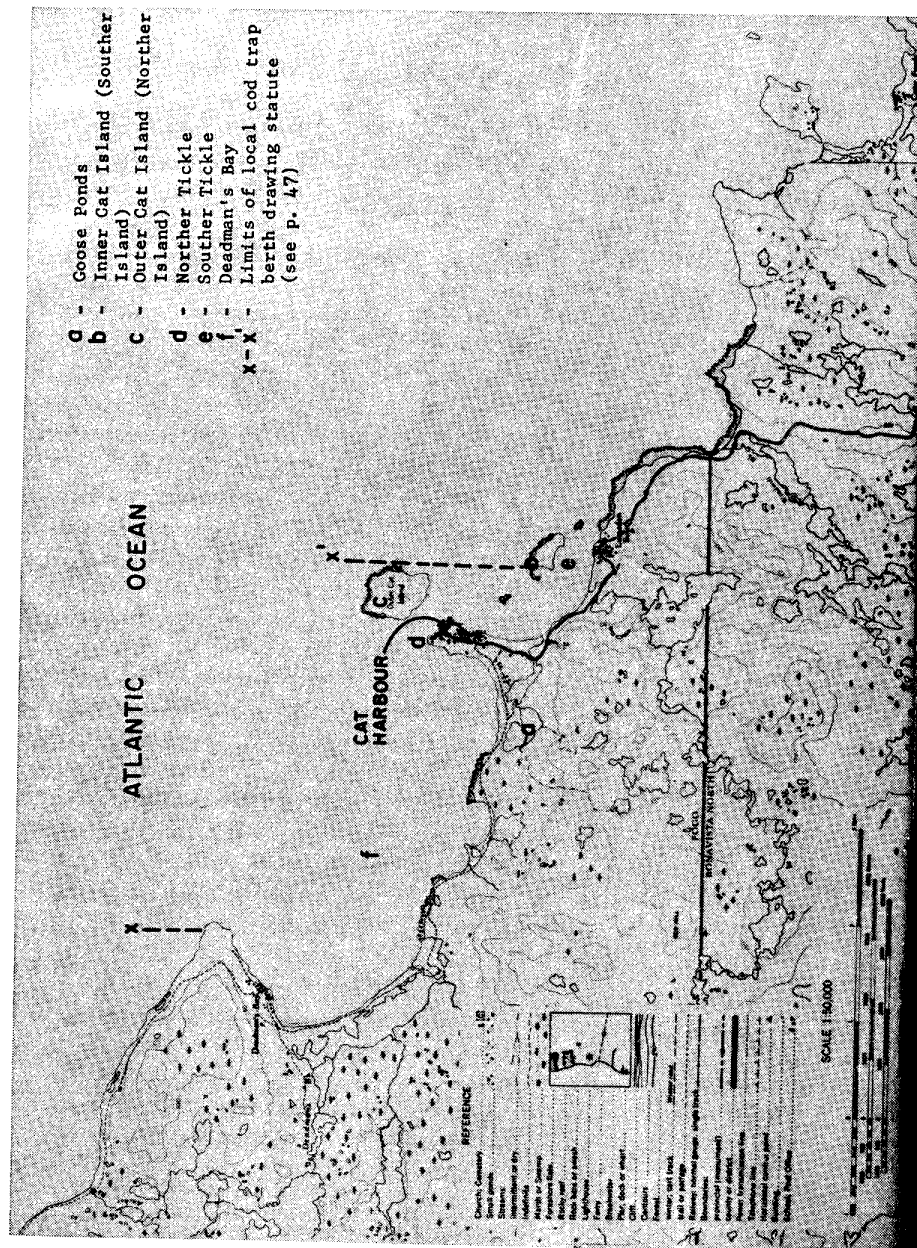
In addition to all these factors, there remains the discouraging aspect of the location itself. Cat Harbour is situated on one of the roughest ‘shores’ of the Island, where water is shallow, the coast impossibly rocky or flat – both difficult for launching and mooring boats. Moreover, ice is often packed against the shore for as much as five to six months of the year, and autumn storms may prevent getting on the water for another three to four months.¹² Jukes states: “... the low land, shallow water and sand beaches (are) unexampled on this side of the Island except in this locality” and “Cat Harbour does not afford much shelter, the harbour being formed by an island and the entrance on each side narrow and dangerous” (1842II:114–5). Lumsden, writing later, says, “we are told this is the roughest part of Newfoundland’s stormy coast” (1906:129), and Feltham states: “The locale was one in which transportation was difficult at all times, and for a great part of the year, because of ice and weather conditions, well nigh impossible” (1959:25). Even as late as 1952, the Newfoundland Fisheries Development Committee (1952) argued against Cat Harbour as an area of development because of its hazardous location.

Settlement in Cat Harbour is all the more surprising when it is realised that just around Cape Freels in Bonavista Bay (only a few miles from Cat Harbour), there are numerous deep, sheltered, and calm harbours giving excellent facility for mooring and launching vessels and enabling larger boats to anchor. These same locations are close to good fishing grounds as well as having reliable fresh water sources – the latter sadly lacking in Cat Harbour. In the face of all that I have outlined above, it seems that the question to ask is why did people settle in Cat Harbour at all? The reasons are several.

There is today a strong oral tradition on the northeast coast that the original settlers in the area were fugitives from justice and deserters from West Country vessels prosecuting the Newfoundland fishery. These deserters, pirates, and fugitives settled in the inaccessible spots to be left alone, and escape apprehension. I have been able to discover, however, that only one ‘pirate’ settled in Cat Harbour, a man known as ‘Billy Murne,’ who died

11 As early as 1784 a proclamation was issued to prevent killing the Great Auk as the “... destruction has been so great as to alarm the inhabitants and fishermen, residing and employed upon the coast of Newfoundland opposite the said Islands who often times depend upon the Birds for bait for carrying on the fishery, as also for food ...” (P.R.O., Adm. 80/121:137, author’s emphasis), and Jukes writes in the 1830s, “Penguins [the Great Auk] were formerly so abundant on these shores [Cat Harbour], that their fat bodies have been used for fuel: They are, however, now all destroyed and none have been seen for many years” (1842I:116).

12 This is considered in more detail in Chapter 3, Section C.



about eighty years ago. He lived alone on the headland and left voluminous instructions to local people to direct them to his buried treasures.¹³

The early scattering of both Protestant and Catholic settlers in this area (unusual in other parts of the Newfoundland coast, where Catholics and Protestants often did not mix and were exclusive in their settlement) would suggest fugitives wishing to be left alone, and there is also evidence that at least one of the early Catholic families changed its surname, possibly to escape apprehension. Whatever the case (and it is highly unlikely they were all fugitives), there can be little doubt that the choice of Cat Harbour was motivated to no small extent by its very inaccessibility. The stock answer, when I asked why their ancestors had settled in Cat Harbour, was 'They were all fugitives and pirates and no one would get them here.' Under the circumstances, I see little reason to doubt the second part of this statement. Fugitives or not, Cat Harbour was settled illegally, and this made some sort of inaccessibility advantageous. Only small vessels can anchor safely, and the skeletons of the many wrecks awash on the beach today are vivid testimony to those larger craft attempting it.

There is, as well, substantial documentation for this sort of illegal settlement in out-of-the-way and inaccessible areas. Prowse says:

It was doubtless owing to harsh laws and the hostility of the Devonshire shipfishermen that the settlers planted their homes in creeks and coves where ships could not safely lie. In these open roadsteads they were free from molestation. ... Official returns about the population are misleading; the settlers purposely concealed their numbers from the naval authorities¹⁴ (1896:114).

This is similarly reported by Howley and Feltham.

The early settlers simply took advantage of a severe environment to escape apprehension from authorities and West Country merchant masters avoided Cat Harbour precisely because of these conditions. What I am suggesting, then, is that in addition to Cat Harbour's proximity to excellent fishing grounds, under the circumstances of Cat Harbour settlement, there was a functional advantage to the choice of this otherwise undesirable and inaccessible location. They escaped, as well, the raiding activity of pirates (Prowse, 1895:102-3) and American privateers active on the northeast coast late in the 18th century (Prowse, 1895:350). It will be my argument throughout this study that the severe circumstances surrounding the initial settlement have an important bearing on contemporary attitudes, ideas, and conceptions.

These, then, are the circumstances, historical and ecological, under which

¹³ Many Cat Harbour men followed some of these, but in each case were turned back by a manifestation of the 'pirate's curse' before they reached the cache. The remains of Billy Murne's shack is still a place to be avoided, and is used by parents to frighten children.

¹⁴ They also concealed each other: "The inhabitants are so united that the offenders cannot be known" (C.S.P., A. & W.I.: Colonial Papers, vol. LIV, nos. 55-56 I-III, 1684).

Cat Harbour was first permanently settled, probably sometime in the second half of the 18th century.¹⁵ From the genealogical data, it appears some of the first permanent settlers were those who had come from Conception Bay (see Map 1) to Cat Harbour (some two hundred miles) to fish each summer, and finally decided to settle permanently. They were both English and Irish, both Old World and Newfoundland born. Several of the surnames found today in Cat Harbour are those of the earliest settlers in Newfoundland, whereas others are unique to the area, having come to Cat Harbour with the arrival of foreign-born migrants. From the few records which exist, it appears migration for permanent settlement continued up through the first half of the 19th century, and most differences in population after that time are due largely to natural increase or decrease (see Chapter 4).

There has been occasional emigration of entire families from Cat Harbour, though the most significant, historically, was the removal of the Roman Catholic families during the second half of the 19th century, largely because of conflict and pressure from the numerically dominant Protestant population. This culminated in 1884, when the last Catholics left Cat Harbour for settlements further 'down' the shore on Fogo Island, approximately fifty miles northwest.

There have been religious animosities in Newfoundland since it was first settled, and Cat Harbour is no exception. People speak of how 'clannish' the local Catholics were and how they 'could not be trusted.' Even today, the thought of marriage to a Catholic is highly repugnant to most Cat Harbour people (one local woman became extremely upset when she learned that her daughter, who was working in St. John's, was being courted by a Catholic boy – 'I'd rather she be dead than marry a Catholic'), and in the century or so that Protestants and Catholics lived together in Cat Harbour, I have record of but one mixed marriage. This Protestant, George Coral (R18), was disowned by his kinsmen and left with his affines when the Catholics were forced out of Cat Harbour. He is still today scapegoated as an extreme liar: on hearing an obvious distortion, people say, 'You're a bigger liar than George Coral!' This man has been dead for over fifty years, yet the superlative persists.

Long after the Catholics left Cat Harbour, two local men married Catholic girls elsewhere and brought them to Cat Harbour to live. The first of these Catholic women was regarded as a witch, and was used to frighten children. Partners of this marriage had both died, however, before my period of research. More recently, the second Catholic married into Cat Harbour. Her husband, although well-educated, has had an unsuccessful career having given up more than one good position in the 'outside world' to return to Cat

¹⁵ Nearby Greenspond (see Map 1) had French settlers at this time (C.S.P., B.T. Newfoundland, 5, no. 150, 25, pp. 322–330, 1699). It is quite likely Europeans were fishing off the Cat Harbour peninsula early; the French in the 17th century and the English somewhat later, but these were simply summer installations.

Harbour and fish. His 'failures' are attributed to his Catholic wife. Catholics are, moreover, regarded as 'pretty dark' – a symbolic connotation having malevolent reference in local causality (see Chapter 10, Section B).

The Protestant/Catholic (in Newfoundland, English/Irish) dichotomy has always been a source of strain in the history of the Island – the locus of political and economic cleavages. It has been reinforced by numerous fraternal societies peculiar to each group, such as the Protestant and pro-Britannic Loyal Orange Association and Royal Black Preceptory,¹⁶ and the Catholic (though not in charter) Irish Benevolent Society. Eventually, and perhaps inevitably – given the economic and political situation which pitted them against each other – in December 1883, a group of Catholics in Harbour Grace (a community in Conception Bay) fired upon and killed three Orangemen parading in LOA regalia (Senior, 1960). There is evidence that kinsmen of both Protestants and Catholics in Cat Harbour were involved in the incident, and it is perhaps significant that all remaining Catholics left Cat Harbour by 1884, immediately after the Harbour Grace 'affray.' It was also in the wake of this animosity that the local Cat Harbour Lodge of the Orange Association was established in 1900 (Minutes: Lord Roberts Lodge No. 68), one of the first on the northeast coast. One reason for the decline in interest and active membership in the Cat Harbour Orange Lodge today is probably related to the weakening of anti-Catholic feelings among the younger men.

The ostensible reason given for the removal of the Catholics from Cat Harbour in the late 19th century was the lack of a priest, but it can be pointed out that they had got along without a priest for a century, and the move to Fogo Island did not easily provide them with one. Moreover, when I consulted the descendants of the displaced Cat Harbour Catholics on Fogo Island today, I was told, 'People were better to live with here than at Cat Harbour.' In spite of the suspicion and distrust in which Catholics are held by Cat Harbour people, locals today still eat fish on Fridays and celebrate St. Patrick's Day.

The Catholics, however, were not alone in being without clergy, for as late as 1872, Cat Harbour saw Protestant missionaries no more than twice each year. The Reverend J. Moreton, the Anglican cleric based at Greenspond, says of Cat Harbour in the late 1840s:

... a place which was visited by me and my predecessors seldom oftener than twice a year. Between these visits, no man read any prayer or attempted any public religious observance of the Lord's Day. In truth no one there could read sufficiently well to do so (1863:68).

The lack of clergy had serious implications for outport life, for it meant, among other things, that marriages and funeral services had to be handled by lay readers if they were to be acknowledged at all. The clerical concern with the irregularity of marriage was especially acute, and the outports were

¹⁶ The Royal Black Preceptory is a higher order of the Orange Lodge.

seen as seats of moral and social disintegration (Pedley, 1863:301; McLintock, 1941:160). Current attitudes toward premarital pregnancies (see Chapter 6, Section C) and tendencies toward marriages at certain times of the year (see Chapter 4, Section B) would indicate formal marriages took place at the convenience of the missionary and not the couple. Today, of course, the newly completed road makes marriage possible at any time.

By 1872 the Methodists had sent a missionary to the 'Straight Shore' and were beginning to convert people in Cat Harbour (Johnson, 1925). Visits of the clergy then became more frequent. A Methodist Church was built in the early 1900s between Cat Harbour and Lumsden South to serve both communities (see Map 2). Factions developed, however, and a separate church was built in Cat Harbour in 1917. A newer structure was erected in the community in 1953. By the late 1910s, most of the Anglicans had been converted to Wesleyanism (oral tradition holds that an enterprising Methodist clergyman took advantage of Halley's comet in 1910 to convert a considerable portion of the population). In 1925, this became the United Church – an amalgam of Presbyterians, Methodists, and Congregationalists.

Another group, however, began to appear just before 1920 – the Jehovah's Witnesses (or, as they were called then, 'Bible Students' or 'Russellites'). Conversion by the Jehovah's Witnesses was, with the exception of a few cases, totally along kinship lines (see Chapter 10, Section A), and they today constitute the only other religious group in Cat Harbour besides the United Church. The Jehovah's Witnesses built their present Kingdom Hall in 1954 (see Map 3), having met before in homes and 'store lofts.'

Education in Newfoundland is in the hands of the various Churches. The aforementioned Reverend Moreton (Moreton, 1863) began the first school in Cat Harbour in 1855.¹⁷ This is, relatively speaking, an early date, for the entire denominational school system in Newfoundland had been in operation only since 1848 (Rowe, 1952:78), and the Cat Harbour school was one of the first on the 'Straight Shore.' Although a teacher could not be obtained for many years, the long-standing educational tradition in Cat Harbour is a source of pride to the inhabitants, even to those who can neither read nor write (of the adult population, 16 per cent are illiterate, and many others can do little more than write their names and read with difficulty). This has implications in other spheres, even in the marriage pattern, for many teachers coming into the settlement, married into it as well. (Formerly, only teachers from outside the area were appointed¹⁸ [cf. *Minutes*: Newtown

¹⁷ As teachers could not be procured, however, it held no classes until 1861 (J.H.A.N., 1861: Appendix).

¹⁸ When I asked the regional secondary school principal, a man with considerable outport teaching experience, why this was, he replied, 'Well, they're (the students) afraid of strangers and have more respect for them, so it's easier for someone from the outside to discipline them.' Note the explicit fear (respect) accorded strangers.

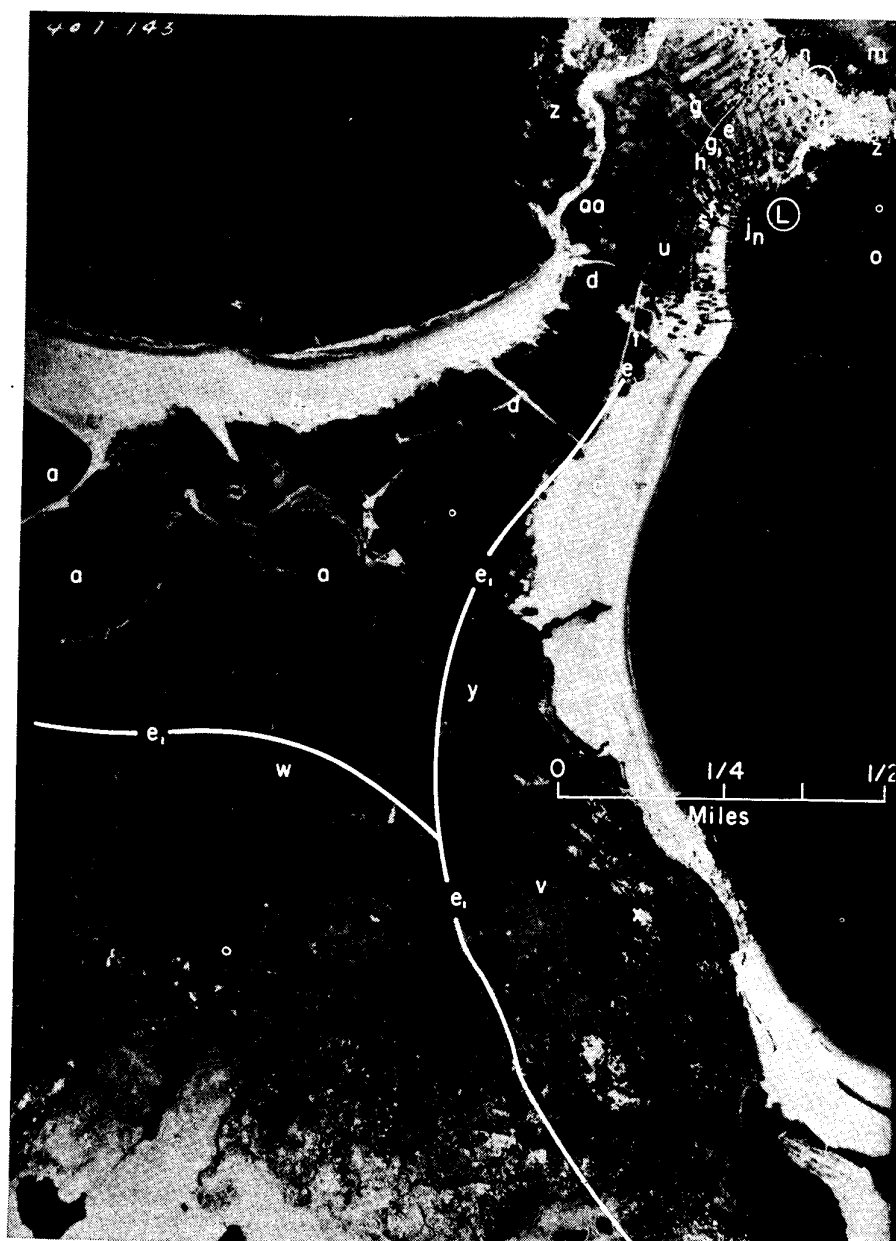
Methodist Educational Board] and even today, though they may be local, only unmarried women are hired.) The marriage into the community of these women has undoubtedly contributed to the pride in education of Cat Harbour which is absent in nearby communities that have not had schools as long.

The school until 1962, was a two-room building with grades from one to eleven being taught. In spite of the difficulty in obtaining teachers and the poor quality of those who were available, a number of Cat Harbour youth finished the entire eleven years, and as of 1964, Cat Harbour had a record number of eight students in the provincial university (Memorial University of Newfoundland) in St. John's. In 1962, a regional secondary school was built in Lumsden South to take senior students from the four surrounding communities. This school, under the aegis of the United Church School Board, employs five teachers and teaches grades seven through eleven. The local school board is composed of elected members from each community (and the minister of the pastoral charge), and has been operative since the turn of the century. It has the authority to hire teachers, maintain schools, and contract school bus services, all from grants allotted to the central denominational school boards from Provincial Government funds.

Inasmuch as Newfoundland salt codfish has always been placed on the international market, Cat Harbour has had a long history of abortive and unfortunate economic encounters. They have been subject to fluctuations in fish prices, the implications of international conflicts, and exploitation from outside financial interests and merchants, all over which they have had little control.

In the very early history of Cat Harbour there were no indigenous merchants. A coastal schooner came around in the fall as soon as the fishery was over and before the autumn storms began, bringing supplies and picking up fish. Little or no cash was exchanged – a practice extending into modern times. Prowse could have been writing of Cat Harbour when he stated, "(People) ... had never seen money from their birth to their grave, they were in debt to the merchants all their lives long ... even to this day" (1895: 379–80).

Somewhat later, the St. John's and Greenspond merchant houses sent out schooners both in the spring and the autumn, and the real mercantile grip on the outport began. They would arrive as soon as the coast was free of ice in the spring, bringing salt, rope, line, and supplies, which were given to the fishermen on a credit basis, to be charged against the fish sold in the autumn. This meant the fisherman had to sell to the merchant who supplied them, and had no voice whatever regarding the price they were given for their catch. Great fortunes were amassed in St. John's and in Europe while the fishermen spent their lives under the yoke of this system. Feltham has outlined some of the reasons for the establishment and maintenance of such a system:



(aerial photograph taken approximately 1952 – low tide)

Map 3. The Cat Harbour Peninsula

If the fishermen were fortunate enough to have a favourable balance at the end of the season, it was often carried on the merchant's books. The merchant, in order to cover the loss which he expected to occur through some of his dealers failing to pay their accounts, fixed his prices high enough to cover possible loss, which made it all more difficult for the good fishermen to retain their independence. ... Several factors led to the inception and development of this 'credit system.' In the first place, the uncertainty of the fishery – the hope of a good season encouraged the fishermen to borrow. In the second place, there were numerous small settlements with only one merchant, which eliminated the need for cash, as the fishermen could only trade at the local store. In the third place, the settlers who came to Newfoundland brought very little with them in the form of worldly goods and needed a 'grubstake' in order to make a start. In the fourth place, the low level of education left the fishermen in no position to figure out the disadvantages of this system (1959:12ff).

Greenspond Island (see Map 1) became the centre of the northeast coast trade until its decline in the 20th century, and fishermen would on occasion travel to the Island to purchase supplies and sell produce. Cat Harbour, in the 19th century, raised enough root crops and 'grass,' and made enough butter for surplus (cf. *Census*: 1869, 1874, 1884, 1891). Seldom was cash involved, however, as 'credit slips' were issued – only negotiable, of course, at the particular mercantile establishment issuing them. Early in the 20th century, or perhaps somewhat before, the first shops appeared in Cat Harbour itself. There were few changes in the economic arrangements, but it

Key to Map 3. The Cat Harbour Peninsula

- a - Goose Ponds
- b - 'front' beach, b₁ - 'back' beach
- c - beach sand drifting over fields (note fence outlines in sand)
- d - 'slide' path to beach
- e - 'Back road', e₁ - highroad (not built at time of photograph)
- f - 'Front road'
- g - United Church (since photograph moved to g₁)
- h - Kingdom Hall (not built at time of photograph)
- i - Government breakwater
- j - Government wharf (not built at time of photograph)
- (K) - 'Dog Cove'
- (L) - 'Upper Harbour' ('Seal Cove')
- m - 'Norther tickle'
- n - boats moored on 'collar'
- o - trap vessels with punts in tow--going out 'run'
- p - 'Queen's Head' (just off photograph--most northeastern point of peninsula)
- q - elementary school
- r - Dog Cove "residential" shop
- s - Scarlet's shop
- t - Upper Harbour "residential" shop
- u - the 'restaurant'
- v - United Church cemetery (Jehovah's Witnesses' cemetery not built at time of photograph)
- w - hills and forest begin. Pink's farm.
- x - harbour lights. location of Billy Murne's 'tilt'
- y - the 'gut' (highroad bridge now crosses at this point)
- z - rocks, most submerged at high tide
- aa - Gid Brown's fishing premises
- bb - 'Scratch-Ass tickle'

meant people had a more limited choice and an easier access. However, it had major social implications (see Chapter 9, Section B) in the community.

Much has been said by historians and others about the evils of the system of merchant credits and their monopoly (still extant, to some degree) over the fishermen (Prowse, 1895:34–35, 145, 379; Jukes, 1842I:236–41; Feltham, 1959: *passim*). An examination of the implications of this system is necessary for it has important bearing on the attitudes, values, and ways of thinking of Cat Harbour people today.

In Cat Harbour itself, the first real commercial establishments were those begun by the Tans (J in Chart 1, Appendix) and the Scarlets (K), shortly after 1910. People say, 'Where you see two churches on the hill, there's going to be two merchants behind it,' and it was not long before Harry Tan (J1) broke away from the dominant Protestant majority and introduced the Jehovah's Witnesses (in approximately 1917). (The social consequences of this split will be examined below.) These two establishments constituted the only large shops in Cat Harbour. When Tans went out of business in the early 1950s (primarily because there were no offspring to take over the shop), Scarlets continued to grow, expand, and today represent one of the largest and most diversified mercantile interests on the 'Straight Shore.'

The chief opposition to the Scarlets' domination of Cat Harbour today is the shop of Ches Brown (M11), a small store which expanded as soon as Tans (J) quit business. Ches Brown, while not amounting to any real economic power himself, has become allied with the anti-mercantile Federation of Fishermen, which today constitutes a growing threat and a check on Scarlet's monopoly. There have also been several small neighbourhood shops whose success and objectives have been much more limited. In all these latter cases, the proprietors are also fishermen, and run the shops in their wives' names to avoid curtailment of their unemployment benefits. They carry no fishing supplies – only dry goods, groceries, and sundries, and sell chiefly on a cash basis having none of the credit/debt implications of the Scarlets, Ches Brown, and earlier, the Tans.

In the course of Newfoundland history, there have been several attempts to emancipate the fishermen from the merchants' "hold," and two of these – first the Fishermen's Protective Union, then later the Federation of Fishermen – have reached Cat Harbour. The Fishermen's Protective Union (the FPU) was organized in Cat Harbour in 1910 (*Minutes*: Cat Harbour Local Council, FPU), one of the first 'on this shore,' and rapid interest made it a formidable focus of economic and political power. The FPU (see Feltham, 1959) was led by a charismatic outport man, William Coaker, who capitalized on his intimate knowledge of the outport mind and of outport conditions, to quickly become one of the most powerful Newfoundland spokesmen of the day. Under Coaker's constant encouragement, the Cat Harbour Local Council became an active and dynamic force, and by the end of 1911, had

constructed a 'Union Store,' and even held their fish in bulk (an unprecedented act) until Coaker could get better prices for them than the merchants were offering.¹⁹ The fervour of activity became so great that in 1914, the year of the disaster of the sealing vessel *Newfoundland* (in which three men from Cat Harbour 'perished'), the community contributed more to a collection to defend Coaker in a libel suit than to a collection for the wives and families of the disaster victims. In 1916, minutes of meetings were no longer signed 'God Save the King,' but 'God Save President Coaker,' and on his annual visit to Cat Harbour, arches were erected for him to walk under, mats were placed on the beach so that he would not have to step on the sand, and he was proclaimed 'The Saviour.'

Coaker, however, fell victim (entering the House of Assembly in 1913 and receiving a knighthood in 1923) to the system he had so successfully attacked earlier; the FPU began to crumble and fade, and 'as you expects of strangers,' it finally collapsed:

Indeed the whole commercial venture of the FPU may be regarded as a retarding factor, for in the long run instead of destroying the 'credit system' as was its initial plan, it was guilty of encouraging it (Feltham, 1959:151).

Recorded in the local minute book during the final years of the union's history, are expressions of bitter cynicism and disappointment. The impact of this abortive attempt at co-operative endeavour is reflected today in the very cautious and sceptical attitude toward any reform measure, and toward the FPU offspring (though it bears no direct legal connection), the current Federation of Fishermen.

The federation (or 'union,' as it is still significantly called locally) consciously avoids many of the direct economic involvements that characterized the FPU. While federation members order materials (in Cat Harbour, only rope, twine, nets, and fishing gear are bought through the federation) as a body in order to receive special discounts, the federation owns no property and has none of the exclusive society symbols of the FPU.²⁰ Nor does its hierarchy, though rather articulate lobbyists, have the demagogic and charismatic appeal of Coaker and the traditional Newfoundland politician. Still, the fishermen today have a real distrust of such schemes, and there is little

19 These details come from the minute book of the Cat Harbour Local Council of the FPU, now in the possession of Mr. Lloyd Hatcher, Lumsden South, Newfoundland, to whom I am grateful for access. It is a fascinating document giving a clear picture of the social and economic situation of the day, and the attitudes of the fishermen in outport Newfoundland.

20 Guernseys, flags, and union buttons all bore the emblem of a codfish, which Coaker urged them to display as proof they were the country's producers (Coaker, 1920:2); there were also special handshakes, oaths, and passwords (Feltham, 1959:29).

doubt that if Ches Brown were not actively involved (as an opponent to Scarlets as well as for personal gain), the federation would probably collapse. Ches Brown, as a merchant, is used to dealing with figures and correspondence, so serves as secretary of the local council of the federation, and takes orders, forwards money, and represents the federation to the central council.

As will be seen in chapter 8, there is a real avoidance and repugnance of overt expression such as that required for effective leadership in a small community. The implications of this are far-reaching and several, but it is clear that historical circumstances such as the FPU have reinforced – if not more directly affected – this pattern of behaviour.

Apart from the activities of the anti-mercantile groups, there has been little or no political-legal history in Cat Harbour. The community has always been small with little need for organs of local government, and disputes are strikingly absent (see Chapter 8). Newfoundland, as a whole, was granted the right to appeal cases and decisions tried by the 'fishing admirals' to the British Navy as early as 1699, and a rudimentary governmental structure was established with the appointment of an Island Governor in 1729. The system of naval surrogate courts was continued with naval officers substituted for English fishermen, and although magistrates were appointed, they soon came under the influence of merchants and ceased to be objective organs (McLintock, 1941:59). Cat Harbour people did not use the courts; on the contrary, they were usually on the receiving end only of judicial decisions, and it was not until the creation of a system of circuit courts in 1824 that any sort of more comprehensible and centralized legal system was established. The first-level political unit in traditional Newfoundland was – and to a large extent, still is – the House of Assembly in St. John's, though legal provision was made in 1938 for local government. The lack of political experience may be one reason the merchant houses have been able to retain their hold on the outport and one reason the community 'fell' so wholeheartedly for the promises of Coaker and the FPU. Feltham states:

The standard of education and the lack of newspapers throughout the greater part of the century accentuated these conditions. The failure to develop local administration caused the majority of voters to dissociate themselves with the Government. They had never been called upon to make a direct contribution to the expenses of any administration and did not associate government spending with taxation. Standards of education and isolation also meant that the local community had no natives to represent them in the House of Assembly ... (1959:3ff).

One rudimentary political group emerged, however, with a codified existence and the sanction of the outside institutional structure: the local 'Road Board.' Though it is not certain when the Board was first established, it was functional by the 1860s (J.H.A.N., 1867:Appendix). This group of five men made direct representation to the central government, outlining their needs and requesting funds to keep open the trails in the community, and the

wharf and breastwork structures in repair. Allocations were made each year, and although they never amounted to much money, the local Road Board did have certain power, for it held funds to pay for local labour on projects. This often went to members of the board or their close kinsmen. Recruitment was by community election, however, so favours were distributed. The board passed into oblivion with the coming of the highroads in the 1950s; these are maintained and financed by the Provincial Department of Highways which also took over the maintenance of the waterfront breastwork.²¹

The chief contacts with the outside political, administrative, and legal structure today are via the bureaucratic representatives, such as the Regional Welfare officer, the Royal Canadian Mounted Police officer (the 'Mountie'), and the Federal Fisheries officer. Most men today deal only with the Fisheries officer from whom they must buy licences required for the salmon and lobster fisheries. There is also the Regional Cottage Hospital (Brookfield) operated by the government, and the periodic visits to Wesleyville (see Map 1) by a travelling magistrate who settles cases involving minor automobile accidents, misdemeanours, and cases brought before him by the Fisheries officer of breaches in the fishery regulations. Next to the Fisheries officer, the doctor is the most often contacted of any of these representatives of the government, although he is not viewed in quite the same way as the other public servants. All, however, are viewed with suspicion by most people: they are somehow basically crooked, potentially evil, and dangerous, and are regarded as an intrusion on the normal routine of life in the outport. All are used to frighten children, and parents say, 'Do you want us to let the doctor carry you away?' and 'We'll let the Mountie get you.' Small children run when any 'stranger' or strange car appears, even if they are aware of the individual's ostensible role.

These are the circumstances under which Cat Harbour was settled and its history since the initial settlement. The detailed presentation is not simply a matter of elaboration, for an understanding of the early history and settlement of Cat Harbour is necessary to appreciate contemporary conceptions and current ways of thinking. Historical materialism is here the prime explanatory factor. A recurrent emphasis in Cat Harbour life today is, for example, the cognition of the stranger and the conception of the world from which strangers come. From the history of settlement, it should be obvious that a host of circumstances helped shape and reinforce this view.

As settlement was illegal and as the activities of the inhabitants thus came under no official or frequent missionary scrutiny, we possess few and poor records of conditions in these early outports. Historical accounts are often in the extreme (McLintock, 1941:14–5; Lounsbury, 1934:59). Within the memory of the oldest living inhabitant, Cat Harbour has seen its first kero-

²¹ The federal government assumes responsibility for repair of the community wharf, slipway, and breakwater.

sene lamps, stoves, 'real houses,' white flour, paint (these replaced cod-oil torches, fireplaces, log cabins, hand-ground meal, and lime, respectively), and its first engines, cod traps, and cash exchange. There have been, of course, a host of more recent changes, especially following the confederation of Newfoundland with Canada in 1949. The most important of these have been the completion of the highroad in 1961, the arrival of electric power in 1963, old age pensions, unemployment allowances, and family allowances. Some changes have been severe, and more than one of Cat Harbour's aged, for example, regard electric power with moral suspicion.

Life in the outport was difficult and rigorous in the extreme. The first fishermen chose to settle in this inaccessible harbour to escape the hostilities of the West Country merchant vessels, the naval authorities, the French, and later, American pirates and privateers, none of whom could anchor in Cat Harbour. But while providing safety in one respect, it exposed the inhabitants to rough water and danger to gear, and to a great deal of excess work. To this can be added the danger of Indians and later, sectarianism, abortive economic encounters, and exploitation. Cat Harbour entered and persisted in a potentially dangerous and hostile physical and social universe. It is the argument of this study that a description and explanation of the ordering of this experience is sufficient to understand Cat Harbour.

The Natural Setting

3

A. THE SEA

1) *Water*. The sea is the primary physical determinant in Cat Harbour life. It is the produce of the sea which offers people a living, it is the relationship between land and sea that determines the attitude toward land, and the sea dominates much of the cognition and folk taxonomy of people. Inasmuch as the North Atlantic surrounds Cat Harbour on three sides, people are in constant sight of water; the sea in Cat Harbour is not a tacit backdrop, but a bold, noisy, and ever-demanding presence.

Men in Cat Harbour are fishermen, not 'seamen' or sailors. Fishing requires 'nerve for the water,' and few men simply 'love to be at it.' This is not to say men are frightened of the sea, for they are not; or do not enjoy fishing, for they often do. It is, however, a demanding, rigorous, and sometimes dangerous life under severe conditions, and a precise and highly-ordered ecological adjustment should not presuppose a link of a deep-seated affectionate sort.²² Fishermen *respect* the ocean and in Cat Harbour cognition, this is often closely related to fear. They tackle the rugged North Atlantic in small open boats; they do not "conquer" the sea, or "master" it, as would a mariner; they adjust to it. Old and retired fishermen who no longer 'go on the water,' express it as 'loosing nerve for the water,' or 'giving in to it.' Old fishermen do not 'long to be on the water' as perhaps do young inexperienced men, or retired seamen or sailors in literary images. But they do 'long to be near the water,' and herein is the most succinct statement of the relationship between Cat Harbour man and the sea: the degree to which the sea affects conceptual categories and the local ordering of experience.

Almost every house in Cat Harbour has a ladder leaning against the roof, and on any early morning, fishermen climb to the tops of their houses to survey the ocean. This gives them a weather forecast, an idea of a host of water conditions which determine fishing success, and if a vessel or ice is on the horizon, something to talk about. Formalized greetings are often expressions of sea conditions such as 'Good water today,' or 'Tide's up sure,'

²² Lench (1919:187), a missionary, says of Cat Harbour fishermen, "The men are Nature's true gentlemen. They are also of good old Devonshire stock. Born to the sea, they long for nothing so congenial as 'a life on the ocean wave.'" The latter could not be further from the truth, but the same weak generalizations abound elsewhere.

or 'Some sea this morning.' Early morning shop conversation is always about the sea and weather, even prior to items of 'real news,' and it is significant that the 'cuffers' (exaggerated items of past common knowledge) are most commonly about the sea, sea exploits, and sea storms. I have, for example, heard cuffers about the '7th of June gale' and the 'Spring of the Wadhams'²³ scores of times, whereas equally impressive natural events on land I learned about only after specific and continued questioning.

It is impossible to fish for nine to ten months of the year as ice, ice conditions or storms, and 'heavy seas' (the latter can occur on beautiful calm days as well as on stormy ones) prevent the launching of boats. Expectedly, then, Cat Harbour people have an elaborate terminology for these conditions. In many cases this is simply technical elaboration and specification – a precise verbal command of the differences in environmental conditions; but in other cases, the symbols used for environmental precision have implications in other realms of social life. Similarly, criteria which have no intrinsic relationship to the water, but which are precise symbols in another area of social existence are taken into the nautical nomenclature, often with the same symbolic connotations. Nautical terminology is also used in circumlocuting tabooed speech as euphemisms in ribald stories and gossip.

Considering, for example, ice structure and ice condition, there are no less than seventeen terms that I found in common use. There are growlers, rifters, bergs, pans, rolling pans and bellicaters. There is slush, sludge, ice rind, pancake ice, brash, pack ice, northern slob, arctic slob, string ice, glitter, lolly, and probably others. Each of these terms refer to a particular structure or condition of ice, discernible from other types.²⁴

The sea is salt, as opposed to fresh water, and this distinction pervades a considerable part of everyday life. 'Fresh fish,'²⁵ for example, are not cod fish or sea fish just taken from the ocean, but those caught in inland fresh water streams and ponds – however old they may be. 'Fresh meat' can be bacon, tinned beef or pork, or bologna, as opposed to 'salt beef' and 'salt pork,' both packed in barrels of brine solution and used extensively for cooking. Anything 'fresh' then, means free from salt, not necessarily new or crisp. For example, women will say, on tasting their newly-baked bread,

23 Kean (1935:29) documents the '7th of June gale,' in 1885, in which he lost a schooner a short distance from Cat Harbour. Moreton (1863:68f) documents the 'Spring of the Wadhams' (a group of islands a short distance 'down' the shore from Cat Harbour), in which 40 vessels were lost in the seal fishery of 1855. Some of the survivors lodged in Cat Harbour upon their rescue.

24 While the origin of some nomenclature is West Country England much of it is indigenous terminology unique to Newfoundland and the northeast coast. Some terms are French (or Portuguese); others are borrowed from Eskimo.

25 Actually, 'fresh fish' is polysemic, with one meaning exhibited in the context of fresh cod as opposed to salt cod, and the other in the context of fresh (water) fish as opposed to sea fish.

'This bread's too fresh, I don't like fresh bread,' by which they mean, "This bread doesn't have enough salt, I like saltier bread." I have often heard people say, 'Please pass the salt, this (meal) is too fresh.' Similarly, a 'fresh-looking man' is someone from the city, away from the sea.

Nautical and sea terms are shifted into situations where there is no previous nomenclature, and an unsuspecting outsider would, for example, assume people talking about automobiles were talking about boats. In Cat Harbour, you 'get aboard' an automobile or truck, and the driver sits 'a'ford' passengers 'astern' or 'aft.' The bonnet is the 'engine house,' the boot or trunk the 'after room.' As traditionally, all waste is thrown into the sea, in throwing something from a car window, you 'throw it overboard,' and instead of driving, you 'steam' along the road. Other examples abound.

Just as expressions borrowed from the sea infiltrate other realms of life, certain conceptual categories fundamental to other ecological and social realms are applied to the sea as well. One typical example is the difference between 'clean' ('good') and 'dirty' ('bad') water. Essentially, in the minds of Cat Harbour fishermen, 'good water' is that water in which one can expect fish or lobster to be caught, and 'bad water' is the opposite. This is all quite logical. Further, bad water is 'dirty' and good water is 'clean' – again a logical extension. But the terms dirty and clean, with their land-based connotations, cease to have a "logical" relevance to the optical appearance of the water, for good water – water that is clean – is in essence much less clear and much more full of opaque organisms, minuscule organic life, and hence fish, than is the crystal-clear, absolutely transparent dirty or bad water.

Although not all fishermen know or can even suggest why fishing is good in one type of water or poor in the other, there are valid scientific differences in these two states of water and technical reasons for the difference in fishing success. Most sea creatures become inactive and immobile when water temperatures fall below a certain point (and thus cannot be caught), and many of the small organisms which make water less transparent remain only in water above a certain temperature. This is represented in Table 1 below.

Nautical terms are used also as euphemisms. The lyrics to several songs have nautical substitutions in place of less acceptable ribaldry. The 'red-nosed punt' is a circumlocution for penis, and a woman's breasts become her 'for'd hook' (a particular set of boat timbers separating the cutty or forward room from one of the midship rooms – anatomically corresponding to the breast structure of a human being). Again, on relaying news of the birth of an illegitimate child, it was expressed, 'The good schooner Melissa finally came ashore. Skipper George claimed her cargo.'

2) *Sea Creatures.* There are probably well over two hundred different species of sea creatures found in Cat Harbour waters. More than one hundred species of true fish of bony endoskeleton are found, many species

TABLE 1

Taxonomy of Water Conditions

(local criteria)	'good'	'brown, green, milky'	'see bottom in no more than 3-5 fathoms of water'	'warm'	'good fishing'
'CLEAN WATER'					
Water relatively warmer, many small organisms "colouring" water and making it less transparent, which also furnish bait for small fish and sea creatures on which cod and lobster feed. Sea creatures mobile, cod off bottom, lobster moving in search of food.					
(local criteria)	'bad'	'white, blue'	'see bottom in as much as 10-12 fathoms'	'cold'	'poor fishing'
'DIRTY WATER'					
Water relatively colder, fewer smaller "colouring" organisms and water thus more transparent. Sea creatures immobile, cod on bottom, lobsters in protective rock holes.					

with cartilaginous skeletons, such as shark, and many types of invertebrates, such as starfish, lobster, and shellfish. There are also several species of marine mammals, such as whale, seal, and porpoise (Faris, 1966a:236ff). Of the varieties of fish which are of potential commercial value, however, Cat Harbour fishermen sell only seal, lobster, salmon, and cod. Each year they throw back thousands of dollars in halibut, plaice, sole, flounder, whiting, crab, mackerel, and herring which are caught in the pursuit of salmon and cod. In addition, tuna, swordfish, turbot, sea trout, eel, squid, shrimp, and others are available, though not exploited. Fishermen use some fish species as bait for lobsters and cod such as herring, squid, sculpin, and sand lance. It is today a source of some annoyance that so many commercial species are readily available, but for lack of facilities (such as freezing plants, storage chambers, and market outlets for fresh delivery) men are unable to exploit them. They learn about fishermen in other parts of Newfoundland and Canada with access to such facilities, and this forms one major criticism of the Provincial Government.

The commercial exploitation of both salmon and lobster on a major scale is rather recent in Cat Harbour – within the last thirty years – although these species have played a minor part from the time of the first settlement. It is likely, however, that these species will have an increasingly important role in the outport economy with today's road access to freezing establishments and airports.

In Cat Harbour, when men speak specifically of 'fish,' they mean only cod

fish. Thus, a man who catches only lobster or salmon is not a fisherman, but a 'lobster catcher' or a 'salmon catcher.' There are other significant aspects of the conceptualization of sea creatures, some of which roughly parallel "scientific" biological classification, and others which make sense only in terms of local cognition. There are discernible, as well as certain crude, composite categories of sea creatures, determined by several criteria (which are not always mutually exclusive). For example, fishermen 'kill' cartilaginous fish when they catch them, rather than throw them back (as they do with most sea creatures taken in the pursuit of "useful," that is edible, saleable, or bait fish); for dogfish, rays, and shark not only eat and 'drive' (scatter) cod, but also ruin trawl lines, nets, and traps, and eat bait. In previous years the sight of a dogfish was of real concern, for if the dogfish 'strike' (come in large numbers), the cod fishery is ruined for at least one season. Men are aware that every dogfish or shark killed, helps in a real way to reduce the relative population of such cartilaginous fishes, for such fish 'pup'; that is, have their young alive in small litters (rather than spawn as do cod, lobster, and salmon, where killing a single specimen does not affect the absolute population in such a direct way). During my research, sharks and dogfish were rare, the explanation being that most of them had been 'killed by the earlier race,' as the generational levels are expressed, thus 'saving' the contemporary fishery. No one would consider eating fish they killed, and the idea that some people might, is highly repulsive to Cat Harbour fishermen.

People in Cat Harbour do eat another category of sea creature that pup, however, but a category which is regarded as somehow 'more like a man,' and which it is a 'sin' to kill indiscriminately or inhumanely. These "fish" are the marine mammals: seal, porpoise, and whale. 'Seal-flipper pie' is a special delicacy, and whale and porpoise are both eaten and fed to dogs. It is not on their characteristic of bearing young alive (a trait shared with sharks, rays, and dogfish) that this category is classified as 'more like a man,' nor of their warm blood or similar respiratory system, but on a vague criterion of intelligence: 'They're almost as smart as we are, sure,' a statement borne out by the fact that such creatures do not normally interfere with the cod fishery. The seal, in fact (and the whale along other parts of Newfoundland's coast), forms a very lucrative 'fishery' of its own in the spring, when men 'go to the ice.' 'Killing' seals or porpoise inhumanely is regarded as 'murder,' a term normally reserved for homicide and not applied to the killing of other sea creatures. They must be disposed of humanely, with a single blow or shot, and Cat Harbour men are repulsed by the way some men 'murder' seal – simply skinning them alive, leaving the screeching carcass to squirm off on the ice. Seal, porpoise, and whale do, however, belong to the general category fish (remembering that *specific* reference to fish means only cod), and the pursuit of seal is termed 'the seal fishery.'

Several other sea creatures falling outside the above two composite categories

ries are eaten, most of which are potentially (in the event of facilities and markets) saleable. There is a strong tendency, however, to regard fish used for bait as inedible. People were surprised, for example, that I would eat mackerel which they use to bait lobster pots and trawls. This cognition apparently applies to a large section of the 'Straight Shore' for it was pointed out to me that in neighbouring communities where both herring and smelt are used more extensively for bait, they are not eaten, although Cat Harbour folk do occasionally eat both species.

3) *The 'Grounds.'* Fishing in Cat Harbour demands a precise knowledge of 'the grounds'; that is, the nobs, shoals, and ledges of the sea bottom. The successful fisherman is that person who can best 'work the grounds': find the ground, judge the temperature, current ('tide'), and skilfully set his trap or trawls or nets on just the right 'spot.' Men see the ocean floor as they see the surrounding countryside and barrens: a complex of rises, ledges, depressions, 'hummocks,' and ridges – a fair approximation of the sea bottom (the hydrographic notations, which can be seen with a hand lens on Map 1, illustrate this most clearly). Cat Harbour grounds are topologically random; that is, they follow no major geological fault lines, continuous shelves or rifts, and there are thus a limited number of nobs, shoals, and 'spots of ground.'

Water seldom exceeds a depth of forty fathoms offshore as far as thirty miles in a north, northeasterly, and northwesterly direction from Cat Harbour, and thus presents an immense area of essentially shallow water. In the summer and autumn, cod fish seldom inhabit deeper water and in the early part of the season, cod may swim in water of no more than eight fathoms in pursuit of caplin, squid, herring, and other small bait fish (Faris, 1966a: 215ff). This is the time fish are caught by means of the cod trap composed of a net 'leader' designed to direct fish into a net box (the 'trap' which is moored in a specific spot called a 'trap berth' in eight to fifteen fathoms of water).

Later, as the cod 'glut' (become filled with the small bait fish), they move 'off' into somewhat deeper water (up to thirty-four fathoms) where they can no longer be trapped (or at least with the traps and techniques currently known to Cat Harbour fishermen), and are caught by means of gill nets lowered to the bottom by trawls (a series of baited hooks on a long line), and by hand line. The trap fishery is called the 'trap voyage' or 'summer voyage,' and the fishery further offshore – with nets, trawls, and hand lines – is called the 'fall voyage.' Trap berths are referred to as 'inshore' or 'inner' grounds, and the more distant 'grounds' of the fall voyage are 'offer grounds.'

'Spots of ground' are found by a system of triangulation with shore 'marks.' For example, the marks for a berth known as 'Madmaul Deep' are: 'highest point of Norther' Island over Whelan's Cove and the white hummock on Windmill Head over the Church,' all of which means aligning the highest point of Outer Cat Island in the apex of Whelan's Cove (a cove in Outer Cat

Island) as one mark, then triangulating with the white hummock (large rock) on Windmill Head (a prominent headland on the mainland) coming just over the large bell tower of the Cat Harbour United Church. This system of finding berths has, of course, obvious faults. A man not already on the grounds before a fog sets in often has difficulties in locating his berth. Some fishermen take compass bearings and note the time it takes them to 'steam' to the particular berth or ground, but nothing suffices as much as the shore marks, which can be quite accurate. As berths can be no more than the length of a boat (approximately thirty feet), and as much as six miles out, considerable precision is necessary. The chief difficulty is the impermanence of the shore marks. A forest fire in 1961 destroyed several important marks, and less precise substitutes had to be found. One very prominent landmark used probably since Cat Harbour was first settled, is a large rock the size of a small railway coach – 'John Olive's hummock' (John Olive died in the last quarter of the 19th century). When the road was being built in Cat Harbour in 1961, this rock was scheduled to be blasted down, for going around it would be both expensive and create an inconvenient and dangerous curve in the road. But local fishermen protested, and the mark remains, the curve in the road a vivid testimony to the dominance of sea over land.

Men are aware of the hazards of using land marks, and a newly-emergent problem in Cat Harbour is the transmission of the precise marks for the many 'spots of ground' to the young. Previously, marks were transmitted orally, and fishermen today are still hesitant to write marks down for fear outsiders will learn them and exploit Cat Harbour waters. Moreover, an 'intimate knowledge of marks is a source of intellectual pride among fishermen, many of whom can neither read nor write. As many of the young men today are not as "sea-oriented" as their fathers, they seldom take time to learn the marks, and unless precise bearings are taken, many of them may be lost in future. Fishermen will joke about the inadequacy of marks, and tell of the time 'Uncle' Jacob Blue set his cod trap using 'the white cloud over Deadman's Bay Point' as one mark, and the time 'Uncle' Jonathan Brown put out his trawl lines using as one mark 'the patch of snow on Owl Ridge over the Queen's Head.'

There are about fifty berths which are generally considered to be 'fit' for setting cod traps. Some are 'early,' some 'late' (that is, most likely to get fish as they come in or as they 'move off'); some are in areas of persistent currents, areas of rough water, and on rocky, sandy, or coral bottoms; some are deeper than others, and each of these variables must be added to the almost unlimited number of other factors which determine and influence the decision of a man to choose a particular berth.

The selection of cod trap berths takes place in the early spring of each year by a drawing. This method assigns, on a basis which minimizes the competition, a berth to each man or crew setting a trap for the entire 'summer voyage'

if he so chooses. However, when the fall fishery begins, all 'offer ground' is on a competitive first-come, first-serve basis. There are only about twenty generally acknowledged 'spots' on the 'offer grounds' which are ideal for trawling. As fish 'work the ground,' however, men shift about and 'all hands' usually manage to get one or more decent spots during the course of the cod wanderings. A different psychology pervades the 'fall fishery'; men are willing to take up their trawls and nets and move around to find fish, whereas they seldom take up and move cod traps as there is a powerful tendency to assume that if one waits just a little longer, the fish will 'strike.' Moving a cod trap is no small task, as the 'linnet' (net portions) may weigh over two thousand pounds, and the moorings and 'graples' (anchoring and mooring hooks) are large and difficult to manage. Setting a trap and waiting for fish to strike during the summer voyage in assigned and exclusive berths, differs markedly from the fall fishery technique of following the fish on the 'outside' or 'offer' berths, working the ground in a competitive manner in search of fish.

B. THE LAND

The Cat Harbour peninsula is a small headland reaching northeastward into the Atlantic Ocean. It is almost one mile long, and at its narrowest point, just under $\frac{1}{4}$ mile across, gradually widening to about $\frac{3}{4}$ mile where it joins the mainland. Once an island, the peninsula is now 'tied' by sand and marsh grass to the mainland.

The northeast of Newfoundland was one of the last parts of North America to emerge from the continental ice sheets of the last great glaciation; the countryside is comparatively flat, with no sharp, jagged hills or mountains, and dense with ice-worn boulders and stones. Newfoundland has often been described geographically as 'bogs and barrens,' which is, from the Cat Harbour perspective, not far from truth. Add to these the stunted forests of small conifers (chiefly fir, juniper, and spruce) and one has a clear picture of the Cat Harbour countryside.

1) *The Forest.* On the peninsula itself, there are today no trees. Those that did exist were apparently cut down by the earliest settlers, and I have been told that the peninsula was formerly forested with sizeable trees whose stumps are in evidence. Outer Cat Island is today heavily forested, and is the prime source of boughs with which lobster pots are made. Inland, just off the peninsula, the scrubby coniferous forest begins (see point w, Map 3), long the source of building materials and fuel. A considerable quantity of timber has always been required in the outport, for the long Cat Harbour 'bridges' (temporary piers) are often washed away or broken down by ice before they can be removed and stored, and thus must be frequently renewed.

Many small straight poles are needed for piers and wharves, and timber is always needed for house and shed construction.

Fuel, however, is the chief harvest from the adjacent forests. Most homes need up to twenty 'slide-loads' of logs yearly, each load averaging fifty logs of wood (the usual size is a tree trunk of six to eight inches in diameter and ten to twelve feet long). Most men regard three weeks or more each year in the 'woods' as necessary to cut, strip, and haul out the required amount for fuel alone, and longer if timber is required for other uses.

Men are always 'on the lookout' for particular types and shapes of wood: a straight piece of birch for boat keels, spruce gnarled in just the right way for curved boat ribs, and so forth. Cat Harbour men are cognizant of the differences in every large tree found in the surrounding forests – the strength, lasting quality, burning time, and best use of each. Even the bark of certain trees is used extensively for covering drying fish and as insulation in house construction. As the removal of bark is destructive to the tree, prohibitions were issued against such a practice from the earliest times (cf. Prowse, 1895:103; Feltham, 1959:132).

'Woods work' usually starts soon after the first snows (see Chapter 4, Section B) in October or early November, and lasts intermittently until April. To haul the wood, it is necessary that the bogs and ponds be frozen enough to support the weight of a horse and fully-loaded slide, and that there be enough snow to enable the slide to function. There are three or four rough shacks built in the forests by groups of Cat Harbour men in which they stay while cutting wood. Men will go 'into the camp' for up to one week at a time until they have finished cutting all the wood they need, then begin hauling it out.

If the weather is not too cold, wood-cutting and hauling are not unpleasant tasks, and men usually enjoy the time spent in the camps for several reasons. The groups cutting wood together are usually based on friendship, 'cunny' kinship (see Chapter 6, Section A) and age similarity, rather than on the kinship ties which normally link men in common endeavour; moreover, it is one of the few times men are in contact but away from the community eye. Card playing and sexual 'cuffers' are the order of entertainment (see Chapter 11, and Chapter 12, Section B) during the long evenings.

While in the forest, rabbit snares are set and some trapping takes place. Though formerly, fur trading was a substantial addition to a man's income, it is no longer profitable as prices have decreased to less than two dollars for the best muskrat, ermine, and fox skins (beaver pelts, however, are still profitable). Even though they may trap, men do not usually hunt while cutting wood, as moose (formerly caribou were plentiful, but today are rare) hunting is now limited to a particular season and requires concentrated tracking. Cat Harbour men do not worry unduly about the legality of their moose kills, but neither are they flagrant in their abuse of the season (moose

were introduced into Newfoundland in the 20th century to provide a meat source for the inhabitants).

Seldom will a man go into the woods alone, or spend the night alone in 'camp.' The fear of getting lost, the fear of 'fairies' who inhabit the woods and purposely lead men off the path, and the exaggerated 'dangers' of bear, moose, and lynx frighten many men. Also a fear of the dark, which is operative in other spheres of Cat Harbour life (see Chapter 10, Section B), stops a man from being alone at night.

There are today two men living in Cat Harbour who derive their income solely from the forest, working as lumberjacks during the summer, autumn, and winter. The nearest lumber camps are approximately thirty-five miles both 'up' (south) and 'down' (north) the shore (see Map 1). These men (both 'strangers' who have married into Cat Harbour) are in the community only during weekends and the few months early in the year when thaw conditions make work in the forests impossible. There are as well, three young men who regularly work in the lumber camps as soon as fishing is no longer possible in the fall. They usually come home again by Christmas to begin preparations for the next summer's fishing. Other fishermen work in the lumber camps from time to time, and especially when extra cash is needed for a large purchase, the late autumn and early winter may be spent in the camps.

But no man works in the lumber camps unless he has to for economic reasons – never as "cream" on an already satisfactory income for a particular year. As it is expressed, 'You can't be in the woods if you're going on the water.' Cat Harbour men also regard the large pulp and paper companies as merciless exploiters, and although each man is paid according to the amount of wood he cuts, 'the scale is so low you could never get much.' They prefer the gamble of the seal fishery for extra cash, tenuous and dangerous as it may be.

In the summer of 1961, a devastating forest fire burned approximately one-half million acres of forest in the northeast of Newfoundland; as a result, the little remaining green timber is prohibited for domestic use and men today salvage what burned-over timber they can for fuel. Moreover, this supply is limited and quickly rotting, and most families will soon be forced to turn to coal and oil for heating in the winter. The significance of this major alteration in the traditional way of life had not yet been felt during my research, but will be in coming years.

2) *Agriculture.* Apart from the forests, the countryside is either bare outcrops of granite and schist, or 'barrens and bogs.' The bogs are muskeg which provide a soil that is a thick and spongy moss in which many types of berries grow. The drier mineral soils are found on the barrens – the chief supporters of low bushes, such as blueberry; deciduous woody plants, such as alders; and

some natural grass (cf. Williams, 1963:5ff). The berries are an important fruit source, and Cat Harbour women 'put up' many jars of each type to last until the next berry season. From the marshes come marsh berries, bake-apples, currants, and cranberries; from the barrens come raspberries, blueberries, blackberries, and sarsaparilla. Apart from the whole fruit, jams, jellies, and wines are also made and preserved for winter use.

Cat Harbour people have recently cleared some of the nearer barrens for small vegetable gardens, and in the past did so for pasture. Although agriculture is small-scale and vegetable gardens are simply left to look after themselves, the majority of families raise enough potatoes, turnips, and cabbage to last them for the entire year. Potatoes form the vegetable mainstay, and at least one meal consists of potatoes in combination with fish or salt beef. Although the use varies with individual families, a family of five will not feel safe unless it has from eight to ten barrels of potatoes, three to four barrels of turnips, and three to four barrels of cabbage in the cellar for winter (a barrel of potatoes or turnips being approximately 150 pounds). Today, carrots and other root vegetables may be bought from the merchants, as well as potatoes, turnips, and cabbage, as the merchants either purchase the excess Cat Harbour production for resale, or import from nearby communities. Formerly, however, families stocked up a 'winter's diet,' which consisted of vegetables, local berries, salt fish, flour, molasses, salt beef, and salt pork. If they miscalculated or if something happened to the supplies, they were thrown on the mercy of friends and relatives, for the merchants did not carry surplus.

A noticeable decline in agricultural endeavour coincided with the coming of the highroad and the merchant's decision to sell vegetables and stock surplus. Reasons articulated for this decline amount to the excess time demanded by the rising lobster fishery (Williams, 1963:84), but the fact that people now have easy access to commercial sources seems a more accurate reason. Reflecting this trend is also the decline in upkeep of the previously important root cellars for vegetables, which formerly each household had; today, there is no more than one cellar for every other garden (a total of thirty-four).

Most people who today raise crops (thirty-five out of sixty-four households – those who do not are the mercantile families and the aged) cultivate small vegetable patches inside the garden in which they live or in adjacent gardens, and in recent years, a section of fertile sandy barren approximately 2½ miles 'down' the shore. These cultivated plots (as well as plots for 'grass') are fenced, partly as this is necessary to keep out the sheep, cattle, and horses (the reason given for enclosure), but also to indicate the land is 'owned' and to acknowledge usufruct. Apart from a few gardens in Cat Harbour having important waterfrontage (see Chapter 5, Section B), no land is deeded from the Crown. Land fenced, however, is regarded as owned,

in much the same way as if it were formally granted. Conversely, land not fenced is regarded as common, to be used by anyone.

Fences act as social barriers as well, especially in the dwelling area. This is seen most clearly in the circumstances surrounding segmentation of gardens (see Chapter 7, Section B). Fences, properly speaking, have not always been used, however; for when I pointed out to one man the degree to which they seemed to reflect social conflict, he insisted that this could not be as fences were relatively recent constructions – since the last half of the 19th century when livestock were acquired. On further inquiry, I found that prior to fences, men marked the land by digging small trenches between plots and making a small mound with the resultant earth. It is thus possible today to trace the outlines of the original plots in Cat Harbour by following these small linear mounds. Contemporary fences are simply built atop these mounds.

Livestock came relatively late to Cat Harbour; first there were pigs, then sheep, cattle, and horses. Chickens represent the most recent addition. Although precise records are unavailable, it appears the first animals arrived early in the 19th century, perhaps with the last Protestant migrants into the area or by way of American privateers.²⁶ The arrival of livestock meant a considerable difference to the early settlers, for prior to this, fishermen moved into the nearby forest each winter as they had no means for transporting winter fuel to the headland. Most settlers lived in sod structures in heavily-wooded forest known as 'bay tilts,' which they left for the headland as soon as fishing began each year. With the arrival of horses and oxen, however, fuel could be hauled out of the woods and the burdensome and inconvenient move was no longer necessary.²⁷

Cows are used chiefly for milk and butter. In years past, Cat Harbour bartered substantial amounts of butter to neighbouring communities. Except for milk cows and breeding stock, all others were eaten, although fish, birds, game, and salt meat were more important protein sources until the arrival of the highroad. Pigs are no longer kept in Cat Harbour, and only a few sheep and goats are still left, the former being used for wool and meat, and the latter for wool and milk.

Horses were brought into Cat Harbour within the memory of its oldest inhabitant, and are today the most important of all outport livestock. They have gradually replaced dogs (dogs having been brought from Labrador

26 Buchanan (1786:8) suggests that most livestock was introduced to the outports by American privateers after the Revolutionary War (and continuing into the 19th century), and that potatoes were introduced in the same manner – the settlers having raised only turnips, cabbage, and carrots prior to this.

27 This pattern of winter dispersion had a significant effect on the social organization of these earliest settlers, as it does in certain seasonal Labrador communities today (cf. Jolin, 1965).

initial settlers to pull sleighs). Sleighs are of various types, depending on the use for which they are intended: one of the more common arrangements today is to link two single sleighs in tandem for wood hauling. The supply of horses is the result largely of slow natural increases, as few beasts are imported, and dogs were formerly much more plentiful (the Dog Cove portion of Cat Harbour having been named, in fact, for the large numbers of sled dogs once kept). With the arrival of the highroad, sled dogs have almost disappeared, though horses are still important for bringing wood from parts of the forest where automobiles cannot go.

About one third of the household heads own horses; others borrow these animals when they are not needed by the owners. Chickens, sheep, and goats are kept by only a few, and the only cows left belong to one small dairy herd owned by two brothers who gave up fishing, moved off the peninsula (see Map 3), and now farm exclusively, selling much of their milk and produce to merchants of Cat Harbour and nearby communities. Although born and reared in Cat Harbour and having fished most of their lives, these brothers are regarded as 'outsiders' by most local people, and although they make a good living, people regard tilling the soil as a somewhat unworthy occupation.

Livestock is not and has never been used to till the land. Potato and vegetable gardens are prepared by hand, using a method which renders the area useless after a few years on the same plot. Men usually turn over the soil, and either men or women do the planting. After fertilization, the gardens are usually left to mature until the harvest. Any weeding done is regarded as the task of women. Crops are gathered (see Chapter 4, Section B) in the autumn, dried to some extent, then stored in the root cellars. Fertilization is used to increase the yield; it consists largely of deep water kelp which washes up on the beaches, and caplin, the small bait fish which rush to the shore in millions in late June. But rather than replenish the soil, these techniques actually cause a depletion (Williams, 1964:7).

Livestock graze on the common land (that is, land that is not fenced) and grassy barrens during the entire year except when snow is on the ground, when they are kept in barns and fed 'grass' cut from fenced gardens the previous autumn. On the Cat Harbour peninsula itself, is perhaps the best grassland in the area, and generally a yield of about five hundred weight of cut grass per acre is considered normal. Grass is cut with a scythe, dried in the open, and stored in barns and 'grass houses' to be used for winter feed. Grass gardens are neither fertilized nor seeded.

Mention should be made of the lack of adequate good water on the peninsula, for all fresh water is simply the result of rain held in the peaty soils of the headland, and thus the organic impurities give it the colour of weak tea. There are scores of abandoned wells – at least two or three in every garden. The water table is usually about three to four feet below the surface,

so when one well becomes too polluted and strong to drink, another is dug elsewhere. Although pure and clear water is obtainable just off the peninsula, there are no springs or running water on the headland itself, and animals drink from standing pools of rain water or from the 'Goose Ponds.'

Ultimately, however, to understand the value, attitude toward, and use of land in Cat Harbour, it is necessary to understand how it relates to the sea – for land without usable waterfront is, in Cat Harbour perspective, hardly land at all. An offer of \$1500 has been refused for small, narrow, infertile, and poorly drained strips of land of less than one acre with usable waterfront, whereas large, fertile, and well-drained gardens inland have been bought for as little as five dollars for five to six acres. Land values, then, depend on sea access, not on any intrinsic quality of land itself. Land for pasturage and vegetable gardens is largely unlimited, but land with usable waterfront, with a manageable access to the sea (the great majority of land which faces the sea is situated where the landing and mooring of boats would be difficult or impossible) is at a premium, as a look at the crowded waterfront (see Map 3) will show. Land tenure will be considered in more detail below (Chapter 5, Section B), but it can be seen from the existing garden fences in Cat Harbour, that sea access is the most important consideration in the division and inheritance of land (see Map 4b).²⁸

C. THE ELEMENTS

Second only to the preoccupation with the sea and irrevocably associated with it, is a concern with the weather, with winds, precipitation, and temperatures. Just as men climb to the tops of their houses to observe the sea and weather, so do they study 'the glass' (barometer) several times daily. By the extent of the rise and fall in barometric pressure, the rapidity of such rises and falls, and the time of day or year in which they occur, most Cat Harbour fishermen can predict weather, wind, and temperature, and the duration of such conditions with reasonable accuracy. During my stay, I found those who closely studied 'the glass' predicted local weather with more consistent accuracy than the professional forecasters of the provincial radio network.

The climate of the northeast coast of Newfoundland is oceanic, with none of the extremes characteristic of the Canadian mainland (Labrador) adjacent to Newfoundland. Temperatures only rarely fall below -10°F or rise above 85°F , and the mean January temperatures are in the low 20s (Fahrenheit) or high 10s, the mean July temperatures in the high 50s or

²⁸ This all contrasts with the situation documented for Tristan da Cunha (Munch, 1946:232), where fishing is secondary to farming, and land values are correspondingly adjusted. Otherwise the similarities between the two communities is striking in many spheres.

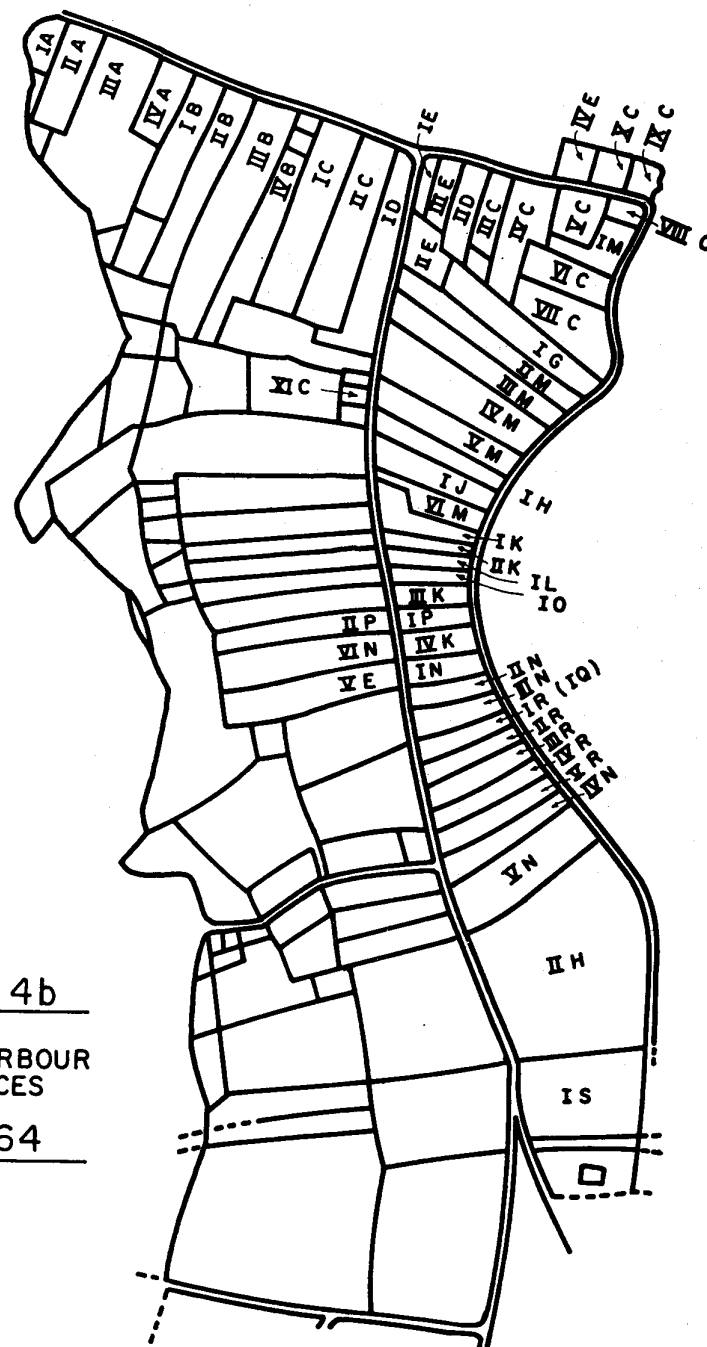
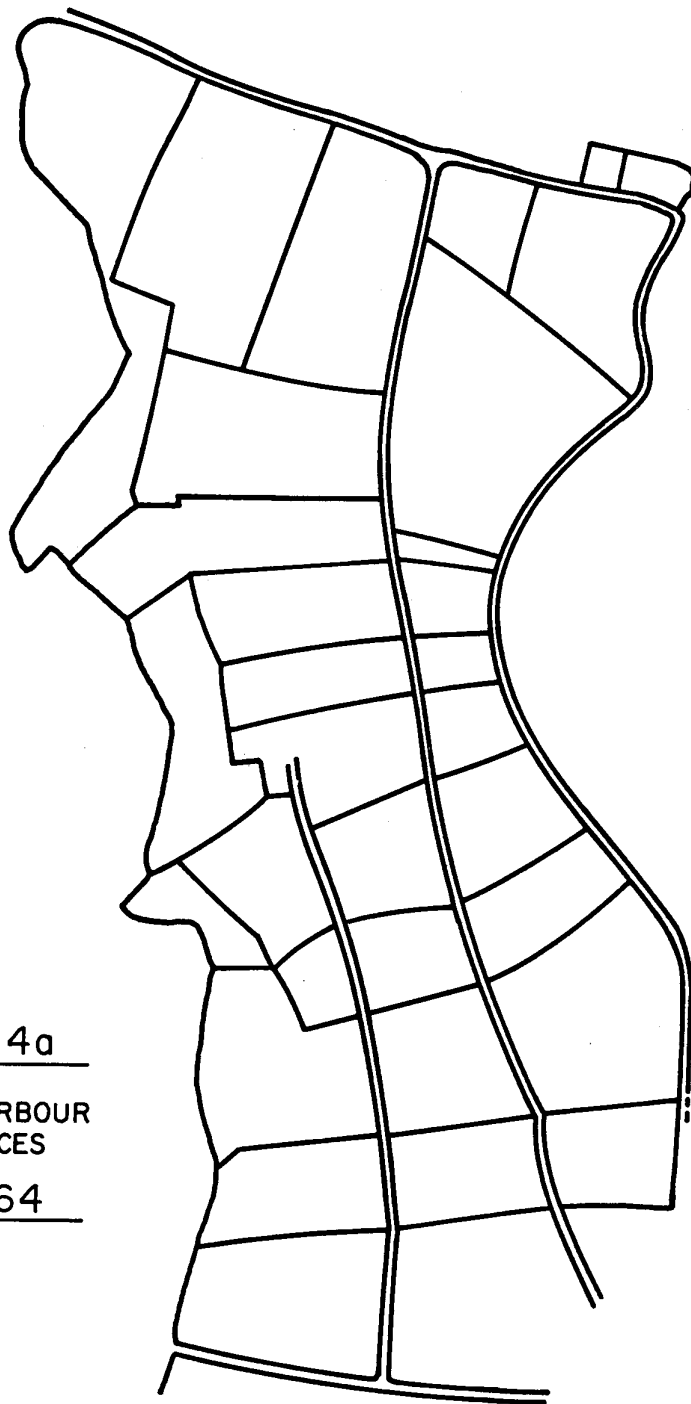
low 60s (Fahrenheit). Rainfall is approximately 37 to 40 inches, distributed rather evenly throughout the entire year – somewhat less in summer and slightly more in autumn. Snowfall varies considerably, averaging one hundred inches; although some winters may see very little, others, such as in 1964, have almost fourteen feet. Persistent thaw begins in May, persistent frost in November (Williams, 1963:6).

Winds and ice, however, affect the local view as much as land temperatures or precipitation, for they, especially, affect the sea and fishing activity (see Chapter 4, Section B). Winds which do not change direction completely one or more times each day tend to drive 'good' (see above, p. 25) water offshore. The desired revolving winds also moderate temperatures, keep the sea calm, and generally mean fair weather. Consistent winds from the southwest make it uncomfortably hot and difficult to cure fish properly, while winds from the north and east are too cold and often accompanied by fog and precipitation. Westerly and northwesterly winds make the sea 'choppy' and hauling gear both difficult and dangerous. During the first half of the year, winds from the north also drive the large arctic icebergs onto the fishing grounds and hold the local sea ice close to shore.

Iceflows from the north usually move onto the northeast coast late in the year or in early January, as a result of both currents and wind. If it is extremely cold, the surface of the ocean will be frozen, so that as the arctic ice moves in, it breaks up the ocean ice until large stacks of 'rifted' ice result. If temperatures are sufficiently low, the ice becomes thick enough for horses to pull slides of wood over it from the nearest offshore, forested islands.

'Break-up' can occur anytime from early April to late May, depending on the prevailing winds and the distance to which ice is backed up offshore. However, even though the ice may break up and move east into the North Atlantic, it may linger offshore and be driven back in as late as mid-June. At the time the first cod traps were set in 1964 (June 17), there was still a considerable amount of ice about and some anxiety over the safety of gear. Large arctic icebergs could be seen the entire summer, and it was only with the coming of the fall storms that all the ice had disappeared. Many lobster pots were crushed in the floundering ice, several salmon nets were ripped, one cod trap was destroyed, and several had to be moved to avoid being hit by icebergs.

The spring winds which help move out the ice (or pack it into the shore, depending on their direction) slack off during the summer. The hard autumn winds begin in September, usually from the north or east, and last until the early part of December when the so-called 'Christmas storms' bring the roughest seas and hardest storms. These also coincide with the highest tides of year. They last until the end of January, when the winds become more northerly and westerly and bring down the ice from further north. These are 'St. Patrick's storms' lasting until St. Patrick's Day in March. The less



violent storms after that are called 'Sheila's Blush,' indicating the Irish influence in early Cat Harbour.

Snow can accompany most of these storms and winds, beginning as early as October and lasting until late April. As the ice begins to break up in April, the land experiences the first thaw, culminating in a violent run-off and a considerable amount of standing water. The newly-built highroads were washed out several times during the run-off of 1964, and automotive transportation was wholly unreliable from mid-April until late May.

The Cat Harbour coast does not get a great amount of fog – certainly far less than many other parts of Newfoundland; most of it is usually in the late spring, from May until the end of June. Apart from this period and 'scattered' other times of the year, the coast is usually free from fog.

Fishermen are keenly aware of the critical danger signs of storms, winds, or fog, and attempt to come in, especially if they happen to be on the 'offer grounds' in an undecked vessel, if the sea becomes 'choppy.' 'Wind lop' (rough surface due to wind action) is simply considered annoying, but if the sea begins to roll and break, it can be quite difficult to get in from the grounds. It is rare, however, that a fisherman has to ride out the storm, particularly in an open boat, and most men will attempt to make the shore. When blinding snowflurries do occasionally surprise fishermen, the church bell may be rung to guide the stranded party (see Chapter 8, Section A).

But it is on the ice that danger is most keenly felt, and in every genealogy someone has been lost during the seal fishery, while 'on the ice.' Cat Harbour lost three men in the *Greenland* disaster of 1912, and three men in the *Newfoundland* disaster of 1914. An additional three were lost in the 'great storm' of 1930, and there have been many individual incidents of men having 'perished' on the ice. The dates of these tragedies are remembered and the stories told over and over again – not so much for their content, but because they relate people to the elements and the sea.

The Social Setting

4

A. DEMOGRAPHIC SKETCH

The total population of Cat Harbour in April, 1964 was 285: 149 males and 136 females, children inclusive (see Appendix, Chart 3). Only a cursory view of the population will be given here, as a detailed demographic analysis will be given later.

First, it should be pointed out that Cat Harbour is a dying community. But it is not the task of this work to analyse the death of Cat Harbour and thus, the demographic data is used only to describe the viable social community which I found in 1964, with emphasis on the past, rather than on the future. With recent decreases in a previously high infant mortality, births now far exceed deaths – but the birth rate cannot keep up with the emigration rate. Current government centralization policies and the expanded education of the youth are the chief factors contributing to emigration. Entire families leave Cat Harbour (cf. Appendix, Chart 2, point 3) for the designated relocation centre (Lumsden South) as the financial incentives are made available,²⁹ and the educated youth leave the area altogether to pursue teaching, trades, and professions for which the outport has no demand. Even students leaving school cannot be counted on to fill fishing crews in the future, for with the new mobility provided by the recent arrival of the highroad, they leave to take jobs as labourers in the urban centres of Newfoundland and on the Canadian mainland. Without attractive alternative labour incentives, it would appear the centralization policies may bring about a quick end to the fishery, and result in a congregation of retired pensioners.

All of this is not an entirely new situation, however, for the population has fluctuated over time because of emigration. Chart 2 (point 2) and Chart 3 (point 2), show clearly the effect of World War II in drawing away the young men and women of the community to the construction and maintenance of the United States Air Base, and Chart 3 (point 1) shows the resultant absence of their offspring in the 25-year-old group today. Another factor contributing to the latter situation is the emigration of young people.

It is difficult to arrive at precise population trends for Cat Harbour over the years, because its census returns were combined, until 1911, with those

²⁹ By late 1967, two years after my visit, all families had left Cat Harbour for the relocation center.

of a nearby community, now called Lumsden South (see Map 2). These combined returns go back to 1857 (the Census of 1857 is found in J.H.A.N., 1858: Appendix; for others, see Census of 1869, 1879, 1884, 1891, 1911, 1921, 1935, 1945), just after the major migrations into the area had stopped. From Chart 2, it can be seen that the Cat Harbour population increase "peaked" first sometime prior to World War II, about 1930-35. Since that time, emigration has reduced the rate of increase, and in the future Cat Harbour will in all likelihood experience a decrease (already noticeable between 1963 and 1964 - see Chart 2, point 3). At another point in time, as mentioned previously, the population was diminished by the Protestants forcing out a community of Roman Catholics who in 1869, constituted 23.8 percent of the total population (Chart 2, point 1).

Although precise records do not exist, it appears the rate of increase was greater from the close of the 19th century until 1935 than it had been earlier. This is quite likely the result of a decrease in tuberculosis and gastroenteritis - both a constant plague in the early history of Newfoundland. There is only slight evidence that people today have fewer children than their ancestors. In the genealogical material, it is not unusual to find families of fifteen children, but several women today have given birth to ten or more children (although no family in 1964 had more than eight children living). Averages and means do not give a clear picture of family size, for in the case of many marriages, there is no demonstrable fecundity. Artificial means of birth control are not practised except by a few, and children are the desired, natural, expected, and inevitable outcome of marriage, or, in 71.4 percent of the cases, marriage is the outcome of children (see Chapter 6, Section C). In 13.7 percent of the marriages, no children appear to be possible, and a couple remains without children unless they rear the child of a near relative, a not uncommon practice.

As mentioned, Cat Harbour is divided residually into two sections: Dog Cove on the northern end of the headland (point K, Map 3) and Upper Harbour or Seal Cove on the eastern side of the peninsula (point L, Map 3).³⁰ The western side of the peninsula is unoccupied, except for one small fishing installation used by Gid Brown who lives, however, in Upper Harbour. There are also two families living just off the peninsula on the slope of 'Japh's Hill' (point w, Map 3). These families have given up fishing and now farm and keep a small dairy herd.

Cat Harbour people live in forty-six distinct 'gardens' (compounds defined by a fence), in sixty-four familial units, maintaining separate hearths in sixty-one houses. There are nineteen surnames in the community, and people are divided into fifteen *general* 'crowds' (see Chapter 6, Section A for the meaning of this kin category), and combine, at one time or another, into thirty-three *effective* crowds; that is, crowds engaged in a common economic

³⁰ Dog Cove numbers 110 people, Upper Harbour (Seal Cove) 175 people.

endeavour. Houses in Cat Harbour are occupied by three "types" of familial units or households - all elaborations of an elementary family. There are (1) the elementary family of man, wife, and unmarried children; (2) the elementary family plus an attached kinsman outside this nuclear sphere; and (3) two elementary families living under the same roof. This typology most clearly matches the distinctions considered relevant by Cat Harbour folk, and will be discussed in detail below.

With the exception of five dwellings, all houses are in gardens which face usable waterfront. Cat Harbour is not unique among other outports in this respect (as this is simply a function of the occupational speciality); but it is unique in that because so little usable waterfront is available, gardens and waterfrontage are tightly packed and crowded together (see Map 3). The original settlers' gardens (Map 4a) have been divided and sub-divided time and time again until the resultant pattern of fences is visible (Map 4b), each small strip of garden clinging to its precious and ever-decreasing waterfrontage. If all the wharves were extended, they would (in Dog Cove and Upper Harbour, respectively) converge at a common point only a short distance from the shore - a situation not documented for any other community on the entire northeast coast (Williams, 1963:19). Some of the important implications of this pattern will be dealt with below (Part II).

In the 'summer voyage' of 1964, there were seventy-two men actively engaged in the fishery (see Appendix, Table 1). Seven of these men were 'sharemen' (see Chapter 9, Section A) coming from outside the community just for the trap fishing voyage, and another eighteen were 'hard' boys (that is, post-adolescent) who left the boats at the end of the trap voyage to return to school. Of a total of twenty-one fishing crews, fifteen used traps while the remainder used nets and trawls. In addition, four men fished alone during the summer.

With the 'fall voyage,' however, a different picture emerged. First, all sharemen returned home, all 'hard' boys returned to school, and a number of older fishermen, especially those who are near retirement, left the boats (the summer voyage of 1964 was a very successful fishery and no man was forced to fish all 'fall' out of economic necessity). Taken together, a total of thirty-four men left when the fall voyage began - reducing by almost half, the number of men remaining to exploit the 'offer' grounds. All but three of the twenty-one summer crews either disbanded altogether or in some way changed membership, resulting in fourteen fall crews. Seven men fished alone. A more detailed analysis follows in Chapter 7.

B. THE ACTIVITY CYCLE

One measure of the population's adjustment to their environment is the tremendous seasonal specialization of activities. Certain activities can be

pursued only at specific times. For example, all wood for fuel and building must be hauled out of the forests prior to the spring thaws, as the only form of overland transport – the horse and sleigh – depends on a frozen, snow-covered surface. Yet hauling wood is impossible if the snows are too deep or too soft, and very difficult in the colder weather which precedes the thaw. So, depending on the interplay of these and other factors, there is a precise time for hauling out wood. Charts 4 and 5 illustrate the highly ordered regulation of yearly activities.

Seasons are clearly defined, both in terms of natural changes and in the specialization of activities peculiar to each season. Even with the long periods of storms (from September until April) and the seemingly endless ice, the exploitation of the environment is too varied and detailed for life to become monotonous – in contrast to that documented for other rural communities (cf. Lewis, 1959).

The Cat Harbour year begins after Epiphany (the 'Old Christmas Day' of January 6th). People call seasons by activities: spring is labelled 'the ice hunt' (the seal fishery) and 'getting ready for fishing'; then comes the 'summer voyage' or 'trap voyage,' followed (overlapping to some extent) by the 'fall voyage.' Fishermen then 'ship fish, settle up, and go into the woods.' It is when work in the forest begins that the 'times' start: first weddings, then 'scoffs,' and finally the 'times' of the Christmas season.³¹ This, combined with weather and sea conditions which form the coefficient, is the seasonal measure of time throughout the year, and the critical events about which there is most conversation, excitement and expectation.

Of course, a cross-section of the yearly chart will not automatically result in an outline of daily activities. The year-round chart (Chart 4) is made up of periodic activities which people articulate themselves; they are indigenous categories, whereas any given day (see Chart 5) contains activities which are not acknowledged in a broader time perspective.

The amount of daylight affects the daily schedule of activities, which in each season, is rather rigidly formalized and unvariable. People rise about daybreak (or slightly before, if they are hunting), summer and winter, which means 9 a.m. in winter, and 5 a.m. in summer. They seldom go to bed before 12 or 1 a.m. in winter, or 11 p.m. in summer. Taking a cross section of four points on Chart 4, Chart 5 indicates the likely routine for a day at that time of year. While there may be alternative activities running simultaneously, given any particular period of time, it will be spent by all men engaged in the same combination of activities in almost precisely the same way. Of special significance is the shop activity of men. The order and time of visits, as seen in Chapter 11, is an important consideration in the dynamics of conversation and communication in Cat Harbour.

³¹ For a similar schema under totally different conditions, see Homans, 1960:353–381; for a striking similarity with another isolated community, see Munch, 1946.

One rather striking characteristic of Cat Harbour in almost any activity is the marked lack of specialized personnel.³² This is especially so because many of the tasks in which people engage are those which would suit specialists well, such as boat building and woods work. Ideally, every man cuts his own wood, builds his own boat, builds his own lobster pots, mends his own trap and nets. In practice, a man will get help building a boat, negotiate for someone else to haul out some of his wood, or otherwise assign an activity to a more competent individual. Clearly some men are better boat and house builders than others, are more efficient in hauling wood and quicker in mending traps and nets; but this does not alter the ideal that each man does his own work – an ideal operative in most cases. The only real specialist in Cat Harbour is the merchant, and although increased specialization is entering the community with the adoption of contemporary urban attitudes and techniques, this has not yet caused any significant shift in the traditional ideal.

C. THE OUTSIDE WORLD

It is quite important to realize that for the indigenes of Cat Harbour, the outside world begins just off the peninsula. I have suggested several reasons for this earlier, and the implications of this conception will be discussed in more detail below. Let me here outline what is 'the outside world' from the Cat Harbour perspective.

Map 1 is a chart of the northeast coast of Newfoundland, and depicts the socio-economic area that I shall describe in this section. This area is not based on an arbitrary designation by the ethnographer, but on a real distinction articulated by local people, and demonstrable in several quantitative ways (intermarriage, for example). Within the socio-economic area designated 'A' are, besides Cat Harbour, Deadman's Bay, Lumsden South, and Cape Freels. This is the area covered by Map 2. Today this section of the 'Straight Shore' is served by the same United Church minister (who visits each community once every two weeks), sends its children to the same secondary school (located in Lumsden South), patronizes the same dominant merchant (the Scarlets, who originated in Cat Harbour and now have a branch shop in Lumsden South), and except for Cape Freels, shares the same Orange Lodge and Royal Black Preceptory. In earlier years, these communities also shared the same local council of the FPU (see above, p. 18), and today, Cat Harbour and Deadman's Bay share the same cod-trap berth-drawing committee and salmon-net berth-drawing committee. All the communities are now linked by road, but previously people often took a boat to Deadman's Bay or Cape Freels, or in winter, a horse and 'slide.' They have always walked to Lumsden South, a distance of just over two miles, and

³² Unlike the situation documented in many English village studies. See Frankenberg, 1957; Williams, 1956 – or indeed, New World rural communities (see Miner, 1963).

although it is the closest community, there is, in fact, a certain amount of hostility between Cat Harbour and Lumsden South. The two communities formerly shared the same church and school, but today, perhaps significantly, they have only a common cemetery.

The socio-economic area designated as 'B' (see Map 1) is roughly the limits of the local universe. This is expressed locally as 'the whole coast,' meaning "that part of the northeast coast is significant to us." Cat Harbour folk know people from these communities, and men may have married women from these settlements (see Chapter 6, Section C), and occasionally have some dealings in one of the villages (for a used marine engine, a cod trap, or a horse). In this area, Wesleyville has today emerged as the chief service centre, for it is here that the coastal schooners dock, goods then being transported on 'down' the shore (as far as Cat Harbour and Deadman's Bay) via the new highroad. Formerly, the coastal schooners visited all the communities of the 'Straight Shore,' but the lack of decent harbours and mooring facilities means the highroad is exploited for the transportation of goods beyond Wesleyville.

Men may have worked in the lumber camps near Carmanville and Gander Bay (the western-most extremity of area 'B')³³ at one time or another or in the lumber camps of Bonavista Bay, near Indian Bay, Locker's Bay, and Gambo (near the southern-most extremity of area 'B'). Beyond this point there is little communication. People have some geographical knowledge of the major bays of Newfoundland and Labrador from experience in the seal fishery, and know bits of information about other specific parts of the province from news items coming into the community. The exception to the dearth of knowledge of worlds outside the northeast coast is the capital city, St. John's – just under 300 miles from Cat Harbour on the newly completed highroad, or an overnight trip by coastal steamer or rail from Gambo. There are very few men who have not been to St. John's, chiefly for a day or so before and after the seal voyage. Their experiences in ribald and indulgent activities on these occasions, however, only serve to underline the basic evil of the place, the essential wickedness of the urban centre. It is on the 'ice hunt' that many men witness their first full-scale fights and drunken brawls, behaviour they assume to characterize much of 'the outside world.'

A number of government attempts of one sort or another have been made to integrate and consolidate outports such as Cat Harbour, but under the circumstances, they have been unsuccessful. Recently, a government-spon-

33 With the new highroad completed in 1961, Gander (see the inset, Map 1) has become a service centre for the northeast coast. This community, with its international airport, has just under 5000 inhabitants (most of them former outport people who constructed the town and airfield during World War II), and is totally urban (or suburban) in façade and attitudes. In 1964, Gander sent commercial representatives to Cat Harbour every week to sell washing machines, televisions, marine engines, and stoves, and to bring supplies to the merchants.

sored study recommended that Cat Harbour be considered as part of a socio-economic "planning area" which would involve the eventual removal of and centralization of population and services in Newtown in Bonavista Bay (Head, 1963). Newtown is but a short distance from Cat Harbour (see Map 1), but the reaction to moving was not favourable. As one man expressed it, 'It wouldn't do for us to fish up in the bay 'cause we'd lose all our nerve for the water. Folks here don't have much dealings with them people up in the bay anyhow.'

Another factor which acts to focus Cat Harbour's attention on itself is the ethnocentric superiority the indigenes feel. They consider themselves better fishermen than others of areas 'A' and 'B', and that they are better educated and on the whole have a more attractive, civilized, progressive, and a less fragmented community than the nearby settlements. In terms of a progression based on these variables, Cat Harbour places itself first, followed by Cape Freels, Lumsden South, and Deadman's Bay. I commented above on the "ethic" of education in Cat Harbour and the notable contemporary record of its youth (see p. 15). This is the more outstanding when compared with the neighbouring communities; for example, only recently the first Deadman's Bay youth entered secondary school.

From Department of Fishery records,³⁴ Cat Harbour has (with fewer men fishing) landed more fish than any other community of area 'A' eight years of the past ten. It has always been a long-standing tradition that Cat Harbour fishermen do not go to other communities as 'sharemen' (see Chapter 7 and Chapter 9), although men from the surrounding communities often come to Cat Harbour in such a capacity. Similarly, Cat Harbour women never went to other communities 'in service' (that is, helping 'put away the fish') during the summer voyage, whereas women from neighbouring communities often came to Cat Harbour for that purpose. This, in fact, constituted one important source of potential wives for Cat Harbour men (see Chapter 6, Section C).

Over thirty years ago, Cat Harbour initiated a drawing system for the assignment of cod-trap berths to reduce the competition which occurred early in the spring (competition which forced fishermen to set traps very early in order to secure a berth – thus running the strong risk of losing gear to ice and storms), and to protect their 'waters' (which are defined as being that stretch of ocean from the north tip of Inner Cat Island to Deadman's Bay Point – see Map 2, x-x') from exploitation by outside fishermen. Fishermen of Deadman's Bay were included, but as few men from Deadman's Bay owned cod traps, the arrangement was to Cat Harbour's advantage. This drawing regulation, which is now statute law incorporated under the Fishery Regulations of the Department of Fisheries of Canada, gives each trap crew an opportunity to draw for the lowest number from a series corresponding to the number

34 Detailed fishery statistics are not available before 1953.

of trap crews drawing, and on the basis of the drawn number, choose any berth that has not already been chosen by a trap crew drawing a lower number. This ensures the berth until July before another crew can claim it, giving each crew ample time to prepare and reducing markedly the danger of damage to the traps from ice and storms.

This system is absent in both Lumsden South and Cape Freels where fishermen compete for berths on the basis of first possession and have never been able to agree to having a drawing regulation. Cat Harbour fishermen view this as an uncivilized means of proceeding. 'Why, they've got to chop holes in the ice to get their berths, sure!' (see Chart 4, Appendix).

Cat Harbour people point with pride to their painted fences, houses, and stores, which stand in contrast to those of nearby settlements. There are functional advantages, of course; for a painted structure withstands the salt air much better than an unpainted structure and is, as people will admit, an economically sound investment. The facts, however, reflect other motivations as well, for many Cat Harbour people paint and keep in good repair only the front side of their house – the side that faces the road – leaving the back unpainted for several years.

As there are no dominant surname groups in Cat Harbour (numerically speaking), there is little focus on two or three dominant families as conflicting interest groups. There are, to be sure, conflicting interest groups in Cat Harbour; but in nearby communities, such as Lumsden South, where two 'clans' predominate, there is conflict and the major cleavages are more evident. I have been told, 'Oh the Jays and the Finches are the only clans in Lumsden South, and they're always feuding. Any trouble on the Point (Lumsden South) always gets back down to that and people side up. They're terrible clannish on the Point – Cat Harbour's not like that.'

The above gives a picture of the relationship of Cat Harbour to its neighbours. Chapter 2 dealt with the representatives of the outside institutional structure and the relations of the community to the wider outside world. Taken together, they should clarify the conceptualization of the local community and of the outsider, the 'stranger' – a dominant and recurrent contrast in Cat Harbour existence, and a cognition that pervades many spheres of outpost life.

Part II Territory, Kin, and Crew

Part I of this study concentrated on the historical and ecological factors influencing Cat Harbour settlement and local adaptation to such circumstances. Part II will focus on the patterns which have emerged in the distribution of people in consequence of these circumstances: their residential arrangements, their kinship concepts, and their economic units, the fishing crews. These patterns I find useful to call *frameworks* of interaction; that is, the idioms in which people interact.

A. DOMESTIC STRUCTURE: *Houses and Households*

In this section only the structure of and the variations in Cat Harbour dwelling arrangements will be considered. In a later section I shall analyse details of land tenure and the partitioning of gardens, as well as the structure, development, and splits in the units of economic production – the fishing crews. In order to be able to discuss certain details peculiar to each sphere, that is, housing, land tenure, and fishing, I shall separate them in presentation, although they are, in actuality, interrelated.

Cat Harbour folk distinguish between three "types" of households in Cat Harbour – that is, three distinguishable structural differences in the relationship of the occupants of a single house. These are illustrated in Table 2.

There is a definite developmental cycle of Cat Harbour domestic groups, but it must not be assumed that each of the household types is a necessary phase of this cycle. Types 2 and 3 in the table below are, in fact, regarded as somewhat anomalous and are not a phase through which all domestic groups pass. Type 1 is the desired situation and the type to which individuals in either of the other types are most oriented. As shown below, this is realized in 73.8 percent of the cases, and deviation from it is regarded as a forced circumstance and a burden.

The ideal (realized in the majority of cases as shown in Table 3 below), is for every young man to build or otherwise acquire a house before he is married. In fact, the building of a house is the clearest indication that a young man is willing to settle down, choose a mate, and stop his heretofore indiscriminate romances. During the period of my research, three young bachelors (two aged twenty-three, the other twenty-five) had begun to build houses. If for some reason things are not so carefully planned and a young man finds himself married before he can build, he immediately begins to build or purchases a vacant house.³⁵

Houses are, of course, heritable property, the average life of the outport dwelling being normally twenty-five to thirty years, or slightly more than

³⁵ It is significant that girls who do not wish to be married 'stay clear' of bachelors building houses, for pre-marital sexual intercourse is universal, and they become involved only with males with no immediate plans for marriage and who will therefore take some type of precaution against impregnation.

TABLE 2

Cat Harbour Households

Household type:	No. types	No. people
Occupants of a single house		
1) Elementary family: man, wife, and unmarried children. One conjugal unit, one consumption unit (one hearth)	45 (73.8%)	193 (67.7%)
2) Elementary family with one or more attached kinsmen outside the elementary family. The most common example is a man, wife, unmarried children, and a single surviving parent. One conjugal unit, one consumption unit (one hearth)	13 (21.3%)	72 (25.2%)
3) Two elementary families under the same roof. Married children living with married parents. Two conjugal units, two separate consumption units (two hearths)	3 (4.9%) (i.e., 6 families)	20 (7.1%)
	61 (100%)	285 (100%)

one generation (generation here defined as the marriage age of males; see Appendix, Chart 6). There are many houses which are older and most houses are actually quite sturdy for fifty years; but today fewer young people care to live in them because they are less stylish in comparison to the new architecture (which is influenced by architectural trends in the outside world and then adapted to local conditions).

Houses in the normal course of events are inherited by the youngest son, as his older brothers will have built their own dwellings prior to marriage. Often he too may have built his own house, or otherwise acquired one from someone having left Cat Harbour or from someone having built a newer home. This is nearly always the case, or the attempted case, if both parents are still living. All aged couples found living alone, have simply outlived the marriage of their youngest offspring. If, however, only one parent survives and the house is still in good repair, the youngest son, on marriage, usually accepts the parental dwelling as his own post-marital residence, and the surviving parent into his own domestic unit. The "title" to the house usually remains in the hands of the father until his death, then passes to the youngest son, even though the mother may still be living.

Of the occupied houses in Cat Harbour today, twenty-nine have been built by the occupants, twenty have been bought – either from patrikin of the same garden who left the village or from others (in the latter case, the house is

always moved off the former owner's land onto one's own plot), and twelve have been inherited in all but two cases by the youngest son.³⁶ Table 3 below illustrates numerically the modes of house acquisition.

From Table 3 it can be seen that even a youngest son generally moves out on marriage if both parents are still living. However, if a son (especially the youngest son), had not finished, or begun, or purchased a house, he would bring his bride to the parental house. Such situations are regarded as strains on both conjugal units, reflected in the fact that a strict separation of hearths is maintained, and every attempt is made for the young couple to build or procure another dwelling. If a house is bought, it is moved to the parental garden. Houses are regarded as separate property from the land on which they stand, and norms of inheritance and purchase of houses are different from those pertaining to land. Land with usable waterfront is, in fact, seldom bought, and inheritance is the most common means of transfer.

TABLE 3

Acquisition of Houses in Cat Harbour

	Built	Bought	Inherited	Totals
1) Youngest son	8†	2†	10	20
2) Other sons	21	18	2*	41
Totals	29	20	12	61

* See footnote 36 for one case of a female house owner.

† Both parents still living in parental house at time of acquisition.

All three cases of type 3 (six conjugal units living in three houses) were in the process of fission when I first came to Cat Harbour, and two broke up into separate dwellings/units before I left. It is of significance that in two of the cases of type 3, the husbands of the junior conjugal units were lumberjacks who had married into the community – an anomalous pattern in itself. Being away much of the time, these men had not had the opportunity to begin to build their own homes.

It must be emphasized that in households of type 3, each conjugal unit is a separate unit of consumption – each married couple maintains their own hearth. In fact, if the house were sawed in half, two units of type 1 would result (an event which has actually occurred; see *The Corals*, p. 61).

The type 2 household arrangement is somewhat more permanent than

36 One exception is a man having married into the community into a family with no surviving sons. His wife actually retains the title to the house and garden (see case of Peter Dove, p. 62). The other exception is a young man marrying and moving out of the parental home before his older brother, the latter remaining unmarried until later and inheriting the parental house.

type 3, and persons involved in this arrangement consider themselves under some sort of special burden. The relationships of the attached kinsmen are detailed in Table 4 below.

From Table 4, it may be seen that in all cases but three, the attached kinsman is directly related to the male household head. He or she participates in the same unit of consumption as the elementary family, and has a specific responsibility to help provide the daily fare.

TABLE 4

Attached Kinsmen of Household Type 2

Relationship to household head	No. cases	Remarks
Br	2	in both cases parents of attached kinsmen no longer living, in one case two unmarried brothers live together
Mo	2	attached kinsman has no other surviving children
Fa	4	
WiFa	1	
FaMoBr	1	attached kinsman has no other surviving kinsmen
widowed Da and children	1	
unrelated	2	one case an illegitimacy with no acknowledged relatives, and a boarder. The other a house-keeper to an elderly widower – this couple have lived together in semi-concubinage for over 25 years.

The economic interdependence of households of this type is important; it is often an area of special strain. The attached often insist they contribute too much and complain about the lack of attention and respect; the family core and household head, on the other hand, often complain about the lack of financial co-operation or paucity of support, and feel weighted under the burdensome demands for attention. This is especially the case since the confederation of Newfoundland with Canada in 1949 which brought monetary pensions to the aged, enabling them to contribute financially to their upkeep. But even though they are no longer economically burdensome, they are regarded as a heavy and undesired social responsibility.

The lack of privacy that people feel is another source of strain. Having a parent living with them, a younger couple often feel their activities are curtailed, especially such pleasures as drinking, card playing, and dancing – all frowned upon by the more traditional aged. The elderly are also regarded as idiosyncratic and must be watched with such things as electrical appliances – phenomena unknown to them until 1963. These problems mean the aged always live separately so long as both spouses are living, only moving in with

an offspring when they are the single surviving parent. There is no case of a single surviving parent living alone.

Unlike households of type 3, households of type 2 do not usually change unless the attached kinsman changes status with marriage, remarriage, or death.

It is important to note that in all six cases where a single surviving parent has joined the household of a son and family, it is that of the youngest son. For, unless the youngest son is not as yet married, it is he who is especially expected to look after the aged parents, although the parent may frequently visit, eat, and occasionally stay short periods with an older son or daughter. This practice is a corollary of the ultimogeniture pattern in the inheritance of houses, even though a youngest son may have built or otherwise acquired his own house. There are cases in Cat Harbour of youngest sons having a parent living with them and their families under strained economic circumstances and lack of room, yet who have a married sister (married daughters are often not resident in the community, and besides, they may have the responsibility of the surviving parent of their husbands) or older brother living nearby in a better situation to accept the parent. This helps reinforce the strain already present between brothers. The parental house is little salve for the youngest son, for all other inheritable goods (save some parental furniture, and even this may be shared), particularly those crucial to production such as land, boats, engines, gear, and livestock, are divided equally among all sons.

In households of type 1 – the acknowledged ideal and statistically the most common one – children continue to live at home until marriage, no matter what their age, economic status, or whether they are involved in the same productive unit as their father. Even older unmarried sons having built or bought their own house, continue to live in the parental dwelling. Marriageable spinsters (save one severely crippled girl) are unknown in Cat Harbour and the surrounding area, although there are several bachelors. The degree to which economically independent unmarried sons contribute to the maintenance of the household varies according to particular circumstances, but they are not required to contribute as are attached kinsmen of household type 2. There is normally no fission in the development cycle of the domestic unit until marriage.

B. LAND TENURE

I have used the term *fission* to mean splits in the domestic unit, reserving the term *segmentation* for divisions of one garden into two or more. The term *cleavage* will apply to permanent divisions and changes in the economic unit of the fishing crew. It is important to keep the processes in each category separate.

A fission in the household does not necessarily mean a segmentation in the

garden nor a cleavage in the crew. Clearly, one may follow the other or they may occur simultaneously, and often cleavage in the fishing crew has a direct causal bearing on garden segmentation. But a garden has to have more than one house before segmentation takes place, and most commonly there is a cleavage in the fishing crew before new garden fences are erected. The existing fishing, residential, and household arrangements in Cat Harbour today, however, cannot be explained by reference to a fixed sequence of operation of the processes of fission, cleavage, and segmentation in relation to each other.

Specific examples are given here of inheritance and garden segmentation, deferring until later (Chapter 7, Section B) a discussion of the reasons for this segmentation.

Sons ideally inherit land equally. The youngest, as mentioned, usually acquires the parental house, but each son is entitled to an equal share of the land – a principle to which fathers rigidly adhere.³⁷ In one case a man activated an acknowledged claim to his share of a garden even after he had been away from the community for over twenty years. In cases of men leaving the community permanently, some sort of monetary agreement is usually reached with the brothers remaining to transfer claim to title. If the land involved is particularly suitable, the emigrating brother will ask and receive full value; that is, the amount he could command if he were selling the land to a non-kinsman. If a father is still living, however, selling the land to a non-kinsman is usually impossible. Inasmuch as these rules are straightforward and simple, there is seldom any dispute over title and ownership of the dwelling gardens, as people know to whom they belong and how land should be divided. There is occasional conflict over ownership or usufruct (regarded as synonymous in most cases) of land with no sea access, that is, the agricultural or pasture land,³⁸ but this land is not regarded as worth any substantial amount, and so little comes of the disputes.

Under no circumstances do females inherit if males are living. If a man has one son and several daughters, the son gets the entire garden. The exclusion of females applies to wives as well. Sons, particularly the youngest, assume the obligation to look after the widowed mother, chiefly as a con-

37 Fathers often maintain sole *ownership*, that is, the "title" to the land until their death (see the case of Bill Blue's land, p. 59), although the land may be divided for use before then among several sons (but rarely fenced, as this implies separate ownership and title). Except for a few gardens having Crown grants (Crown lands & Surveys division, Dept. of Mines, Agriculture & Resources), there are no papers involved in the inheritance, but this does not obscure the knowledge of who holds "title" to the land.

38 In actuality, there can be no *legal* claim to ownership of the land immediately adjacent to the water extending inland 33' from the high water mark: persons have only rights of use to this waterfront which remains in the possession of the Crown. But this legal technicality does not affect local cognition.

comitant of their role as heirs to the parental house rather than in their capacity as sons.

There is one garden which, on the death of the parents, was inherited by three daughters, the only children. They are all married and live elsewhere, and have persistently refused to sell the garden with its precious waterfront. The garden is not large (Garden IID) and the parental house is old and in disrepair; yet the daughters have been offered up to \$1500 for the house and land, a considerable sum in the outport. This attitude of letting the house, garden, and especially the waterfront fall into ruin is pointed out by local men as one of the evils in female inheritance; the example supports their view that daughters and wives should not be involved. 'Maids leave,' they say, 'so why should they get anything?'

There are today two old fishermen who attempt to siphon off money to their daughters while they are still living, but this is done without the knowledge of the girl's brothers. Moreover, the inheritance of money is a more recent phenomenon without as direct a bearing on the fishing situation as land and waterfront. These two fishermen would not have considered their daughters in the inheritance of land.

The narrow thin garden strips visible on the maps of today (Map 4b) are the result of progressive divisions of larger gardens over the years – each strip clinging to its precious waterfrontage. Approximately 140 years ago, when migration into the area stopped, the settlers had large wide gardens running back from the sea. As these families grew and fission occurred, the large gardens with access to usable waterfront were segmented repeatedly until the present pattern of fences emerged. This can be shown most clearly by maps of Cat Harbour gardens at different points in time. Map 4a, a reconstruction of the fences existing in Cat Harbour approximately one hundred years ago, can be superimposed for purposes of comparison on Map 4b, which documents the fences of 1964. It is interesting to note that the original layout of wide gardens (circa 1864) has persisted to a greater degree in the gardens removed from the usable waterfront; that is, those on the western side of the peninsula. It can also be seen on the map of today that the inland agricultural land further 'up' the peninsula is more squarely arranged, and on segmentation, the "stripping" method of land division, which gives each garden an ever-diminishing piece of usable waterfront, is no longer significant (see Map 3).

In 1864, everyone inside any fence, that is, all the occupants of a single garden, had the same surname. If Map 4a is superimposed on Map 4b, it can be seen that almost all the boundaries of 1864 are still evident today, as was mentioned earlier. What is especially relevant is that, with few exceptions, the fences of 1864 (or their replacements) still outline the surname extension of all the occupants of the component gardens now found inside them.

Each garden with usable waterfront is occupied by several buildings (see

Map 3), including one or more dwellings. These are houses built (or otherwise acquired) by men of the same surname/patriline. A total of forty-six separate gardens (plots enclosed but not further segmented by fences) are occupied in Cat Harbour, forty-one of them facing the water; that is, with usable waterfrontage.³⁹ Of these forty-six gardens, thirty-two now contain one occupied house, thirteen have two occupied houses, and one garden contains three occupied houses. Unlike the household types discussed above, these different garden "types" reflect precisely specific phases in the developmental cycle of the garden structures, and those gardens having but one occupied house are the result of the segmentation of larger gardens previously having more than one house per enclosed plot. The building of a new house, then, does not necessarily mean a new fence.

There are predictable situations, however, in which garden segmentation can be expected, and certain physical limits to the segmentation that can take place. Cat Harbour, at the time of my research, had reached these limits in a number of gardens; that is, the segmentation had gone so far that each garden in some areas was no wider than the house occupying it, a situation prohibiting further segmentation (at least further traditional fencing perpendicular to the shoreline). Future investigators will have no opportunity to document what is to happen in such cases, however, for the community is now beginning to die and the last garden segmentation has, I suspect, taken place. External factors have entered to relieve a situation that for many gardens had reached the saturation point. This is in many ways an unfortunate coincidence, for it would have been interesting to see what alternatives would have emerged if this relief had not come. Some of these alternatives are documented below in the case of the Corals.

Rather than give an exhaustive treatment of all gardens, I have chosen a few representative examples to illustrate the details of land tenure. Data are from a combination of oral sources and a short list of Crown land grants beginning in 1890 (Crown Grants: Crown Grants & Surveys Division, Department of Mines, Agriculture and Resources. Copy of local grants in possession of the ethnographer). The details from traditional sources are, however, wholly reliable, for they may be checked against the information of other informants, the contemporary organization of gardens and the small mounds which indicate the earliest land divisions, and with the genealogies of the persons involved.

Three examples illustrate the dominant themes I have been pointing out. The persons involved may be traced on the main genealogy (Appendix, Chart 1) to show how they are related to each other and to the rest of the community. I have also indicated the gardens and surname extensions on the main genealogy, and in combination with the maps of Cat Harbour fences

³⁹ These figures exclude the two farming families having moved off the peninsula (see point w, Map 3).

(Maps 4a and 4b), the following detailed cases of land inheritance and garden segmentation should be clear.

Case 1. The Green 'Crowd' (A).⁴⁰

John Green first came to fish in Cat Harbour in the summer, returning to Conception Bay each autumn before he finally decided to settle (circa 1820), taking land not claimed on the 'Queen's Head' (see point p, Map 3). He brought with him his wife and young family. William was the sole surviving heir to the large garden (demarcated by trenches and mounds), which he in turn left to his two surviving sons, Ezra and Henry. Ezra, the youngest son, took the half on the west (now gardens IA and IIA) and Henry, the eastern-most half (now gardens IIIA and IVA). Henry applied for and received a grant from the Crown for his land, then left Cat Harbour and sold his garden to Ezra's son, Peter for \$200. Peter then relinquished his claim and it was divided between Ezra's other sons (Peter's brothers), John who took IIA, and Hank who took the portion that is today IA.

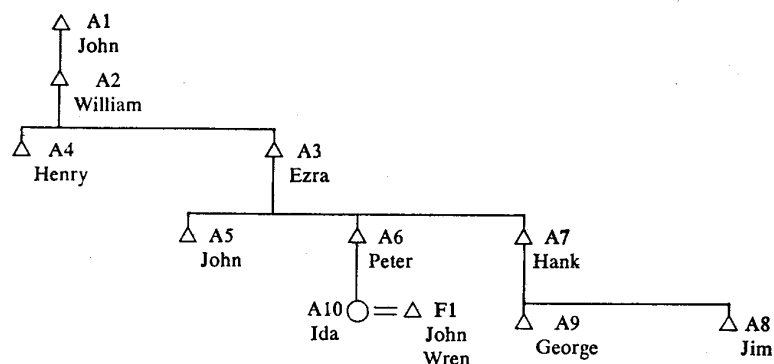


Figure 1. The Green Crowd

Hank built a house in his garden and John, Ezra's youngest son, built his house just behind Ezra's before he was married. When Ezra and his wife died, their house was torn down. As Hank's garden was quite small, he bought a portion of Peter's large garden which he fenced (IVA) and on which he built a house. Hank left Cat Harbour for Hare Bay soon after Jim, his oldest son, was married, and the house (to which Jim made additions) and the land (IVA) were sold to Jim. The land was sold rather than inherited 'so there'd be no bad feelings later' (that is, so his younger brothers would have no claim to it; Jim's brothers still had claim, however, to garden IA, to which their father still held the title). In 1960, Jim's younger brother George, who had been living with his father and stepmother in Hare Bay, came back to fish and live with Jim. George has no claim to Jim's land or house, but does have a claim to his father's garden and house (IA) which he does not appear to be interested in activating, for he is today building a house on the

⁴⁰ All numbers and letters refer to those found on the main genealogy (Appendix Chart 1), and the garden maps, (Map 4a & b). See Legend, p. x for an explanation of the symbols and meanings of the code.

highroad approximately two miles from Cat Harbour in preparation for taking a wife. George and Jim use Hank's old house in garden IA as a store.

Recently, one of Peter Green's daughters, Ida, married John Wren, a lumberjack from Deadman's Bay. As he is away most of the year, he agreed to live in Cat Harbour 'so Ida could stay with her own people.' Peter still has a house full of young children, however, so John Wren and his wife rented a house from Pete Orange in garden IIE, the only available house to them at the time, and until the arrival of the ethnographer, the only house being rented in Cat Harbour. Fully furnished with two bedrooms, it was obtained for twelve dollars per month. During my research, however, John Wren purchased a recently vacated, new house for \$500 in garden VC from Bill Blue, who left the community. John Wren and his wife were living in this house, but the arrangement was still unsettled, for Bill's father, Jake Blue still held the title to the land on which the house was sitting and persistently refused to sell the garden. When I left the field, John Wren was contemplating moving his house to his wife's father's garden (IIIA). Cat Harbour men say of John Wren's settlement in his wife's community, 'He must've not got on with his crowd. Them Wrens is always rowing out. I heard just the other day they'd put up a new fence.'

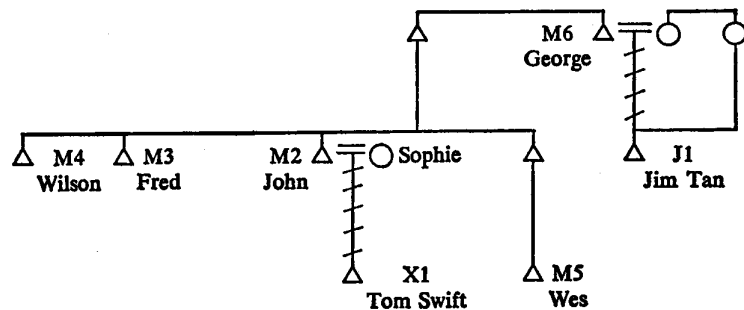
It is perhaps wise to underscore several of the principles behind this case. First, everywhere is demonstrated a consistent tendency for brothers to inherit land equally, but not to full title unless all the demands on the land have been satisfied and unless the title holder (the father) makes public the division of land and gives the heirs rights over disposal.

It is also of interest that both gardens in which John Wren lived (IIE and VC) had no access to the waterfront. What if John had been a fisherman and had required waterfrontage? Of the men who have married into Cat Harbour, it is significant that two of them are lumberjacks and procure their living elsewhere – for it is the economic base, fishing, which reinforces the post-marital residence pattern. It is not the case that John's father-in-law's (Peter Green) garden (IIA) cannot be divided, for it can and probably would have been had it been a son rather than a daughter who married and lived there. It should also be noted that George and Jim Green can live together presumably of choice: Jim has clear title to his house and garden (IVA) while George can exercise no claims – removing from the sibling relationship a frequent source of tension, as brothers are normally co-heirs.

Case 2. Down Harbour Browns (M) vs. Tom Swift Brown (X1).

This case reinforces the principles found in the above example, and illustrates the extent to which the rules of inheritance and surname occupancy are relevant to Cat Harbour conceptions of waterfront land. The 'Down Harbour' Browns (who live in the 'lower' end of 'Upper Harbour' or Seal Cove) are so called to distinguish them from another series of gardens occupied by the Browns living further 'up' Upper Harbour.⁴¹

⁴¹ The latter are, logically, 'Upper Harbour' Browns. The two surname groups (called 'clans'; see Chapter 6, Section A) are now interrelated, but still maintain they are separate clans, especially when explaining the marriage between two people who



($\nexists$ - Adoption)

Figure 2. The Browns

Tom Swift, or 'Tom Brown' as he signs his name, was reared in garden IIM by John and Sophie Brown, who had no children of their own. Tom was an illegitimate child and no relation to either John or his wife. He grew up in Cat Harbour, fished with his adopter, and never married. On the death of John and his wife, Tom began to fish and board with others. It was acknowledged that the gear and house of John Brown were Tom's by inheritance, for he had helped to build the house and had contributed to both the upkeep and purchase of the fishing gear, but the garden (IIM) and its excellent waterfront were claimed by John's living brothers, Fred and Wilson. They insisted the land belonged to the Browns – 'those that are really Browns' – and since Tom was only adopted,⁴² the land belonged to the 'clan' (the patriline). They also insisted that Tom had never married and thus had no one to pass the land to on his death. Moreover, after the death of John, Tom fished with a 'cousin,' Wes Brown – that is, a son of John's brother – using Wes's fishing premises and stage. This provided Fred and Wilson with an additional claim, for they pointed out that Tom was not even using John's land. Tom countered this by breaking up with Wes, and boarding and fishing with Ralph Orange who had no waterfront to his garden (VE). The crew thus made use of Tom's waterfrontage. This did not totally settle the issue; Wilson, over eighty-five at the time of my research, was still bitter about it and felt Tom had no hereditary title to the garden. He claimed the Browns 'still own the land,' and constantly complained about Tom's misuse of the waterfront. Most people in the community were sympathetic to

are both Browns. There is truth in this, however, for 'Upper Harbour' Browns were 17th century settlers in Newfoundland, whereas the ancestors of the 'Down Harbour' Browns came to Newfoundland from Devon late in the 18th century, settling in Cat Harbour in the early 19th century.

42 Adoption in the outport is never processed legally; a child is simply raised by someone other than its parents. Though no distinction is articulated in the process (of 'rearing' adopted children), two statuses pertain to them. They can either 1) maintain their natal name, in which case they are never fully incorporated in the adopting family, in terms of rights and obligations over family members or property, or the community view of their status, or 2) adopt the name of their adopter, in which case they may claim inheritance rights, and in the community view assume a status similar to that of the adopter's actual offspring. The ambiguity surrounding Tom's surname reflects his uncertain status.

Residence

wards Tom's case, and cited as support the precedence established by George Brown, an uncle of Wilson, Fred, and John, who also being childless, gave a portion of his garden to Jim Tan whom he had reared. It is significant that the Browns did not argue that the latter was actually George Brown's wife's sister's son, and that "kinship" was not mentioned, for in the principles of inheritance by clansmen, Jim Tan's claim to his garden (IJ) was just as "shadowy" as Tom Swift's claim to John Brown's garden.

Tom now goes by the name of Tom Brown, although Wilson and Fred Brown still haughtily refer to him as Tom Swift. As mentioned, his claim to the land and its waterfront is seriously weakened by the fact that he had no children – that he was not married. And as will be discussed below (Chapter 6, Section C), this meant he was in a fundamental way not a 'full man.' This is demonstrated in the use of the diminutive 'Tommy' by most people, especially the hostile Browns, but even by those who supported Tom's claim to garden IIM. Diminutives are used to refer to children, never to adult married men who are the heads of households; they are a clear indicator of status.

Case 3. The Corals (R)

A final example will serve to illustrate still another problem posed by the rigid system of land tenure and inheritance found in Cat Harbour.

Eric Coral⁴³ immigrated to Conception Bay from Devonshire, and came to Cat Harbour to fish each summer, where he settled sometime shortly after the turn of the 19th century. He bought a large garden from one of the Roman Catholic settlers for four pounds comprising what are today gardens IR, IIR, IIVR, VR, and a number of plots on the western side of the peninsula. Eric had two sons, Jake and Herb, between whom his garden was divided. Herb's half of the garden was divided in due course between his three sons, Tob, Jim, and Sidney. At this point, further segmentation along the same axis was impossible as IIVR, IVR, and VR are but a single house wide. Jim Coral had several sons, and one, Charles built his house on the western side of 'Back Road,' and used his father's fishing premises. Charles fished with his father and two brothers, Pete and Lloyd. Pete lived with Jim, and Lloyd built his house in the western end of the garden IVR, just to the east of 'Back Road.' When Jim died, the crew broke up and Pete and Charles left Cat Harbour. They sold Lloyd their share in their father's garden (IVR), and Lloyd began to fish with others as a shareman, finally fishing with his cousin, Roger Coral, after the crew to which Roger had belonged, composed of his father Sidney and brother Royde, split up.

Tob had no sons, and when he left Cat Harbour several years ago, Royde Coral bought his house and garden (IIVR). Sidney Coral's youngest son, Roger, built his house at the western end of Sidney's garden (VR). Sidney was Herb Coral's youngest son and inherited the parental home, where he lived until building his present house forty years ago. Royde left Cat Harbour after his house burned down, and garden IIVR is now vacant. This brings gardens IIVR, IVR, and VR down to 1964. With the other half of Eric Coral's garden – that inherited by his other son Jake and today comprising the gardens IR and IIR – the situation is more unusual.

Jake had two sons, Ross and Cecil, between whom he divided his garden. Ross and Cecil built a single large house in the centre of the garden, tearing down the parental home. This arrangement persisted until they both had sons old enough to begin fishing;

43 Eric Coral had a brother who came to Cat Harbour at the same time, and whose only child, George, married a Catholic girl, then left Cat Harbour in the last quarter of the 19th century when the local Catholics were forced out. His descendants may be found on Fogo Island today (cf. Electoral District of Fogo: List of Electors, 1962).

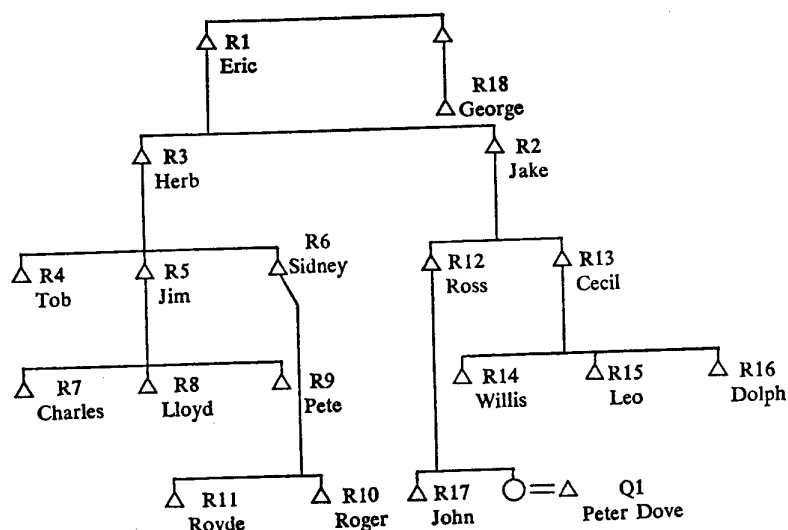


Figure 3. The Coral Genealogy

then their crew split up. Amazingly, the large house was then sawed in half, moved apart slightly, a fence built through the middle of the garden and new fishing premises established, resulting in gardens IR and IIR. Cecil had three sons, Willis, Leo, and Dolph. Willis built a house at the western end of the garden (IIR) on his marriage, but neither Leo nor Dolph ever married, and today still live in the parental home. Cecil and his sons had fished as a crew, which broke up on Cecil's death. But new fishing units were not formed and the garden IIR did not segment further, a fortunate situation since it is little more than one house wide at present. Willis and Leo were both near retirement when the crew broke up, and Dolph today exploits the seal, lobster, and salmon fishery, and occasionally goes as shareman with one of the trap crews. Dolph and Leo now live alone, as their mother died just before I arrived in the field.

Ross Coral had but one son, John who never married and died before his father. Ross had several daughters, however, one of whose husband (Peter Dove) married into Cat Harbour. Peter and his wife lived with her father, and Peter fished with his father-in-law Ross and unmarried brother-in-law John. John died and Ross retired, so Peter was forced to fish with sharemen, or go along as a partner with another crew. Ross later died, and as he left no specific instructions to the contrary, Peter's wife and her sisters claimed title to the garden (IR), the house, the cod traps, and the boat, and engine. Even though Cat Harbour men speak of the shame of circumstances which allow a female to inherit, there appeared to be little feeling that Peter should have been the heir to his father-in-law's estate. 'That's what happens if you settle with your woman's people,' it was said, and Peter is today – over forty years since he first married into the community – a conscious 'stranger,' and often referred to by his wife's maiden surname, 'Peter Coral.' His father-in-law's boat is no longer seaworthy, and Peter no longer uses the garden's (IR) waterfront, but works from the premises of the crew with whom he fishes. Peter uses his wife's cod trap and so usually commands a full share of the voyage, but has no other link to those with whom he fishes – an anomalous situa-

tion in Cat Harbour. He confided to me at one point, 'I'm just like yourself, I'm a stranger here too.'

Peter's plight is compounded by the fact that his offspring are all female, all of whom have married outside Cat Harbour; thus, he is faced with the problem each year of whom he is to fish with. Peter is a pleasant man, yet quick to anger when taunted about his predicament. Cat Harbour men joke with sons who contemplate leaving the community by pointing out Peter's situation. 'Do you want to end up like poor old Peter? He's got nothing, he'll be buried in his woman's box (coffin).' Peter's case points out the lack of structural alternatives in the land tenure and inheritance patterns in Cat Harbour. Moreover, the crowded – indeed, saturated – situation which exists about the usable waterfront made Peter's purchase and resettlement on his own land in another part of Cat Harbour an impossible option.

The purchase of gardens with usable waterfront has been impossible for at least the last twenty years since the present level of land division was reached and the last fences were erected. Although today, several gardens are abandoned, their owners or the descendants of the owners no longer living in Cat Harbour, have clung to the gardens, ostensibly because land with usable waterfront is at a premium and no longer available. This gives them something to come back to should the need arise, but even more than this, the reluctance to sell such land is part of the cognition and conceptualization of the value of land, land tenure, and inheritance patterns which have emerged over the years and persist today.

It is not surprising that the gardens removed from the water have changed hands several times and have been bought by individuals having no kinship connection with the sellers. Few of the fences of 1864 in this area of the peninsula have significance today, and the surnames of the owners of gardens here are not often the same as those of the 1864 owners. Indeed, should the fence collapse in one of these gardens, it is considered common land and again public property. Fences on the waterfront gardens are, however, carefully maintained. I have illustrated the conceptions of monetary worth of the two types of gardens previously. Land without usable waterfront is inherited just as any garden – that is, divided equally between sons – but the exact method of division is random as fencing need not be oriented toward the water.

The above cases suffice to illustrate the principles at work in the inheritance of land and will help clarify the kin categories used in Cat Harbour.⁴⁴ Here it has been my concern to show how gardens move *through* generations. Later, I will discuss (Chapter 7, Section B) the motivations which give rise to segmentation *within* generations. The latter process of division is closely related to cleavages in the fishing core of the garden – the crew.

44 Complete data are available for all Cat Harbour gardens, but a detailed history of multiple cases would simply reiterate the principles behind the cases described.

A. KIN CATEGORIES

Let me repeat that the chapter and section headings are but arbitrary designations and rubrics for purposes of presentation, and that they may not in any way necessarily reflect distinctions or conceptions of Cat Harbour people themselves. I am attempting to document patterns of relationships, frameworks of interaction. But, for example, it is not always possible to make a rigid distinction between kinship and residence as two completely separate concepts, and to do so would skew the view of local people. For the garden in which one lives is as significant a factor in what is usually called "kinship" in bilateral or cognatic societies as the persons to whom one is related in a biological sense. Certain Cat Harbour kin categories are, in fact, based on locality as well as on biology. Kinship cannot be stripped down to irreducible factors, or any "bare bones" devoid of institutional overlay, contrary to the assumptions of many anthropologists who attempt to discuss "kinship" as something *sui generis* in Western, cognatic and bilateral societies.⁴⁵ On the basis of Cat Harbour data, classifications such as "bilateral," or "cognatic" appear quite useless for comparative analysis.

Apart from more sophisticated details,⁴⁶ Cat Harbour folk acknowledge the same physical linkages between persons of the same blood as do Western geneticists; they can trace links to these people with lines on paper, and they can (though they do not always do so) use kin terms for relatives, terms which probably have their semantic base in precise genealogical relationships (cf. Lounsbury, 1965). But they do not always acknowledge that any

⁴⁵ David Schneider, in an exchange with John Beattie on the nature of kinship (see Schneider, 1964; and Beattie, 1964, 1965), suggests that there is a basic "content" to kinship and that it emerges as *something* when stripped of all institutional overlay – economic, jural, and ritual. Schneider suggests that Beattie and others maintain their view (that kinship is simply an *idiom* [position on genealogical grids] for the patterned expression of relationships) because their work has been done in non-western societies, and that they might have occasion to change their view if they were to work in a North American English-speaking community (1964:181). Cat Harbour data, however, would not appear to support this.

⁴⁶ An example of ignorance of detail may be seen in the beliefs about the origin of twins. Some people feel all twins are hereditary, and if on the birth of twins, neither the mother nor her husband had had twins in their family history, there is considerable speculation about the *real* father of the twins.

irreducible biological factors, or lines on paper, or the possibility of extension of a kinship term necessarily mean kinship. Folk kin categories are roughly patterned on genealogical linkages, as they are in most societies – not, however, in a way that is always biologically symmetrical or logical, but which is socially logical and consistent. The facts of blood and marriage simply furnish an avenue, a genealogical grid, as it were, on which relationships may be centered or from which relationships may be chosen. And kinsmen are, in Cat Harbour, those socially determined persons who *may* stand to each other in a given physical manner, with whom one has relationships of an economic, or residential, or religious character. Kinship is a conveniently structured means, an "idiom," as Beattie has suggested (1964:102), not a thing. It is perhaps best summed up in the words of one man who had married his first cousin: 'Oh yes, we're related alright, but you get down to it, so is everyone in the place. We're not really much kin though, not part of the same crowd.' 'Crowd' is an indigenous kin category which will be discussed below.

Reflecting the pattern of rigid virilocal marriage and residence (see Section C), people can usually trace details of their patriline ancestors back to the original English migrants, often with many of the siblings and their birth order. This may be as much as five generations from the informant. Yet they seldom know anything about their mother's people. In one case, two brothers did not go to their mother's father's funeral (in a community fifteen miles away), and when I queried why, one replied, 'He didn't belong to the place (that is, Cat Harbour), so we were never nothing to him. He's not really very much kin.' A type of first-cousin marriage is considered proper, and in some cases, desirable (apart from the more recent endeavours of missionaries), whereas a type of second-cousin marriage is considered much 'too close' and highly improper. This is certainly not the type of "kinship" we might expect from the descendants of West Country Englishmen, nor the type of situation one would expect if there were any irreducible "content" to kinship. What follows, then, is a description of the social meaning of kinship and kin categories.

1. *The 'Crowd.'* This is an extremely flexible term in Cat Harbour, but it can have a specific reference in certain circumstances. A group of young children playing together, a group of people at a 'time' (see Chapter 12, Section B), a group of men gathered to talk, move a boat, or watch something on the sea, or one entire half of the community (as in the 'Dog Cove crowd' or the 'Upper Harbour crowd') may be called a crowd. What of its specific kinship use?

If a woman refers to 'my crowd,' she means specifically her husband and children, such as 'I have to cook for *my* crowd.' A man seldom uses 'my crowd' unless he is an elderly skipper referring to his fishing unit; even this, however, is rare. But if a man or woman use the expression '*our* crowd,' both

may be referring to the economic unit of which they and their spouse are a part; that is, the fishing crew and those involved (including women) in 'putting away the fish' – the 'shore crowd' (Faris, 1966a:225). Or they could be referring to a wider unit comprising all those persons in a garden or group of gardens with the same surname.⁴⁷

I find it useful to distinguish between a *general* 'crowd' and an *effective* 'crowd,' although Cat Harbour people do not linguistically make such a distinction. A general crowd will refer to the occupants of a single garden or group of gardens (commonly adjacent), ideally with the same surname, while an effective crowd will be simply that portion of a general crowd collectively engaged and economically linked in the same fishing endeavour. Any given general crowd, then, may include more than one effective crowd. When people speak of the 'Tan crowd' or the 'Green crowd' or the 'Brown crowd,' they mean the general crowd. If they wish to specify the effective crowd, they usually preface it with the given name of the skipper of the fishing crew, such as 'Jave's crowd,' (meaning the occupants in and around Jabez Brown's garden [VIN] who participate in the common productive economic unit), or 'Al's crowd' (meaning all those occupants in and around Al Brown's garden [VN] who are collectively engaged in the same fishing endeavour). But if (in this case) people talked of the 'Brown crowd,' they would be referring to a general crowd which would include both 'Jave's crowd' and 'Al's crowd,' meaning all the occupants of a group of gardens (VN and VIN) with the surname Brown.

It is sometimes the case that a fishing crew will have a 'shareman' (a man who takes no responsibility for the gear, boat, or expenses of a voyage, but who gets a fixed percentage of the total voyage in exchange for his labour; see Chapter 9, Section A) who has a different surname and who may be unrelated. In this case the effective crowd would have someone with a different surname. But this does not alter the ideal concept in the minds of people that the effective crowd is that portion of a general crowd fishing in common; that is, those occupants of a group of gardens with the same surname fishing together. For ideally (and actually, in over 70 percent of all cases – see Chapter 7, Section B), a crew is composed of male agnates: those resident mates of the same surname. They may be brothers, father and sons, or patrilineal parallel cousins.

It may also be that a man will marry into Cat Harbour, thus bringing a strange surname into his wife's crowd. This is rare, however, and does not alter the ideal in Cat Harbour cognition. If the introduced surname persists over generations, it will give rise to a separate and distinct crowd (as is the situation in two cases). Thus, a significant feature of the crowd, both general and effective, is that the inclusion of in-marrying spouses is understood.

An effective crowd may have, for example, a small vegetable garden in

47 A youth, if using the term 'our crowd' would usually be referring to those of the household, though he may also adopt the adult use of the phrase.

common, and women who are (Faris, 1966a:222ff) active in processing fish, cutting throats, heading, gutting, salting and curing. Women are a real part of the economic structure of the effective crowd, the latter being more than just a fishing crew. If people are referring to the men in the boat only (the crew), they will use the term 'crew.' Moreover, the crew, without spouses and affines ashore to help 'put the fish away,' is severely handicapped. Unmarried men, widowers, or those whose wives are sick, make an attempt to substitute with a sister or a mother; otherwise, the discrepancy is reflected in the reduced share the "handicapped" male receives of the total voyage. To have a spouse in a fishing unit is desirable for economic reasons and therefore, many men are unwilling to take on crew members who cannot also contribute someone to the 'shore crowd.'

The crowd, then, is a group of people, ideally with the same surname and occupants of the same garden or group of gardens, who may be linked in a common economic endeavour. It is a territorial concept, but cannot be divorced from the kinship reference.⁴⁸ This is in contrast to another kin category based exclusively on surname – the 'clan.'

2. 'Clan.' The term 'clan' is used less frequently than crowd and has but one specific reference. It refers only to those kinsmen having the same surname from birth – in other words, the patriline. People say the clan are 'the people who are *really* Browns (or Greens, or Grays).' All women marrying in, including one's own mother, are excluded, as noted in a conversation I was having with one man over his peculiar ears (a malformation called locally 'apricot ears' and thought to be the result of inbreeding; though the five individuals with such ears are teased, there is no stigma attached). I asked him if there was anyone else in the family who had them, and he replied, 'No, none of our clan has apricot ears except Bill (his brother) and me; they come from mother's people.'

Often it appears the term crowd is used interchangeably with clan, but this simply reflects the fact that the difference between the two is rarely relevant in everyday activities, and there is a large percentage of common personnel. The clan is most commonly distinguished from the crowd in talking about a hereditary trait – or what Cat Harbour people regard as hereditary – such as greed, flat-footedness, or a particular skill. I have heard, for example, 'Oh, the Pink clan, they've always been like that,' in this case, noted for their economic aggressiveness and greed.

As it includes out-marrying siblings the clan is not simply those agnates now resident in Cat Harbour, nor, it would seem, even those patrikinsmen still living, for dead patrikinsmen are often spoken of as if they were still aging. In fact, listening to a conversation, one knows who is living and who

48 Note that the Cat Harbour crowd closely approximates Murdock's "clan": a "compromise kin group" (Murdock, 1949:69). The crowd is, in every sense, a local descent group which incorporates in-marrying spouses.

is dead only by the prefix 'poor' attached to the name of the deceased. A man, on attempting to establish the date of a particular event, said, 'Well, it was the same year Grandfather Gray lost his boat in the ice, and poor Grandfather must be 140 now.' Only agnates who have residential depth are foci for the clan, and time is often measured in terms of incidents involving deceased patrikinsmen.

Unlike the crowd, the clan seldom has any corporate reality, being involved collectively only on such occasions as the rare land dispute and funerals. (Most funerals, however, include non-clan affines – 'cunny kin' – as well; it is chiefly only at the funerals of suicides and of children that 'mourners' are exclusively clansmen. See Chapter 12, Section A.) The distinction between crowd and clan was clearly pointed out in a conversation I had concerning the composition of a mourning party (a suicide victim). I had asked why the wife of the deceased's son was not included with the mourners, and was met with, 'Well, you see, it wasn't the whole crowd; only the clan were mourners.'

Females are, of course, clanswomen, but as they have no claim on the waterfront land or the house and gear of their fathers and brothers (except where there are no surviving male siblings), and as they may have married out of the community, they usually have little to do with their natal clan for they become part of the husband's crowd – a group with territorial reality and often with common economic pursuits.

As there are nineteen surnames in Cat Harbour today, there are theoretically nineteen clans. But five of the surnames were brought into Cat Harbour by men still living in 1964, and having no genealogical depth in the community. Three of them are those of men having married in, two others of men adopted into the settlement. Local people may be familiar with the natal clans of these men (for example, John Wren [F1]), but they do not form the foci at the present for local clans, from the Cat Harbour perspective. If these men leave male offspring and the surname acquires genealogical and residential depth locally, then a notion of clan will probably emerge. Four of the five individuals (and their families) have been assimilated, just as any in-marrying spouse, into the crowds of the persons to whom they are married or by whom they were adopted. The one exception, L, is a man who ten years ago moved with his family onto land owned by a childless uncle (a mother's brother) no longer living in Cat Harbour. Except for his uncle's absence from Cat Harbour, he is in somewhat the same structural position as those adopted into the community. Table 5 below shows the origin of the surnames, and the acknowledged clans and crowds of the community today.

3. 'Cunny Kin.' One's 'cunny kin' are simply some of one's in-laws. It is not applied to all people who stand in an affinal relationship, but specifically to those brought about by one's own marriage and the marriages of one's sib-

lings. Cunny kin are, then, one's spouse's people, both affines and consanguines, and the spouse and their siblings of one's own siblings. A man may, of course, not know many of his wife's relatives, as she may have come from another community some distance away.

TABLE 5
Cat Harbour Surnames*

	Surnames	'Clans'	'Crowds' (General)
1) Surnames 'belonging' in Cat Harbour, introduced by 18th and 19th century migrants			
A, B, C, E, H, K, N, M, R, S.	10	10	10
2) Surnames introduced into Cat Harbour by marriage			
F†(A), Q†(B), T†(D), G, P.	5	2	2
3) Surnames introduced into Cat Harbour by adoption			
L†, O†(J), D, J.	4	2	3
TOTALS	19	14	15

* These exclude two aged widowers having moved into the community after the death of their wives – one a local man's wife's father, the other a local man's father's mother's brother (see Table 4).

† Those surnames not having been in Cat Harbour long enough to establish the residential depth necessary to become foci for 'clans.' Apart from L, they are all part of indigenous 'crowds,' indicated beside them in parenthesis.

I have heard men say, when talking about another community, 'Oh yes, I think I've got some cunny kin there.' Women also use the term and in the same way, but not as often for they are more importantly members of another category which includes both them and their husband's people – the crowd. If two women of the same garden (that is, in-marrying members of the same crowd) are known not to get along, however, it may be expressed as one example I heard, 'Elsie's vexed with her cunny kin again,' meaning she was angry with one or more of her husband's brother's wives; that is, spouses of her affines. It is common for female 'cunny kin' of the same garden to not get along, and there may be competition, hostility, or no communication between them at all. Much of this may reflect the tensions between their respective husbands also – the tensions between brothers.

Links of cunny kinship are nearly always individual ties, the category being ego-focused for each individual and never emerging in any corporate form. They are brought about by one's own marriage and one's siblings' marriages to and from whom certain rights and obligations are extended and

expected. For example, if a group of brothers or patrikinsmen need a man to complete their crew and no other members of the residential crowd are available, they will consider first an available cunny kinsman – a sister's husband or the brother of one of their wives, or even a wife's sister's husband. This man may come from an adjacent settlement 'down' the shore or be a local. A man can usually borrow a gun or a small punt from a cunny kinsman and the request is normally honoured. It is generally dyadic economic and social aids of this sort which surround cunny kinship. Male cunny kinsmen may go hunting together, visit each other, and be on quite friendly terms.

How far the category is extended depends on the extent to which one is interested in acknowledgement; theoretically, it is boundless. It is regarded as applicable to the whole of one's wife's people, though in practice, it usually involves only her parents and her siblings and their spouses. It is also usually reserved for the spouses of one's siblings (and their siblings); that is, affines, and affines of affines of the same generation or 'race,' as the generational levels are expressed locally. A mother's brother, for example, is 'father's cunny kin,' as is a father's sister's husband. Similarly, a son-in-law or a daughter-in-law are not regarded as one's own cunny kin, but those of one's children. I have heard the term applied to the spouses of cousins only occasionally, and all clansmen's spouses may not be referred to as cunny kin. Perhaps this is best summed up in the response of one man whom I was presenting with all sorts of hypothetical alternatives. 'Well, I'm just not sure. When you get down to it, everyone's your cunny kin,' indicating that the boundaries of the category (within the generational limits) for any given person, are arbitrary. Though not always, cunny kinship may cease to be acknowledged with the death of the linking individual: a relationship between a man and his dead sister's husband was described as, 'We used to be cunny kin.'

There are numerous advantages in a wide system of cunny kin with whom one can activate relationships, on whom one has claim, though the reciprocal also operates. Still, in discussing the virtues of marrying someone 'who belongs to the place' or to an adjacent community, the resultant wider group of nearby cunny kin is always held to be one advantage.

Everyone in Cat Harbour is linked to everyone else by a 'kin' tie of one sort or another.⁴⁹ There are the ties of 'clanship,' dividing the society and ties of 'cunny kinship,' linking the diverse segments. I will treat marriage restrictions in more detail below (Section C), but suffice it to say that people appear to be pleased if crowds or clans are 'linked' by successive marriages, and say, 'It helps keep us together.' There is little doubt that the cross-cutting ties inhibit major schisms between clan groups. Cunny kinship between males

49 Following Cat Harbour usage, I include both affinity and consanguinity in speaking of kinship and kin ties.

of the same generation (brothers-in-law) cross-cut clan lines and are, in general, free of competition and the tense fraternal relationships resulting from joint claims to a single piece of land or fishing gear, and the strain of intense and close economic interaction. This latter behaviour also extends to the cunny kinship of in-marrying females of the same crowd who get along.

4. '*Fork Kin.*' There is one other ego-focused kin category in Cat Harbour called 'fork kin.' This is a vague and overlapping category, in essence, a link to those with whom one has a tie of some sort which is unnatural, extraordinary, or in some way apart from the normal kinship links established in the usual course of events. This will become more apparent by looking at who is one's potential 'fork kin': 1) step-kin including step-parents, step-siblings, step-children; 2) half-siblings, of either common parent; 3) adopted children, parents, or siblings; and 4) illegitimacies, by which is meant offspring of a union in which the participants are not man and wife, thus including children of pre-marital and extra-marital affairs. The fork kin in this case are the offspring and all males speculated to have been involved. As well as being a residual category to take care of linkages that do not fit elsewhere, there is also a logic operative in the use of the term. Often, mention of fork kin is regarded as gossip and there is considerable speculation about some cases, particularly those surrounding illegitimacies. A few examples will illustrate this category better than my own description.

I once asked about the relationship between a childless couple and a girl (a daughter of the husband's sister) they had reared: 'She's Skipper Ralph's daughter (the husband's sister's husband), but Henry and Clara (the childless couple) took her and reared her up – Skipper Ralph had a lot of kids and Henry and Clara didn't have any. She's not their real daughter you know; they're only fork kin.' In another instance, I asked a man why he did not include one of his paternal uncles in his account to me of his father's siblings. He replied, 'Well, you see, he and Uncle John were not full brothers, only fork kin – that's what we call half-brothers. Grandfather Scarlet had more than one wife, and Father and Uncle John had different mothers.' On one occasion, I asked why a young man had moved out when his widowed father married again. I was told, 'Sometimes fork kin don't get on too well. Emma's not his mother. Bill (the young man in question) probably won't get on with Walt – that's Emma's boy – too good either.' Illegitimacy covers the last and most common application of the term. Cat Harbour folk are constantly 'seeing' physical resemblances between men and offspring of women other than their wives, especially if the man is known or suspected to have been intimate with a particular woman. Several children in the community who are supposed to be the result of such extra-marital unions look like their suspected genitors, and in talking about one such case, I asked just

who involved would be fork kin. It was agreed that both the pater and the genitor would be fork kin to the offspring, and vice versa, but not the mother. Likewise, the child's half-siblings would technically be her fork kin.

A small community to the west, Deadman's Bay (see Map 2), is regarded by Cat Harbour people as extremely uncivilized, unprogressive, illiterate, and backward. In discussing the hiring for a new slipway the federal government was building there, men were speculating on the relationships between the Deadman's Bay foreman and those he was hiring to work on the project. One man said he was hiring all his own crowd, when another said, 'He's hiring his fork kin.' A third man got roars of laughter with 'Why, they're all fork kin in Deadman's Bay, sure!'

The latter two kin categories of cunny kin and fork kin are ego-focused and different for each individual, whereas crowd and clan are group designations based on surname and residence, having a bounded membership and possible corporate activities. Very rarely is the term "family" used, so that the enigma of the government survey and the official census lies in attempting to isolate just what a family is. If asked how many families are in the community, Cat Harbour people are confused and have to ask for more specific instructions. They can, however, quickly relate the number of general or effective crowds, or the number of clans. Any notion of a personal kindred is weakly developed, and it does not appear that Cat Harbour people think of an ascending or descending fan-like structure incorporating all their ancestors or descendants, with the exception of those in the patriline.⁵⁰

Perhaps more than many other social institutions, kin categories reflect the historical and ecological basis of the community as well as its genealogies and its biology: the need for male units in economic pursuits gave rise to recruitment based on agnatic kinship, which is reinforced and maintained by the virilocal residence patterns.

B. SEX AND AGE

1. *Men and Women.* In a fishing community one might reasonably expect a sharp division of labour along sexual lines, and Cat Harbour is certainly no exception. Factors of residence and marriage have made the dichotomy even more rigid, for marital restrictions and virilocal residence mean that women often come from the outside, from communities adjacent to Cat Harbour or further away (see Section C). Women are, in 65 percent of the cases, 'strangers,' and are viewed by those who 'belong to the place' with a

50 This is all in contrast to most studies of "western" kinship with which I am familiar. Indeed, of the six significant differences between kinship in "primitive" society and that in sectors of "western" society outlined by Firth (1956), Cat Harbour emerges as a primitive society. It is even markedly different from kinship in a West Country village (Williams, 1963) though Cat Harbour folk are West Country descendants.

certain amount of suspicion. The stranger is potentially evil, and the several implications of this are in the way people think about the sexes.

Witchcraft (see Chapter 10, Section B, for a discussion of the folk supernatural) is regarded as being inherent in the personality and character of strangers. But as in-marrying women are the most common strangers, the answer to the query, 'who may be a witch?' may often be just 'women.' On receipt of this answer I confronted informants with a case of a male witch on which I had data, and was told by one, 'Yes, but he was a stranger, sure.' All women are, in consequence of the marriage patterns, loosely thought of as being potential witches, even though I have never documented a case of a witch, male or female, who 'belonged to the place.'

Similarly, women are regarded as pollutants 'on the water,' and the more traditional men would not consider going out if a woman had set foot in the boat that day; they are 'jinkers' (that is, jinxes; see Chapter 10, Section B) even unwittingly. It would be, however, a rare woman who would consider such an act, for she is aware of her structural position in the outpost society and the cognition surrounding her sex. Prior to the seal fishery of 1964, I asked several wives of men going 'on the ice' how they thought the men would do, what sort of success they would have, and what they thought about their husbands partaking of such a rigorous and dangerous task. All my queries, however, were met with a marked reticence to reply at all. This seemed puzzling until one woman explained, 'You don't dare say anything, cause if it goes bad, they'll say you witched it.'

This extends further, however. A cod trap berth or salmon net berth on which one depends quite heavily, is male. Similarly, new and strong boats are 'he's,' but on getting older, leaky, and unreliable, they become 'she's.'⁵¹ A knot or mooring which fails or becomes untied is called a 'woman's knot' or a 'cowardly woman's mooring.' Men in the past attempted to trade coins, particularly fifty cent pieces having the replica of the Queen (Victoria), for those called 'King's head' half-dollars, as the former were regarded as unlucky. Similarly, few homes have pictures of the present queen, although a number display George V, George VI, and even Edward VII, and John F. Kennedy.

Cats, regarded as undependable and only necessary because they keep down the rat population, are all feminine, even tomcats, and one woman explained her scarred male cat to me: 'You know how it is with tomcats, she's always getting into fights.' Dogs, on the other hand, which are no longer used

51 In the English-speaking world, boats and ships are most commonly feminine. I can find no reference to boats, whether or not dependable, as masculine objects. Cat Harbour men, when confronted with this curious shift in sexual association, laugh and insist there is no logical explanation. One man suggested it was because men were stronger than women, another that, 'You can't count on women and old boats; they'll both leak after a few years.'

for transport, but treated with affection and kept strictly as pets,⁵² are regarded as masculine and given masculine names: 'Bud? Oh he's had about three litters already.'

Cat Harbour, quite apart from the gender symbolism, is a male-dominated society. As has been pointed out, only men can normally inherit property, or smoke and drink, and the increasingly frequent breach of this by women is the source of much gossip (and not a negligible amount of conflict and resentment). Men are seated at meals first and eat together while women and children eat afterwards. Men are given the choicest and largest portions, and sit at the same table with a stranger or guest. Many times I was served tea alone at a table if no males of the house were present, and even though I knew the families well, the women stood at the edge of the table to chat, declining my invitation to sit: 'No thanks, we're used to standing and waiting on the men.'

In referring to a particular household, it was always prefaced with the name of the male head, rarely of the woman; the extent to which a female's role is subservient to that of her husband is brought out most aptly in the fact that the small children who visited the ethnographer's house daily addressed my wife as 'Mr. Faris,' according her, at least terminologically, no unique status apart from my own.

The emancipation of women which is slowly taking place (before I left the field, I had discovered rumours of four women suspected of smoking, and two were known to sometimes drink) is the cause of some concern. At an annual congregational meeting of the United Church, the United Church Women (who raise most of the money to support the Church through a series of suppers, plays, and 'concerts' – all involving immense amounts of work) requested that the stewards and trustees (all men) consider painting the floor of the church. A painted floor made it easier to clean the church, a job which fell to the women. It might be added that this request was in no small way motivated by the fact that the floor of the Kingdom Hall of the Jehovah's Witnesses had recently been painted. The men refused, however, claiming that the budget would not allow the expenditure, whereupon one outgoing woman stood and said, 'Next year the UCW (United Church Women) will see the church floor painted before we turn over the money we've earned to the men' (that is, to the stewards and trustees). This is considered a grave situation by the men, because of the usurping of power and the fact that 'women ought to know their place' and not even suggest a course of action not fully approved by the males.

Women work hard and long, especially during the fishing season; for not only do they have to cook five or six meals ('lunches') each day for the

⁵² People today keep only small 'krakies,' and have killed or sold most of the part-Husky sled dogs which once abounded. They were not pets; being considered fierce and dangerous, they were kept in enclosures under stores and stages, and tied at all times.

fishermen, but do all their household chores,⁵³ mind children, and help 'put away fish.' They seldom have time to visit extensively, usually only a few minutes to and from the shop or post office. The occasion of collective activity, such as the weekly cleaning of the school, church services, or UCW functions (or Jehovah's Witnesses' Bible studies), the occasional 'time,' wedding, or funeral, and even putting away of fish are looked forward to. Men, on the other hand, spend each evening arguing, gossiping, and 'telling cuffers' in the shop, and have numerous breaks during the day. A woman's role (or at least the façade I observed) is not enviable. A man without a wife is like a man without a good boat or a good horse and a woman is, in the division of shares of a voyage, considered an item of her husband's capital, just as a cod trap or an engine (see Chapter 9, Section A).⁵⁴

2. 'Races.' Although I have stressed that the dominant strains and cleavages in the society are *intragenerational*, there are many objective *intergenerational* differences and distinctions between different age groups of the same generation. Any category of persons defined by relative age or generation criteria is called a 'race.' This may refer to an entire generation, as of a parental race, or to a particular age category, as of a race of post-adolescent girls. The term is a shifting designation and not necessarily specific to a concretely defined age category. Several broad age categories can be analytically separated, however, which may in some contexts be called races, each having implications in other spheres of social life.⁵⁵

Infants and pre-school children or 'little kids' are usually separated by their parents from playmates of different religion. There is no functional reason for this; children are usually under the close watch of their mothers who, being concerned with the religious dichotomy in the community, nor-

⁵³ It must be remembered that washing involves heating water on a wood stove, that all bread is baked at home, that most of the family clothing is hand-sewn, and that the mitts, socks, and sweaters must be knit from local wool, which until 1965, they sheared, washed, carded, and spun themselves.

⁵⁴ It might be argued that these cultural associations and these statements are an artifact of method, for I spent most of my time with men, fishing and in the shops.

⁵⁵ Although Cat Harbour is a society with marked horizontal discriminations – and there are much finer age distinctions than I outline here – it does not follow that the major cleavages are between generations, a hypothesis that Cumming and Schneider suggest in their American kinship studies (1961). Indeed, sibling solidarity, a critical point in their analysis, is lacking in Cat Harbour, where, of all kin-based interpersonal relationships, the ties between brothers are the weakest. The study by Cumming and Schneider was based on structural interviews and the informants were not *observed to behave* in the way they responded in the interview. If my analysis of Cat Harbour kinship were based exclusively on *what I was told* to the neglect of behaviour I observed, my conclusions might be more in accord with those of Cumming and Schneider. I am not attempting to cast doubt on Schneider's contributions to the study of kinship, but it appears much of his work is concerned with how things ought to work rather than how they do work, and he is not always careful to make the distinction clear.

mally visit only other women of the same conviction. There is no attempt to separate children of this age on the basis of sex. Discipline is most commonly threats of the folk supernaturals: the 'mummers' and the 'black man' and 'strangers'; corporal punishment is rare. Except for close kinsmen and neighbours, most people, including other women, do not know the names of these children and they seldom are regarded as social persons.

Pre-adolescents ('kids') are all in school and although they are no longer separated on religious lines, they separate themselves on sexual lines. Boys indulge in a number of exclusively male games peculiar to this age category, play in the punts and boats during the summer and on the ice pans during the winter. They identify strongly with their fathers or older brothers and attempt to help in every male activity, although only occasionally are they allowed to go out to the fishing grounds or take active part in the activities of their fathers. Girls of this age give lip service to things female and ostensibly detest boys and their activities; but as they are often subjected to light housework, washing-up, and minding younger siblings, the attachment to the female work-world is tenuous. Although there are a number of games peculiar to girls, they can often be observed initiating one of the boys' games among themselves, and some openly aspire to be male and do male things. By this time they can clearly see the privileged position of the male and are already experiencing the drudgery of female work roles.

Young girls are admonished by their mothers not to marry fishermen but to leave the community lest they wish a life of toil and hardship. The same is true with boys at this age, for they are dissuaded by both parents from becoming fishermen. But the male role in Cat Harbour is, on the face of things, far more glamorous to young people of this 'race' than that of the adult married woman, the fisherman's wife.

Both sexes have an important social role in the community as they are counted upon by parents, especially mothers, to purvey messages, run errands, go to the shop (since eating patterns, like much of Cat Harbour life, are highly formalized, shopping decisions are few and the purchases minimal and routinized), and collect and relay information gleaned by observation. In this latter role they are indispensable. Children of this age group have full run of the community and enter anyone's house without knocking. They are not yet endowed with specific personalities by adults other than parents, and are in actuality part of the background – the setting. Alone or in groups, boys and girls come in without a word and take a seat (always in the kitchen), sometimes staying up to an hour. They require no acknowledgement, and during the entire time will say nothing, simply listen. On their return home, they will be asked where they have been and what is 'new' (this has important implications in the dynamics of conversation; see Chapter 11), whereupon they will relate all they have heard and witnessed with remarkable detail. In the case of a stranger such as the ethnographer, children were actually sent

by the mothers to collect information and report back. The utility of children in this role cannot be underestimated, for women often can not leave the house, so this technique forms a vital method of acquiring news. It is also the case that children of this age category relay information they have seen and heard with considerable objectivity, without bias of interpretation which might characterize the same information if related by an adult or an older child.

Children at this age are still disciplined by threats of the outside world and the folk supernatural and by threats of physical punishment as well, though the latter is rarely forthcoming.

There is no distinguishable age group that may be called adolescents, and those going through puberty are not demarcated in any special way or by special terms. The fact of puberty makes a boy or girl 'hard,' and 'hard' boys and girls belong to a clearly demarcated 'race.' The adolescent, however, fits neither here nor there, and coming of age in Cat Harbour appears to be an emotionally trying time. It is then that children begin to present a more reserved façade, largely supported by parents, who warn them of the dangers of over-emotional expression, overzealous friendships and interaction, and instill the values placed on predictable behaviour and perfected response. Children begin to experience the caution, reserve, and inhibited, impersonal, and formal behaviour characteristic of adult society, becoming aware of the dangers of exploitation and ostracism when emotionally exposed.

Post-adolescents still in school ('hard boys' and 'hard girls') who have heretofore been sent to Church or Kingdom Hall by their parents, usually make their lasting religious choice, which today, means turning away from the Jehovah's Witnesses (see Chapter 10, Section A). They may not become adherents of the United Church, however, in spite of the ethic of their elders that 'You've got to be something.' As the Jehovah's Witnesses congregation servant expressed it, 'They go after education.' It is at this time that youth stop attending plays and 'concerts' (a collection of skits, recitations, dialogues, and so on) and are expected to serve and to begin to participate; they begin to prepare for accepting the roles in the social milieu which they inherit. The girls of this category baby-sit less, adopt the behaviour of adult females such as visiting the sick, and take elaborate preparations with their hair and dress. They are no longer interested in male games nor have any desire to change their sex. They are firmly committed and resigned to being females, confident that they have something males want, and receive attention because of their sex. Boys at this time take a zealous interest in ice hockey, and less interest in the activities of their fathers. It is no longer considered a privilege to be allowed to go fishing, but a distinct chore, and they begin to demand some type of share in the voyage.

Post-adolescents are no longer used to gather or relay information, but rather, begin to participate in community gossip. They now feel conspicuous

and avoid visiting in houses they formerly entered indiscriminately, unless it is the home of a close kinsman or age-mate of the same sex. Their names are known by everyone in the community and they each have specific social personalities. Youth of this age category spend a great deal of time at their studies, having an hour or so away from lessons on week nights. They have most of the weekend evenings free, however, and collect in a small shop known as 'the restaurant' built, significantly, facing 'Back Road.'

Running around the perimeter of the settled area and separating the dwellings from the fishing stores, stages, and wharves is 'Front Road' (point f, Map 3), the important road in the past, but no longer a focus of attention as the newly-completed highroad into the settlement follows what is known as 'Back Road' (point e, e₁, Map 3). Prior to the coming of the highroad, courting couples would walk down the quiet deserted Back Road, as Front Road was the social road and the focus of open-air activity. Today, however, the situation is reversed, and Back Road is the focus of attention and exchange, the courting couples having migrated to the now-deserted Front Road.

Since the arrival of electricity (in 1963), the restaurant has a jukebox and a coin-operated pool table. It is at this age that members of the opposite sex become relevant in after-school activities, with the post-adolescents gathering in the restaurant *en masse* on weekends. It is here that liaisons are arranged. As mentioned, courting takes place on the deserted Front Road in parked vehicles and fish-store lofts or, if the weather permits, under the 'flakes' (structures on which fish are dried). It is axiomatic that courting means physical familiarity, yet it is not often that a couple court each other exclusively. Exchange is frequent and desired, and wide experience is sought by both sexes.

Marriage follows closely after secondary school unless a girl goes away for further schooling or to St. John's to work. The young women who leave may come home during the summer or at Christmas if roads are open, but are, sociologically speaking, no longer significant as part of the pool of marriageable females.

Young men finishing or quitting school and remaining in the community must be considered apart from the post-adolescent youths considered above, although there is no specific term or designation given this category. In local cognition, there are 'hard' boys, then 'men' – a term which implies a concrete economic and familial status. Unmarried men are not whole in a very real way, as I have repeatedly pointed out. There are few structural options for the unmarried adult.

The situation today is somewhat complicated by the fact that, for the first time, young people are completing school, then entering directly into trades schools, or the outside job market, or university. There is no period between school (or job) and potential marriage. Today the young men complete

school, then usually leave the community. In previous years, however, only the fortunate had more than five or six years of schooling, and thus the passing from hard-boyhood into manhood was marked only by marriage, and not by concrete activities such as school graduation or an outside job. For the structurally disinherited individual, the adult bachelor, we cannot speak of a 'race' or an age status between that of hard boys and men. Cat Harbour does not have the female equivalent, as spinsters are unknown.

On marriage, a man immediately "qualifies" for the evening shop gatherings. Bachelors, on the other hand, spend their evenings in the restaurant, where there is an occasional girl they may take out. Usually, however, they talk among themselves, or if they have access to a car, go to Wesleyville where they can buy beer (except for that which is home-brewed, no other beer is obtainable in Cat Harbour) and attempt to pick up girls. Locally, the bachelors today regard an automobile as necessary for obtaining a wife. As they are living with parents, they can often save money for outlays of this sort (though they may contribute to the household budget), whereas the young married man who has a house and family, can seldom consider purchases as substantial as an automobile.

C. MARRIAGE

1. *Preference.* Cat Harbour men give every impression that they prefer to marry local women. Fathers in former times admonished their sons, 'You don't want to marry too far away; you can't trust them'; I have pointed out the oft-expressed advantage of marrying a local girl to establish a wide system of cunny kin and to "link" once again clans united by a previous marriage. Moreover, the premarital courting practices often appear to leave little latitude of choice, as marriages are, in over 71 percent of all cases, a result of children, and not vice versa.⁵⁶ It is surprising, then, to find that over 65 percent of the wives in Cat Harbour are from the outside. It may appear that there is some discrepancy between the statistical pattern and ideal statements about what ought to be. But the problem is a false one, and in actual fact, no discrepancy exists. Men do prefer local women for reasons outlined above; it is simply that only some 35 percent of the local women are eligible mates, for exogamic restrictions exclude a number of local females, and factors such as proper age and appeal also reduce the alternatives available to any given individual at a particular time. Moreover, unmarried sharemen coming into Cat Harbour in the summer often marry local girls whom they take back to their homes, and other local girls go to St. John's to seek work. They do not leave because they cannot find husbands; on the contrary, they

56 Of the women who demonstrated their fertility, 71.4% conceived before marriage (the latter based on the birth of fully developed children within nine months of the marriage date). This may be seen on Chart 6, Appendix.

leave to avoid marrying fishermen, preferring the bright lights of the city to the inevitable toil of a fisherman's wife. The total of these factors leave local men and women few alternatives. Somewhat paradoxically, Cat Harbour must trade its sisters and daughters for women who may be complete 'strangers.'

From where, then, do these women come? In many cases, men marry girls from nearby communities – girls who come into Cat Harbour 'in service'; that is, to work in the fish stages or as domestic help in preparing meals for the larger crews. Other wives, however, are courted in their natal settlements and brought to Cat Harbour on marriage, and others are teachers who come into the community from other parts of the Island. Many of these girls become pregnant and are married (see Chart 6, Appendix).

Two thirds, then, of the marriages are with outsiders, with strangers. But in view of the fact that men were formerly admonished to marry 'close,' it may be relevant to examine the origins of the marital partners. In keeping with general local cognition, I have documented the marriages with 1) local women; 2), those with women from within socio-economic area 'A' (see p. 45 and Map 2) but outside Cat Harbour; 3) those with women from area 'B,' the extent of the local socio-economic universe (see p. 46 and Map 1) but outside Cat Harbour and area 'A'; and 4) those marriages contracted with spouses from outside Cat Harbour, area 'A,' and area 'B.' Those spouses of category 4 are, with few exceptions, teachers who came from other parts of Newfoundland. I have divided the data into two tables to see if there is a significant shift in the marriage pattern over time. Both tables ignore those having married out and those married couples moving neolocally, and are purely from the local perspective. Table 6 (A and B) documents the origins of spouses since 1920; Table 7 (A and B) documents the origins of spouses prior to 1920 on which data were available. The date 1920 is arbitrary, but convenient since it means there have been almost two generations since that time (that is, the children of those born in 1920 would now be marrying and producing offspring).

TABLE 6A
Origins of Cat Harbour Married Females (married after 1920)

Origin	Number		
1) Cat Harbour women	24	(34.2%)	
2) Outside Cat Harbour, but within eight miles (i.e., area 'A')	18	(25.7%)	} 50%
3) Within approx. 50–70 miles, but greater than eight miles (i.e., area 'B')	17	(24.3%)	
4) Elsewhere – outside area 'B'	11	(15.8%)	
	70	100.0%	65.8%

TABLE 6B
Origins of Cat Harbour Married Males (married after 1920)

Origin	Number	
1) Cat Harbour men	65	(90.2%)
2) Outside Cat Harbour, but within eight miles (i.e., area 'A')	1	(1.4%)
3) Within area 'B,' but greater than area 'A'	1	(1.4%)
4) Elsewhere – outside area 'B'	1	(1.4%)
	72*	100.0%*

* These totals also include 2 aged widowers having moved into the community after the death of their wives (one from area 'A,' the other from area 'B') to live with kinsmen, and two men (both of area 'A') having moved to Cat Harbour with their families. In all of these cases, however, they are regarded differently than men who marry into the community, and have an entirely separate structural position.

TABLE 7A
Origins of Cat Harbour Married Females (married prior to 1920)*

Origin	Number		
1) Cat Harbour women	31	(38.8%)	
2) Area 'A,' but outside Cat Harbour	21	(26.2%)	} 47.4%
3) Within area 'B' but greater than area 'A'	17	(21.2%)	
4) Elsewhere – outside area 'B'	11	(13.8%)	
	80	(100.0%)	61.8%

TABLE 7B
Origins of Cat Harbour Married Males (married prior to 1920)*

Origin	Number
1) Cat Harbour men	all others
2) Area 'A,' but outside Cat Harbour	2
3) Within area 'B' but greater than area 'A'	1
4) Elsewhere – outside area 'B'	0

* Tables 7A & 7B exclude the original migrants to Cat Harbour and refer only to those marriages for which I have records, some with spouses still living. It is not an exhaustive universe of all marriages since the original migrations and prior to 1920, however.

It can be seen from comparing Tables 6 and 7 that few differences are indicated in time, and since only 4 percent fewer of the marriages from 1920 to 1964 are with local women, it can hardly be said that the ethic against marrying women 'too far away' has broken down, even given easier access to more distant points.

Table 8 (A and B) traces the destinations of those individuals marrying out of Cat Harbour (of whom they or their spouse is still living today). Information is difficult to obtain and unreliable for unions of which both spouses are dead. It can be seen that for females, a greater number married outside the local socio-economic universe, areas 'A' and 'B,' than came from outside these areas into Cat Harbour on marriage. This is undoubtedly a result of the larger numbers of girls leaving Cat Harbour for St. John's, than of outside teachers coming into the community (the latter traditionally the only source of women from outside the local socio-economic universe). The exchange of women with area 'A' was about even, though slightly more women married into area 'B' than came into Cat Harbour from area 'B' on marriage, thereby lending some support to the axiom that men ought to marry 'close.'

TABLE 8A

Females Marrying out of Cat Harbour (of whom either they or their spouse is still living)

Post-marital residence	Number	
1) Area 'A' but outside Cat Harbour	16	(22.9%)
2) Within area 'B,' but outside area 'A'	21	(30.0%)
3) Elsewhere - outside area 'B'	33	(47.1%)
4) Women having left Cat Harbour - still unmarried*	4	(5.4%)
	70	(100.0%)

TABLE 8B

Males Marrying Out of Cat Harbour (of whom either they or their spouse is still living)

Post-marital residence	Number	
1) Area 'A' but outside Cat Harbour	0	
2) Within area 'B,' but outside area 'A'	1	
3) Elsewhere - outside area 'B'	2	
4) Men having left Cat Harbour - still unmarried*	7	
	10	

* This figure includes only those having permanently established domicile elsewhere (in all cases outside area 'B') and maintaining no local residential ties. It excludes students and those away working temporarily.

The "strangeness" of those marrying into Cat Harbour, both male and female, has been repeatedly pointed out. Women are conceptually suspect, and the structural disadvantage of the in-marrying male is most evident in the case of Peter Dove (see p. 62). These individuals are always strangers, and one manifestation of this is found in their use of "outsider" terminology; that is, the use of 'Mr.' and 'Mrs.' to refer to their parents-in-law and respected elders of the community, as opposed to the "familiar" terms used by local individuals for parents-in-law and elders: 'Aunt' and 'Uncle.' Men and women marrying into the community are expected to (and normally do) adopt the formal or outsider terminology which is maintained throughout the lives of the actors; for in Cat Harbour, "once a stranger, always a stranger." Any deviations from this by strangers are regarded as brazen, and reaction is discomfort and uncertainty.⁵⁷

2. *Prohibition.* It has been suggested that certain marital restrictions and prohibitions act to reduce the numbers of possible local mates for Cat Harbour men. Even though there are several advantages to marrying a local girl - even close kinsmen in certain cases - marriage within the community is limited by a type of "lineal exogamy." First-cousin marriage is possible without undue concern so long as the partners are not of the same surname; that is, so long as they are not of the same clan (or crowd). However, even second-cousin marriage is regarded as 'too close' between persons of the same surname. When I talked to a couple having the same surname before their marriage (as in the case of a 'Down Harbour' Brown marrying an 'Upper Harbour' Brown), they went to great lengths to assure me they did not belong to the same crowd, whereas no explanation was felt necessary (nor was there any defensive attitude expressed) by marital partners who were first-cousins of different surnames. In asking the partners of first-cousin marriages about this (none of four still living had the same surname prior to marriage), they assured me that there had been no opposition to their marriages and that they did not see anything wrong with it. On one occasion I pointed out a second-cousin marriage between two people of the same pre-marital surname, and asked them why there had been so much opposition and talk about how 'close' the marriage was, especially since their own marriage, about which there was little talk, was between first-cousins. The reply was, 'Yes, but you see, cousins don't make any difference; why they're (speaking of the marriage between second cousins of the same surname) the same crowd; they came

57 "Formal" terms are commonly applied to an outsider in the community as well. I was Mr. Faris to most people during the major portion of my research, and my attempt to adopt the 'Aunt' and 'Uncle' terminology for respected elders was at first met with considerable discomfort. Only the boldest of the community's younger men ever used my given name and then, only after several months and only in dyadic contexts.

right out of the same garden sure.' Both residence and surname, quite inter-related in the kinship system, are articulated in "exogamic" restrictions.

In an analysis of all the available marriage statistics (a universe of 142 marriages), thirteen (9.1 per cent) were with a first or second cousin. Table 9A lists the cousin marriage-surname relationships; Table 9B documents the type and origin of first-cousin marriages themselves.

TABLE 9A

Cousin Marriage and Surname*

Marriages	Same Surname	Different Surname	Total
first cousin	0	6 (4.2%)	6 (4.2%)
second cousin	1 (0.7%)	6 (4.2%)	7 (4.9%)
	1 (0.7%)	12 (8.4%)	13 (9.1%)

* (n = 142. Percentages expressed as portion of total marriage universe)

TABLE 9B

First Cousin Marriage: Kin Type and Origin

Kin Type	Origin of Spouse	Number
MoSiDa	Cat Harbour	1
MoBrDa	area 'A'	4
FaSiDa		0
FaBrDa		0
FaSiSoDa	area 'A'	1
	Total	6

Given the surname prohibition, clearly, marriage with a father's brother's daughter is impossible,⁵⁸ but it should be pointed out that marital restrictions are not articulated specifically in terms of these kin types, and people are not immediately cognizant that a father's brother's daughter is, on the face of it, any different from a mother's brother's daughter: they are both 'cousins.' But a father's brother's daughter comes from the same garden and has the same surname, and these are the real foci of the prohibition. It is, in fact, conceivable that a mother's sister's daughter's marriage could be in the prohibited category if a mother's sister had married a father's brother (a common situation in Cat Harbour, there being seven cases of brothers marrying sisters), as the girl would also be the father's brother's daughter. The point is, then, that the marital "prohibitions" are not articulated in terms of cousin categories, parallel or cross, but in terms of birth surname and residence, or

58 Although there are no marriages documented with FaSiDa, this alternative is not the focus of *specific* restrictions.

of clan and crowd. In the total marriage sample, there were seven marriages (out of 142) between persons of the same surname, but in only one case (documented above between second cousins) were they of the same crowd and clan.

There is, of course, some overlap of the folk kin categories in the case of 'close' marriage. People appear aware of this and joke about it. When I asked about possible confusion, one partner of a first-cousin marriage replied, 'There's no trouble, my wife's people are still cunny kin. They're father's cunny kin too. Hands are always marrying their cunny kin – sometimes there's no one else. But they're not part of the same crowd or anything.'⁵⁹ Other overlaps occur; indeed, a look at the main genealogy (Appendix, Chart 1) will show that most crowds can trace links to other crowds – first-cousins may also be cunny kin. An uncle might also be a first-cousin, cousins marry each other's sibling, and so forth.

The terms "incest" and "adultery" are not used, but there are distinguishable categories of sexual prohibition. Having sexual relations with a parent, a sibling, or one's own child (that is, the elementary family) is regarded as 'crazy,' but it has occurred. Two brother-sister affairs and two father-daughter affairs are said to have occurred in the area, one of the latter producing offspring. Such relations are considered 'wrong,' but not in a moral sense; they are not sin – not a transgression against something sacred. The wrong is chiefly because of the physical malformities people are convinced the children of such unions are, without exception, going to have. The one offspring of a reputed father-daughter affair (in an adjacent community) is rather a shiftless character, but appears physically and mentally sound. Yet his economic failures are attributed by local people to his inherent physical and mental incapacities.

Sexual relations with relatives outside the sphere of the elementary family are not particularly frowned upon unless one of the participants is married, in which case it is 'sin.' One rather amusing incident occurred just as I was leaving the field. A married man who was carrying on an affair with a fifteen-year-old girl was regarded as the girl's 'fork kin'; that is, he was rumoured to be her genitor. This was supported in the eyes of the community gossips by physical similarities, for both the girl and the man had a characteristic way of walking because of a peculiar arch structure in their feet. The belief was reinforced by the fact that the man was 'known' to have been the girl's mother's lover in years past. In Cat Harbour perspective, however, the gossip

59 One's mother is never, however, technically 'cunny kin,' and the application of the term is fluid, as indicated above; in circumstances where bizarre theoretical possibilities occur to the ethnographer, however, Cat Harbour folk have no trouble with the overlaps. Kinship is to use or ignore, not an irrevocable circumstance, and people were amused at the "problems" with which I would present them, even though these stemmed from their own kinship system.

centred on the fact that the man was married, that he was sleeping with someone other than his wife, and this was 'sin'; it hardly seemed relevant that he was sleeping with his own reputed daughter.

Premarital sexual relations are universal and accepted (see Appendix, Chart 6), in spite of the recent endeavours by the clergy. But sexual relations between persons, one or both of whom are married to others, are regarded as morally wrong. Even here, however, there is a gradation of moral breach, and extra-marital affairs are less of a 'sin' outside the two categories of the *same garden* and the *same house*. Beyond this, there is, in general, an ethic of opportunism toward sexual relationships and sexual joking and ribaldry is very common, especially during the 'times' (see Chapter 12, Section B).

The prohibition of sexual relationships between residents of the same garden is not articulated in terms of the participant's common cunny kinship, but in terms of their common crowd kinship. Any sort of familiar behaviour within the crowd is strongly frowned upon (although affairs are reported). While joking with spouses in one's crowd is never permitted, a man may be on quite familiar, personal, and joking terms with a wife's sister or a wife's brother's wife, both of whom are cunny kin. The prohibitions are confined to the in-marrying spouse in the crowd; it is a crowd-defined phenomenon, and apparently does not apply to the wife of a non-resident clansman, for example. This was pointed out to me in two instances: once, when a man's brother visited the natal crowd and, so it was rumoured, slept with his resident brother's wife; and again when I observed a local man joking sexually with a visiting brother's wife (the brother having left Cat Harbour several years before). I asked why these cases of familiarity were talked about more lightly and with more humour than the gossip surrounding intra-garden (that is, intra-crowd) affairs. The explanation was: 'They're not the same crowd any more, so you can have some fun with them. It's not good to mess around with women you got to live with though.' Extra-marital sexual relations within the garden are additional burdens on relationships that may already be overburdened with the strains of inheritance and intimate economic and residential patterns. To complicate this with illicit physical relationships would be a severe threat to the structure of the crowd, especially to the effective crowd – the fishing unit.

Divorce is essentially unheard of. In a genealogy of over seven hundred individuals, I can document only two cases of divorce, both local girls who had married American servicemen in St. John's during World War II. Separations and desertions occur occasionally, but formal divorce is legally difficult and expensive. It is also regarded as somehow essentially wrong and wicked (a feeling motivated perhaps by the degree to which agents of outside authority are involved; people view court action with considerable fear).

Conjugal conflict is common, however, and in general the relationship between spouses in Cat Harbour is strained, and sometimes antagonistic.

Not without exception, most men spend every evening in the shops and avoid their wives. Where a spouse is caught *in flagrante*, both the erring spouse and the lover are assaulted (*always*, if a man's wife is caught). The marital relationship persists, although strained, and in the cases which I observed, much in the same manner as prior to the discovery of the affair. Here, as in other areas of Cat Harbour's highly formalized and rigid structure, alternatives are unavailable. There is no social place for the divorced, and hence, an impersonal relationship becomes the response to a union (I witnessed more formalized exchange and quarrels than affective expression) which is difficult to break up and largely impossible to terminate, and which was probably initiated by social necessity and maintained by economic necessity.

During the fishing season of 1964, there were in the summer fishery fifteen trap crews (fifty-seven men) and six crews (twelve men) fishing without cod traps. In addition, there were four men fishing alone.⁶⁰ There was a complete break-up in eighteen of the twenty-one summer fishing crews at the beginning of the fall fishery, and at this time, thirty-four men left the boats; sharemen returned home, 'hard' boys returned to school, and aged fishermen stopped fishing, for the fall fishery often involves considerable physical punishment as many more hours are spent on the water and storms become more intense. This means that almost half of the men quit fishing, leaving thirty-eight men, seven by themselves and the rest in fourteen crews, to embark on the 'fall voyage.' I shall refer to this seasonal re-alignment – the adjustment from the summer to the fall fishing crew – as 'break-up,' the Cat Harbour term for the change. Permanent changes in crew composition and structure from one year to the next, quite apart from the seasonal break-up, I have called "cleavage." Cleavage, unlike break-up, is frequently reflected in a shift in residential arrangements, and most fences within the general crowd extension have, in the past, been erected as a result of a cleavage in the fishing crew.

But there would be a direct correspondence and absolute inter-relationship between residence, domestic structure, and the fishing crew only if the *ideal* "norms" of recruitment to and cleavage of fishing crews obtained. The facts of economics, demography, and personality often override these norms. One interesting thing about the discrepancy between the conceptual ideal and what *actually* happens in the recruitment to and cleavage of a fishing crew is that the same factors which generate the ideal, also act against it. Inheritance, for example, is both a centrifugal and a centripetal force in the structure of the fishing crew. The following will illustrate how people say crews *ought* to form, and how they *ought* to cleave, examining the reasons behind the statements; then I will discuss what *actually* happens and explain the present composition of crews and their relationship to kinship and residence.

A. RECRUITMENT AND CLEAVAGE

1. *The Ideal Development Cycle: The Cat Harbour Model.* Every fence in Cat Harbour should represent a "natural" segmentation of gardens as a result

60 Attention is called to Table 1, Appendix, throughout this entire section, as it will

of a man cleaving off from the crew, previously composed of his father and brothers, to fish with his sons; the new garden fence is simply a physical extension of the establishment of new fishing premises, the stages, wharves, and bridges forming a new effective crowd which is defined by a new fence and cooperative economic endeavour within the larger general crowd.

As has been mentioned, sons inherit land equally. The same applies to fishing gear, but unfortunately a cod trap, a boat, an engine, or fishing premises are not divisible as is land,⁶¹ and a father can only hope that by giving a piece of gear to each son, he divides the inheritance equally among them. This means, of course, that unlike the division of resources in an agricultural community, none of the inheritors have all the necessary items required for a complete and independent economically-productive unit of his own, and brothers must therefore fish together. This situation (reinforced by the rigid virilocal pattern of post-marital residence) has resulted in an often-expressed value that people of the same crowd 'ought' to get along, and 'ought' to fish together. Fishing crews composed of men from different crowds are, regardless of their success, considered to be a breach of this ethic. If men fish with crews composed of men from crowds other than their own, and there are no other circumstances which make this state of affairs necessary, it is regarded as an indication that members of the crowd (commonly brothers) do not get along, and soon this quality comes to characterize the entire crowd and clan (note earlier reference to the hereditary focus of such behaviour as quarrelling, aggression, competition, and opportunism). It cannot be denied that this "crowdship" factor does at times operate to motivate choices and function as a recruitment mechanism, as indicated in the example of crowd B, below.

During the summer trap fishery, the men of crowd B (B1 and B2) who are partners and own all the gear themselves, take on Bx as a sharemen. When the traps come out of the water and the fall fishery begins, Bx leaves Cat Harbour for his own home, and C1 joins the two men of crowd B. Now formerly, B2 and C1 trap-fished together; they are cousins and live in adjacent gardens (IVB and IC) sharing a fence which divides the two crowds B and C. During this time, B1 fished with his father and brothers, B4 and B3, the brother (B3) having left the community on the death of the father (B4). When this happened, B2 began to fish with B1, and C1 used his young son, C2, plus a shareman (his son-in-law from another community, Cx) during the trap fishery.

be necessary for the reader to consult Table 1 frequently to appreciate the patterns I describe.

61 This is in marked contrast to the situation in other parts of the world. For example, Hill (1963:18) states for Ewe seine fishermen, that "... nets, like land, are after all divisible," and cites fathers giving competing sons portions of nets.

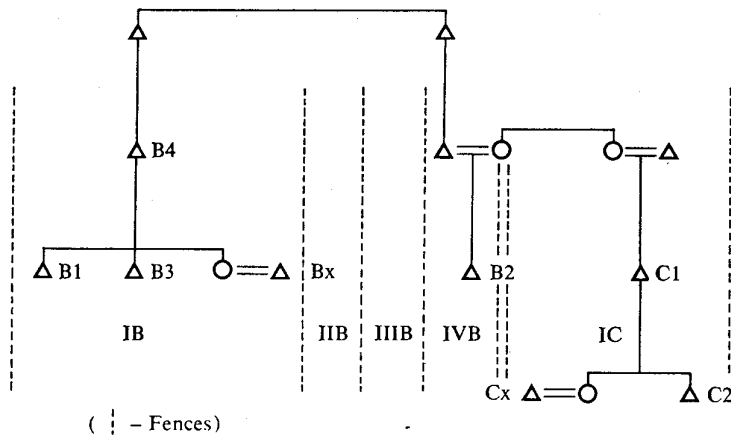


Figure 4. "Crowdship" and Crew Recruitment

There is little if any overt tension between any of these men, and they appear to get along well. But several things immediately strike the observer: first, B2 and C1 are more "closely" related than B2 and B1. They are also residentially adjacent, whereas there are two gardens (IIB and IIIB) separating B1 and B2. People expressed sympathy for C1 in this circumstance, for his son was not yet old enough to complete the crew and the trap fishery meant a lot of work for C1, and certain expense, for he had to have a complete fishing outfit of his own. Why, then, did B2 split up with C1 to fish with B1? I asked separately all parties concerned, and received the same basic answer: people expect you to fish with your own crowd, and with those you live with and are kin to. C1 appeared to accept the situation as given, and managed as best he could under the altered circumstances. The general crowd should ideally be a cooperative corporate entity. I was told, 'Well, people just expect that Sam (B1) and Jack (B2) would fish together; you kind of figure that the crowd ought to fish together - they're kin and live together.' In this case, the closer residential and biological proximity to someone of another crowd did not make any difference in the local ideology of kin group obligations and the territorial divisions. It is important to note, however, that B2 and B1 are patrilineal parallel second-cousins, not brothers, and more than one commentator pointed out that this was why Sam (B1) and Jack (B2) could get along, 'You should have seen the way Sam (B1) and Henry (B3) fought.' In certain circumstances, then, common crowdship becomes significant for recruitment.

Another factor which contributes to this ideal pattern of recruitment and cleavage is the oft-emphasized access to the sea. As mentioned previously, the waterfront in Cat Harbour has been extremely crowded for some time,

and many gardens have been partitioned to the extent that there is only one house-width between the two defining fences (see Map 3) perpendicular to the sea. The crowded conditions have made it difficult for members of the crowd to segment, create more gardens and establish new fishing premises and waterfront installations, thereby inhibiting cleavages in the crew until absolutely necessary. The point of saturation in Cat Harbour was reached several years ago, but the arrival of the road, expanded education, and access to the economically-attractive outside has acted to relieve the consequences of the pressure just in time. This lack of option for new waterfront access reinforced the ethic that people of the crowd should 'stick together' and cooperate in fishing activities.

A third factor which acts to strengthen the ideal and is related to the centripetal effect of inheritance, is that fathers sometimes hold in escrow, so to speak, the title to gear, boats, engines, and even land (see the case of Bill Blue [C6], p. 59), to prohibit cleavage and segmentation. The property, until a father's relinquishment, becomes rather indivisible corporate property, where one's rights to the benefits come only in usufruct. This technique prevents one son from splitting off prematurely with a vital piece of property necessary for the functioning whole. If one son leaves under circumstances where a father still holds the property, he usually does so without a share, without a piece of gear. In addition, there are cases where fathers died prior to making known a division of inheritance and the estate became the joint property of a group of fishing brothers - the corporate property of the effective crowd's fishing unit. In such cases, a brother wishing to leave the crew to join someone else, or go on his own had to buy out the shares of his other brothers, or demand from them payment in lieu of his share of the estate, providing all agreed to whatever scheme was chosen and on the worth of the total outfit.

The ideal, then, follows a neat development cycle: a man begins fishing with his sons; he holds the estate, so cleavage is impossible until he relinquishes title; sons inherit equivalent portions of a father's property, either on his death or on his retirement, but continue to fish together, as each portion is needed to make a complete fishing outfit and is of little use by itself; sons (brothers) marry and build (or otherwise acquire) houses located in the same garden. These brothers eventually accumulate gear of their own, so that by the time their own sons are ready to fish and it is no longer economical for them to fish with brothers, they cleave off from their brothers, taking their share of the gear, and form a new fishing crew. They build new fishing premises and as a consequence, fence off their portion of the garden (the portion containing their house - ideally on a strip which forms an extension of the new fishing premises).

But this ideal cycle is seldom realized, and in spite of the verbalized emphasis given it, the situation may be considerably different, in actuality.

2. *The Actual Pattern of Recruitment.* From Table 1 (Appendix) it can be seen that there are several crews whose members come from different crowds, and also that men of the *same* crowd engaged in the *same* fishing endeavour may come from different gardens (cf. crew i and crew viii). At first the latter situation may seem anomalous, but what is actually reflected is a fishing union established *after* the individuals erecting the fences are no longer fishing – individuals who are ascending agnates of parties fishing together today, who as a result of cleavage and the establishment of new fishing premises, built fences. The situation is simply the case of patrikinsmen fishing together, yet coming from separate gardens separated by fences they themselves did not erect. It must not be assumed that these situations reflect a segmentation of the garden before cleavage in the crew, for diachronic factors have to be taken into account to explain them. I will discuss the factors which lead to cleavage in the crew and segmentation of gardens, the point here (which can clearly be seen from the present composition of crews) being that there is no easy one to one relationship between crew cleavage and garden segmentation.

Only fifteen out of twenty-one fishing crews (71.4 percent) during the summer were made up exclusively of men of the same crowd (excluding sharemen). In twenty of the twenty-one crews (95.2 percent) there was a crowd link between two (or more) of the crew members (crew g is composed exclusively of cunny kinsmen), and 70.8 percent of the men fishing in crews were of the same crowd as their skipper. Every crew has a skipper – ostensibly the leader – the man who makes the decisions during the voyage. A father in the majority of cases is the skipper over his sons. But authority positions of any sort are weakly developed, and the role of the skipper is no exception (see Chapter 8 for a fuller discussion of this). The point here is that any cleavages in the fishing crew, any segmentation in the gardens, is not motivated by a desire to escape the tyranny of the skipper nor by a power ploy to establish one's self as the leader of a crew.

Even though the authority variable is not significant,⁶² a number of other factors are, and the reasons for the discrepancy between the ideal pattern of recruitment to and cleavage of fishing crews and segmentation of gardens, and the patterns that actually emerge, are several. Crew cleavage may be precipitated prematurely; that is, in circumstances before it is economically necessary or advantageous. In other cases, of course, economic necessity may force deviation from the ideal pattern.

One reason for the actual pattern is simple demographic reality: a man does not always have several sons or even any sons; or sons may leave the community to work elsewhere, at any phase in the development cycle of

62 This is somewhat contrary to the authority situation documented for the agricultural communities of Ireland and Quebec (cf. Arensberg and Kimball, 1940:58; Miner, 1963: *passim*).

fishing crews and gardens. Occasionally a man will never marry, in which case he must always fish with a brother or with someone of another crowd. And in the rare case of men marrying into Cat Harbour, they are tied to others until they have all their own gear, as inheritance patterns leave them no claim to their father-in-law's estate. This is why Cat Harbour has sharemen – persons who are not members of the crowd (though commonly cunny kinsmen of one of the crew members), but who assist in the trap voyage in return for a fixed share of the catch.⁶³

A second factor is the tension which exists between brothers engaged in the same economic unit, a situation that frequently leads to cleavage of the crew and segmentation in gardens at times which do not appear to be most opportune economically or logical in terms of the ideal developmental sequence. This is expressed as 'rowing out,' and even though a façade is maintained of clan and crowd "solidarity," people acknowledge and expect that brothers will sooner or later row out. Generally, the relationship between male siblings in Cat Harbour is one of frequent tension, competition, and conflict, as almost all brothers have at one time or another fished with each other. Among those who have not, there is a slightly more cordial relationship, but here too, the broader cognition appears to colour their interaction.

The behaviour documented can be seen as a response to the same institution which bound them initially – inheritance. Inheritance has a centrifugal as well as a centripetal force; for although it is theoretically equally divided, in practice, items of fishing gear do not have equal value. This material is the result of years of accumulation and savings, and even if a father distributed individual items so they were roughly equivalent in value to each son, it merely removes him from the difficulty and establishes his intention to treat all his sons as equals. The tensions arising from the inheritance of one fraction of an estate (which is totally dependent on its combination with other portions of the estate in order to be useful) are shifted from an inter-generational to an intragenerational level.

The tensions over the indivisible estate are further magnified by brothers often competing for attention, favours, and positions of privilege in early life and for the easiest jobs in 'putting away the fish' as boys and young men. As adults they are neighbours, in frequent contact, and often using the same set of tools, especially expensive items or hard-to-acquire pieces. As there is a marked absence of specialization in the outport, each brother is expected to and does the same tasks as the other, and here there are going to be natural differentials. Competition today is exacerbated by the practice of older brothers, fishermen often with a minimal ability to read and write, helping

63 Although members of the 'crowd' may in fact be "sharemen" in terms of the way the voyage is divided; that is, they get the same amount as a shareman. Members of one's own crowd such as 'hard' boys, are never labelled 'sharemen.' See details, Chapter 9, Section A.

to support younger brothers who continue going to school, and who, with each additional educational year, place themselves that much further from their fishermen-brothers.

This is most vividly brought out in the break-up each year prior to the fall voyage. Large crews are no longer necessary in the fall fishery. Moreover, the gear involved is sufficiently inexpensive that it is normally owned by every individual fisherman, thereby obviating the necessity for several men to band together, each with a piece of gear in order to complete a fishing outfit. Inheritance is thus not significant in the acquisition of gear for the fall voyage. It is my argument that if these constraints are no longer operative, a decrease should be expected in the degree to which common crowdship is significant in crew recruitment. This is indeed borne out by the data. From Table 1 (Appendix) it can be seen that after the break-up, only eight out of fourteen crews (57.1 percent) are composed exclusively of men of the same crowd, and in only eleven out of fourteen (78.5 percent) is there a crowd link between the crew members.

Table 10, below, shows that although the number of crews made up of members of the same general crowd decreases by almost half between the summer and fall voyages, the number of crews in which at least one of the members is of a different crowd does not change.⁶⁴ It can also be seen that statistically, the crews made up of men from different crowds are more common in the fall fishery. Of the five cases of summer crews composed exclusively of brothers, three of them break up to fish with others during the fall voyage. There is no *economic* reason for brothers not to fish together during the fall, but it is significant that they do not. And it is significant that *economically-determined* factors bind them in the summer trap fishery.

It is not, in fact, necessary for men to go together at all during the fall voyage in terms of the tasks they must perform, and crews are really nothing more than men using the same transport back and forth from the outside fishing grounds. Efforts on the 'offer' grounds are individual, and significantly, (Table 1, Appendix) seven men actually prosecute the fall fishery alone. Men accompany one another chiefly to save expenses on fuel, or join another fisherman whose vessel is decked or otherwise more seaworthy.

The exact manner, however, in which the summer crews break up and in which the fall crews are formed after break-up may to some extent reflect a point of particular tension and forecast a permanent cleavage in succeeding years. The centripetal quality of inheritance is no longer operative and the

64 Even more significant (which Table 10 does not expose) is the fact that of the six crews made up of men from different 'crowds' during the fall fishery, two of these are reformations of summer crews previously composed of members of the same crowd; that is two crews of men from different crowds must reform from crowd break-ups at the end of the trap voyage.

TABLE 10

Crew Composition: House, Garden, & Crowd based on all members of a crew
% Expressed of total number of crews in summer/fall

	Same General Crowd			Sub-Total	Different Crowd	Totals
	Same Garden	Different Garden				
	1 House in Garden	2 Houses in Garden	3 Houses in Garden			
Summer						
6	2	1		6	15 (71.4%)	6 (28.6%) 21 crews
Fall						
3	2	0		3	8 (57.1%)	6 (42.9%) 14 crews

strain engendered by tensions and conflicts over the partial inheritance of an indivisible estate are previewed in the annual break-up.

But tension between brothers may not be the only strain which promotes "premature" cleavage, for often wives of the same crowd – female cunny kinsmen – cannot get along, and 'row out' just as do brothers (their husbands). The brothers of garden VIM⁶⁵ explained their premature cleavage to me in these terms. As women are a vital part of the effective crowd, friction between them can have disruptive consequences. Women may feel their husband's brothers' wives do not do their share of work in the fishing stage, their children may quarrel, and the tensions between their husbands may carry over into their own relationship.

If cleavage in the crew does occur prematurely, that is, before it is economically opportune (before a man's sons can join him), there are several alternatives available for recombination. First, he may seek out someone with the rest of the gear needed to make a complete fishing outfit – commonly a patrilineal cousin, or, if his wife is local, one of her brothers.⁶⁶ Another option is to go into heavy debt to the merchant for purchase of necessary gear.

If a man's sons do not appear to be interested in pursuing the fishery as a

65 This is the only garden in Cat Harbour where two brothers from the same garden fish with members of other 'crowds' during the summer trap fishery. As Earl does not require waterfront premises to fish (he fishes with crew xi, the 'P' crowd, and uses their waterfront and stagehead), no fence has ever been erected in the garden. But it is also because the garden is not wide enough to segment, for the feuds between the two brothers' wives would have necessitated fences long ago, if it had been possible.

66 These alternatives also exist in the annual re-alignment at the time of the summer break-up, as seen in crews t and v (Table 1, Appendix).

livelihood (an increasingly common reaction), then he may cleave off and simply trawl, sell his trap, or his part of the gear, and (especially more recently), devote full time to the individual lobster, salmon, and seal fisheries.

B. FISHING PREMISES AND FENCES: SEGMENTATION OF GARDENS

One of the chief concerns in this section, and one to which some consideration has already been devoted, is the extent to which changes in the crew accompanied or precipitated changes in the residential arrangements (never vice-versa). The production base is the primary causal factor. In most cases there is a close relationship, particularly in the segmentation of a garden *following* a cleavage in the crew. But this is not always necessarily the case. If a man splits off from a crew composed of brothers and combines efforts with a patrilineal parallel cousin in an adjacent garden, using the fishing premises of the latter, he will usually not erect a fence immediately between his house and the others in the garden unless conflict between them is severe. Fences are real social barriers; in one argument between members of the same garden, it was poignantly expressed, 'Japh and Abel are at it again; I reckon they'll be putting up another fence.' It may be that a cleavage in the fishing crew cannot mean another fence, for as I have said, many gardens are now but one house wide. The reply, in fact, to the statement just quoted was, 'Yep, but I don't see how they can – them gardens is already fenced so many times they've got to build slinky houses and run 'em longways.'

Fencing across a garden instead of perpendicular to the waterfront – across the axis of the garden – is never done, for this would be too obvious a social barrier, as the ostensible orientation of fences should bear some relation to the fishing activity. A fence is regarded as a natural extension from the waterfront premises, there never being more than one waterfront installation in each garden (if one builds new fishing premises such as stores, stages, wharves, and so on, segmentation is universal), and very rarely garden fences which are not extensions of separate fishing premises. It is of some significance that the only breaks in fences are in the narrow axis at either end. (In the case of Upper Harbour gardens, there are gates at both ends opening onto 'Front Road' and 'Back Road'.) There are no gates in the long fences running toward the water, and to get from one garden to the other requires going to the end, even to get to those gardens immediately adjacent. People travel up and down gardens, not across them.

If a man splits off from his brothers to form his own crew (as opposed to combining with someone of another garden), he must build his own fishing premises – a situation always accompanied by a segmentation in the garden. Table 1 (Appendix) shows that there is never more than one crew – one effective crowd – per garden, regardless of the number of houses in the garden. The large number of fences in Cat Harbour today (as compared with

1864: see Maps 4a and 4b) are mainly due to ostensibly "natural" segmentation brought about by brothers splitting off to form their own crews, often composed of father and sons. This has not always taken place when economically most advantageous, as has been shown above, or at a specified point in an ideal developmental sequence.

To sum up, crowds, particularly brothers, fish together because it is unavoidable, and the solidarity of male siblings is largely a product of enforced economic constraints; otherwise, "solidarity" is a myth, and the facts of waterfront and inheritance normally determine crew composition above ideals of kinship unity and solidarity, or affective components emanating from the domestic sphere. Statistically, brothers do fish together and affective considerations are relevant, but if circumstances allow, they often split at the earliest opportunity.

From the adjustment to the social and physical environment, the above patterns of relationships emerge. These patterns, which may be called "frameworks" (cf. Barth, 1959:3), are the idioms which define interaction; that is, individual relationships and specific interaction will be coloured and even determined by residential, kinship, and occupational patterns. These frameworks of interaction – social groups and categories – could be exhaustively specified by a rigorous statistical treatment of the data. It has been my purpose in this general study however, to call attention to the way in which people *ideally* view these patterns, and to briefly indicate what *actual* interaction frameworks emerge. I would now like to turn to another aspect of Cat Harbour interaction, and consider certain factors which maintain the formalized and rigid relationships characterizing the community.

Part III
Dynamics of
Interaction:
The Cat Harbour
Moral Community

Thus far I have discussed the historical, ecological, and social setting of Cat Harbour and its implications for discernible patterns of organization: the way people live together, work together, and view their physical relationships – the frameworks of interaction. It has been my argument that ecological and historical factors are critical for understanding these patterns. But this is not all, for in the local idioms/patterns of interaction, there are dynamics or principles which can be abstracted to illustrate processes by which relationships are made continually operative, and by which prediction and generation of appropriate behaviour is facilitated; in other words, they illustrate how interaction is maintained. These dynamics constitute the main topic of discussion in Part III.

Although the direction of purposive behaviour is predictable from the assumptions of this volume, the casual visitor might not recognize particular aspects of behaviour as rational without some knowledge of what are called here the “dynamics of interaction.”

These are not simply prescriptions for acceptable behaviour, but are abstractions from the rules, attitudes, and values people commonly express that explain such behaviour. The dynamics illustrate the logic of interaction – the codes for the predictability, perpetuity, and coherence of interaction. Subscription to them maintains the *moral order*. Subscribers to the moral order cannot articulate the dynamics of successful interaction, just as speakers of a language cannot articulate the syntactic rules of acceptable speech. In fact, in many ways the dynamics of interaction approximate the transformational rules of generative grammar (cf. Chomsky, 1968); they operate on an underlying structure composed of semantic information determined by the history and ecology of Cat Harbour, to generate potentially unique, yet predictable and appropriate behaviour in given acceptable circumstances. Like syntactic transformations, the dynamics of interaction describe processes necessary for transforming the underlying knowledge into acceptable performance.

It must be remembered that the dynamics of interaction are ethnographic explanatory models, while the moral order is a real phenomenon only in a jural sense, as it is defined from expressed rules and prescriptions for acceptable behaviour.

Below are outlined three interaction dynamics labelled dynamic of ex-

change, dynamic of occasion, and dynamic of conversation. There are probably others generating acceptable and predictable behaviour in Cat Harbour. These three were chosen, however, as they relate to the most important aspects of interaction: productive activity, conversation, and non-productive, sanctioned group activity. These are also the easiest to discover for they enable comprehension of what otherwise appear to be bizarre and irrational behaviour. And finally, subscription to these three interaction dynamics is supported by explicit and frequently-expressed expulsion from the moral community.

It is, perhaps, possible to think of those who actively subscribe to the moral order as Cat Harbour citizens. These are persons who are entitled to, and act according to appropriate behaviour. Citizens are not limited to those who ‘belong to the place’; for those who marry into Cat Harbour, even though ‘strangers,’ can become part of the moral community by adopting and assenting to the prescriptions for behaviour and by mastering the dynamics of interaction, thereby enabling them to respond acceptably in any given cultural context. These individuals are in essence, naturalized citizens.⁶⁷ On the other hand, those born in Cat Harbour can transgress the moral order and violate many rules, attitudes, and values defining citizenship and thus become, in the moral sense, ‘outsiders’ in their own community. They then forfeit certain rights and privileges of citizenship as does the criminal in the modern state.

A fundamental thesis of this study has been that in the demanding social and physical circumstances, predictable behaviour and expected response are at a premium. The outside world is most ominous because one is not certain of what to expect. ‘With strangers you never know what they’re up to or what they’re going to do next. They might do most anything.’ This is repeatedly emphasized in Cat Harbour,⁶⁸ and applies as well within the community, for successful interaction depends on anticipation and prediction of behaviour.

Moreover, as almost all social networks intersect at one point or another, and as relationships are largely what Gluckman (1955) has characterized

67 As in the sense of citizenship in a modern state, an Italian, Ghanian, or Pakistani by birth can become a British citizen, even though in some circumstances they will be conspicuous strangers in spite of their naturalization. Interesting problems surround these situations. Barth (1969) has devoted a recent volume to aspects of boundary maintenance and group definition. His concern is with transactions and situational analyses of alternative strategies as the defining variables. This is related to the present discussion, although I treat the problem from an internal community perspective.

68 In a shop one evening (and for many consecutive evenings), the conversation concerned a reputed robbery in a nearby community, for which the elementary school teacher in the same community was the chief suspect. Inevitably talk centred on the axiom that ‘you can’t trust strangers’ and here was a prime example (the teacher was from Trinity Bay, over 150 miles from Cat Harbour).

as "multiplex," a delicate balance of interaction results – a balance which would be seriously disturbed if behaviour were random, highly emotional, and not precisely predictable. Behaviour one cannot anticipate or predict is a real threat. This is manifested in several spheres of interaction, and in a series of rules inhibiting the expression of overt emotion; the result is a considerable formalization of relationships and interaction. It means a prohibition of aggression and exploitation – physical or social – and a consequent egalitarian stress. Lumsden, at the turn of the century, said 'The strenuous man, if perchance he comes their way, wins no admiration. They cannot understand pushfulness and ambitions' (1906:97).

Although this might appear to be a missionary's bias in stressing the humility of his flock, it is not, in fact, far from the truth; it says a great deal about the outport community. The aggressor violates a cardinal rule of successful interaction in Cat Harbour: behaviour prediction is difficult and response uncertain. As I shall indicate below (Chapter 9, Section A), however, there are differences in the success of fishermen, and between fishermen and merchants. But these differentials are largely related to skill and not to opportunism, aggression, exploitation, or entrepreneurship, and although prestige may accrue to successful men, this is not allowed to become the focus for class distinctions or power advantage. Participants in the local moral community do not see the success of others related to their failure. Resources are not viewed as limited.⁶⁹

While local society is egalitarian in façade, it is not so in character, however, and potential exists for differential advantage, minimized particularly between fishermen and merchant, by the exchange transformation (see below, Chapter 9, Section B).

A. LEADERSHIP AND AUTHORITY

The dynamics generating predictable behaviour and anticipated response have implications in several spheres of Cat Harbour existence. It results in egalitarianism and an inhibition of aggression among other things; it is basic to an explanation of the marked lack of personal expression or overt emotion of any sort. I have repeatedly pointed out the formalized exchanges in pre-

69 Foster (1965) has suggested that the avoidance of economic aggression and an emphasis on egalitarianism is related to a cognitive view of the resources: that all "good" things are limited, that one man's gain is another's loss. This, of course, is one classic way of interpreting overt behaviour, and apart from the fact that it does not account for a sufficiently wide range of data, it ignores the influence of history in the shaping of man's consciousness. In terms of individual motivations, the fundamental assumptions of this study are sufficient to account for egalitarianism in the types of societies Foster and I are talking about. I agree with Foster on the essential point that aggression is a threat to the community itself in "peasant" societies. But his explanation applies only to limited spheres of behaviour and fails to acknowledge that all peasant communities in the world have been (and are) subject to economic exploitation (cf.

vious sections, and they will be seen in the succeeding chapters also. All public interaction is impersonal and formal façades mark all relationships.

This has special consequences in any relationships that require decision-making; that is, in relationships involving leadership and authority or the exercise of power. Local leadership and the exercise of power are logically viewed as socially aggressive, and persons who submit to this behaviour place themselves in potential danger of exploitation. Those who lead, expose themselves to severe criticism and attack. Let me digress at this point and consider the implications of the lack of authority.

Cat Harbour's history is not without unfortunate and abortive encounters with outside leaders and official figures, evidenced, for example, in the rise and fall of the FPU (see Chapter 2). This has resulted in a repugnance of overt expression. We have seen that child-rearing is quite liberal and lacking in authoritarian sanctions and corporal punishment. Discipline is evoked by reference to beings – supernatural and real – of the 'outside.' In childhood training also, there is emphasis on caution and reserve in all relationships. But overt expression is a quality that well-defined individual leadership in a small-scale acephalous society must manifest. Leadership and the exercise of authority involve taking decisions which may be binding to others, and in Cat Harbour anything which in this overt way may infringe on another, is considered aggression and a serious breach. For example, the annual cod-trap berth drawing is a long and agonizing affair, for hours are spent on decisions about just who is to draw for the crew and what berth the person drawing will choose. In the spring boat hauls, if it were not the case that every man knew exactly what to do, no coordinated effort could be achieved, for the assistance of every man is required. All men shout orders and suggestions, to which no one pays attention, and the effort is finally consolidated by one of several work songs, each man singing and hauling according to the rhythm of the tune.⁷⁰ Even the owner of the vessel takes no leadership initiative, although he is expected to be responsible for ready supplies of rollers and to see that the vessel's keel and plank are not damaged.

In the hierarchical structure imposed on the community by outside institutions, such as the officers of the Church or the Federation of Fishermen's Governing Committee, candidates for positions are never forthcoming and once a man is elected to such a position, his tenure is likely to be for life. Making decisions which may be unpopular is certainly one factor inhibiting

Wolf, 1965). Given these historical circumstances (and short of revolutionary consciousness), motivations toward perfected behaviour and predictable response make good survival sense, and thus inhibitions on aggression and egalitarian emphases are easily deduced in small peasant communities. These assumptions apply to a range of behaviour which is otherwise inexplicable by reference to Foster's "cognitive" theory.
70 Many of these songs are bawdy. One pulling song, apparently brought from West Country England is "The Jolly Poker," although locally it becomes 'Johnny Poke Her.' Verses are repertoire or improvisation. Cat Harbour folk are excellent balladeers, commemorating everything in song and verse, from storms and ship wrecks to my visit.

office holders, but simply making *any* decisions affecting others is difficult in the traditions of the Cat Harbour moral community.⁷¹

It might appear that Cat Harbour has a ready-made authority focus, for it is a male-dominant society in most respects, and has a patriarchal emphasis in living arrangements. Fathers are always skippers when fishing with sons, and in view of the inheritance system, they would appear to be in positions for the expression of considerable authority. But we have seen that fathers disperse this power potential and force any tensions which may accrue (in the ostensibly equal division of indivisible property) onto sons; it becomes an intragenerational problem and thus relieved, significantly, of the authority component, rather than an intergenerational tension with authoritarian overtones. Moreover, fathers (who are skippers as long as they fish) have no particular status by virtue of this role; this is reflected in, among other things, the facts that they get no extra economic consideration in the division of the voyage (see Chapter 9, Section A) and exercise very little authority over the crew.

The status of skipper carries no real authority, however, no matter who fills the position. This has, in fact, caused considerable difficulty in certain circumstances where there had been the necessity to make a binding decision, and the avoidance of overt leadership has made even the most rudimentary decision-making a problem. One crew (composed of two patrilineal parallel cousins as full partners and the brother-in-law of one as sharemen) was always getting caught in heavy stormy seas, causing their wives and the community a certain amount of inconvenience and anxiety over their safety. On two occasions, the most seaworthy boat in the community had to be sent out in raging storms to make sure they were not in distress – an expense and a hazard; in another instance the church bell was rung to guide them in through thick fog. Both of the full partners were successful and experienced fishermen, but neither of them wanted to make decisions, especially about when to come in. The crew was outstanding in this regard, but by no means unusual. The times that I was out with them, it was usually the less accomplished and inexperienced shareman who decided such basic issues as when to haul (the

71 Although this operates to a large extent for both sexes, my argument applies chiefly to males who interact with each other daily, for some women may compete for the few offices of the UCW and the Jehovah's Witnesses Bible Study groups, and keep alive a type of monosexual ranking, or "class" structure (see Chapter 10, Section A). It must be remembered that women are commonly strangers.

This situation contrasts to that documented by Frankenberg (1957). His thesis is that "strangers" (not the exact equivalent of Cat Harbour 'strangers') are placed in positions of responsibility to make decisions, and then scape-goated for community failures. This does not happen in Cat Harbour, and on the basis of my experience I find his argument tenuous and tautologous. Strangers do have a role in Cat Harbour causality (see Chapter 10, Section B), but it is because their behaviour is unpredictable. No one would seriously allow 'strangers' to dominate local decision-making unless such decision-makers were backed by threat of force. People have been exploited from the decisions made by strangers outside the local universe too often.

cod traps) and when to come in, even though he, being an outsider, was much less familiar with the fishing grounds and took only a shareman's part of the voyage. I have been with other crews where a perfectly capable father (the skipper) depended heavily on one of his more brazen sons to make the major decisions.

The position of the aged in Cat Harbour is not particularly enviable. Except for the honorific title of skipper, and the 'Aunt' and 'Uncle' terminology for those having abided by the constraints of the moral order during their lifetimes (for having been "solid citizens," using my earlier analogy),⁷² the elderly are accorded no special status because of their age and seniority, and their opinions are neither sought nor particularly valued. Old men are seldom allowed voice in the shops (in fact, they seldom attend shop gatherings), and old people, as I have mentioned, are regarded by those responsible for them as burdens, the less clever being mocked and laughed at by 'brazen' children – an indication of the lack of age-based authority.

The point of the above is simply to show that community authority positions are weakly developed, if not absent, and that a premium is placed on avoiding situations where decisions have to be made which may bind others – all in response to an egalitarian stress and a repugnance of overt expression within the morally-active community.

B. SANCTIONS AND CONFORMITY

There are then, a series of dynamics or transformations which generate social interaction in everyday life. These are manifested in rules, prescriptions, and values about appropriate behaviour. But Cat Harbour people *can* "deviate" rather markedly from these everyday expectations on certain occasions, and still be good citizens; that is, still remain within the confines of the morally active community. The point is, however, that even deviation is rigidly formalized and subject to precise rules. Given 'times' or 'occasions' of sanctioned deviation (see Chapter 12), Cat Harbour folk kick up their heels and let down their hair in a quite uninhibited manner.⁷³ Should the same behaviour which pertains at the times be expressed in situations apart from the sanctioned occasion, it is a severe breach of the moral order, and persons who do so are ostracized from the moral community. This threat of severance is the only sanction employed against the violator. There are interesting cognitive implications, however, in this severance, for the offender is endowed

72 Old persons who are not life-long members of the community, such as those moving late in life to be cared for in their daughter's household, are not addressed 'Aunt' or 'Uncle,' but by the terms 'Mr.' or 'Mrs.,' or by first names.

73 As with all social life, there are functional effects of this licenced saturnalia as well: the release of in-group tension, the cathartic experience of the participants, etc. Some of these effects are dealt with in a book on the Newfoundland Mummer (see Halpert and Story, 1969).

with some of the powerful symbolism characterizing the *real* 'stranger' and the hostile outside world.

Strength in the outpost is in numbers, for alone, one faces the hostile and potentially dangerous outside without support. It is significant that the occasions of sanctioned deviation involve groups of people: to exhibit this licenced inhibition without group support and the sanction of the occasion renders one open to potential exploitation and contamination. When two young bachelors violated one of the local ethics by drinking indiscriminately, people said, 'They're always getting mixed up with strangers and getting into trouble and losing all their money when they go on like that.' I will show how strangers are repeatedly placed outside the framework of Cat Harbour life, and how their behaviour is structurally and symbolically in opposition to that in Cat Harbour – in opposition to the perfected response ideally characterizing the moral community. Transgressors become outsiders in their own community and are accorded the symbolic attributes of the real stranger. Violators are spoken of as outsiders; 'Harold's been something of an outsider since he went on his own (began fishing on his own) and began drinking.' If a man commits a serious breach and is ostracized or refused support, it often, perhaps out of frustration, leads to further violations. There are the corrective mechanisms of public opinion and non-cooperation, but more effective is the sanction of severance from the group⁷⁴ and exile into a hostile world – more effective because of the malevolent symbolic associations. As may be seen below, these severance sanctions are critical to the interaction dynamics.

But these sanctions are operative only so long as one seeks the rewards of membership in the local community; this will all undoubtedly change in the future. One's focus *must* be on the local community – in the local scheme of interaction – for the continuity of the moral order. Looking out also means looking up, which results in the creation of a distinction in status – a cardinal violation. Moreover, the adoption of the values and attitudes of the wider society no longer makes the outside world a threat, and perfected response within Cat Harbour is no longer at a premium, nor maintained by the sanctions of ostracism and malevolent symbolic association. In such a case, the dynamics generating acceptable behaviour are no longer relevant.⁷⁵

⁷⁴ It must not be assumed that the analytical construction I call the moral order necessarily implies community solidarity in the sense commonly used in anthropology, that is, with affective and functional connotations. The solidarity of the moral community is simply a function of a common adaptation to given circumstances. The absence of overt conflict does not mean solidarity, for in fact, conflicts lie buried for many years, perhaps never or only seldom allowed expression. Solidarity in Cat Harbour is, much as Leach has suggested for Pul Eliya (1961:298ff), or even more so, a function of land and water, and history does not obtain in and of itself.

⁷⁵ For details of the processes involved in divorce from the outpost community, see Brox (1968); and Wadel (1969).

Economics

9

A. THE VOYAGE

1. *Actual shares.* There is a great deal of variation in the way in which a voyage is shared, and several factors influence each share. But presented the situations, every man can predict and calculate exact shares according to precise unchanging rules. Here, perhaps more than elsewhere, rigid expectations and behaviour prevail.

Only the male crew members of the effective crowd share the voyage, although the share is in part determined by the number of persons contributed to the shore crowd; that is, those helping to 'put away the fish': sons, daughters, wife, or brothers. Earlier I discussed the economic importance of marriage, for when a shareman can contribute his wife's labour as well as his own, it increases his share by as much as one third. Other factors are: whether a man eats and lives at home or with full partners of the crew; whether he contributes traps, boats, engines, gear, or expenses; whether he shares in the cost of fuel and salt; and lastly, the number of men in the crew (a shareman in a crew of three men will normally get more than a shareman in a crew of four or five).

From Table 1 in the appendix, it can be seen that kinship is a significant consideration only in recruitment to a crew, *not* in sharing the voyage, for kinsmen of a skipper and full partners get no special economic consideration in the voyage beyond that of non-kinsmen.

The summer voyage is usually divided up into what are called 'shares' and 'shareman's parts' (see Figure 5 below), the former meaning a full partnership with equal division of expenses and remaining profits, the latter referring to a fixed percentage of the total catch, prior to expenses. The most common arrangement is for brothers or fathers and adult sons to each have equal shares if their wives work in the stage and if they each contribute a cod trap or major piece of gear. I have listed the way in which each crew's voyage is divided up in Table 1 (Appendix), expressed in shares of a voyage, and 'quintals of 100,' meaning the number of quintals of fish per 100 quintals, the latter being the way a shareman's part is always calculated. A detailed examination of the system of dividing the voyage reveals a remarkably consistent logic in each division; each man's portion is based precisely

- 1) $S = \frac{C - E}{n}$
- 2) $P = CX$
- S = full share
 C = total catch value (gross)
 E = expenses (of which P is considered one)
 P = shareman's part (in quintals of 100)
 n = number of men entitled to full shares
 X = several determining factors:
- 1) deduction of board and room
 - 2) shore crowd contribution
 - 3) gear contribution

Figure 5. The Division of the Voyage

on the several mitigating factors outlined above. Figure 5 illustrates how the division of a voyage is calculated.

It is of interest to note that skippers get no more than full partners – one indication of the lack of importance attached to the position. 'Hard' boys not yet out of school, who are sons of full partners, may be taken on and given the equivalent of a shareman's part (though not expressed as such, see below) if they are capable of putting out the work expected of a shareman.

Sharemen normally come from nearby communities and stay at the houses of each of the men taking full shares, one week at a time, thereby distributing the expense of room and board, as sharemen pay nothing for their keep. In the case of a man from Cat Harbour going shareman with a crowd other than his own, he usually eats at home and takes a slightly larger shareman's part of the total voyage in lieu of his keep. More than likely, his wife works in the stage as well. Traps are not set until late June (see Chart 4, Appendix) but there is plenty to keep the sharemen busy in general preparation, from the end of May on. There is no difference in the tasks allocated between members of the crew having different economic interests in the voyage. As soon as the traps 'come out of the water' and are spread on the barrens to dry about the first week of August, the shareman's obligation ends, and he returns home until the fish are shipped – usually a month or more later. Then he comes back to Cat Harbour to help take the fish out of salt bulk, weigh the catch, and ship them. The crew then knows exactly how much fish they caught and the price of it; the shareman's part is calculated (expressed in quintals of 100), he is paid, and returns home.

A full share is simply the total voyage, less all expenses (including the shareman's part), divided by the number of crew members who are full partners. In Cat Harbour there are no crews with more than three full shares. It should be obvious that a shareman, while perhaps not making much in a bad year, does not lose anything beyond the time spent, whereas those with full shares in the voyage may go deeply into debt because of a bad fishing

year, or gear lost in ice or storms. The expenses of outfitting the vessel, fuel and so on are just as much in a bad year as in good years (except for the use of less salt). On the other hand, if fish are plentiful, partners can earn a substantial amount.

It should not be assumed that the more full shares a crew has, the less economically profitable it is for each share. This *could* of course, be the case, but it is also true that with more full shares there are that many more people to haul traps, put away fish, and speed up the operation; for it is often a time factor only, that limits the amount of a crew's catch each summer. When fish 'strike,' a trap has sizeable numbers of fish every time it is hauled, and the quickest crew, as a rule, lands the most fish. At times such as these, the 'more hands the better.' Also, a full share in many cases means the contribution of a cod trap; that is, a crew with three full shares in the voyage would have the potential of three cod traps in the water. Although this means more work, the crew is able to set traps in both 'early' and 'late' berths, and perhaps have one trap ashore to set where the fish appear most plentiful, or to replace one in the water should ice, storm, or whales tear one up. It is, in essence, risk-spreading to have more than one full share in each crew.

It might seem the ideal would be for a man to have two or three cod traps to himself, then take sharemen each summer for the rest of his crew. This has its disadvantages, however, for apart from the fact that a man must save for several years to accumulate enough capital to have two workable cod traps at any one time, it is also time-consuming and much work to keep a trap in repair: to knit new 'twine' for it each year, to keep it 'barked,' mended, and properly stored. Furthermore, a man taking all the full shares himself must also suffer all the expenses of the voyage. One cod trap is all one man can handle and keep in good repair if he prosecutes the other fisheries as well. The unreliability of the summer voyage forces each man to exploit other fish: salmon, lobster, seal, and the fall cod fishery. In fact, given the way in which the fishery is pursued, the gear and capital available, and the conditions of sea and weather, it is safe to say the present ecological and technological niche is exploited optimally.

However, if a man has sons able to fish, it is uneconomical to leave them ashore because the crew to which he belongs is filled. This circumstance sooner or later forces a cleavage in the crew, and a new crew of father and son(s) is formed. While the son is yet unmarried and living under the same roof, the father, always the skipper, will usually take all the shares, giving his immature son the equivalent of shareman's parts according to several criteria, such as the son's age, the stage in his education ('hard' boys today fish four to five years before they leave school), and the son's plans for the future. The father assumes all the expenses and most of the repair work for the trap, although sons are expected to help 'bark,' load salt, and aid in the less skilled tasks as any shareman does.

The exact division of the voyage under such circumstances can be seen in Table 1 of the appendix. There is rarely dissension over the division, for boys know well the traditional way in which a voyage is shared and what goes into determining the amount of the catch they will receive. Sons are not quite regarded as having sharemen's status; that is, the amount they receive is expressed as 'an eighth part of the voyage' or 'a twelfth part of a voyage' rather than so many 'quintals of 100,' indicating in a subtle manner that they are not technically sharemen, even though they do the same work and get the same economic return. It is rather an acknowledgement of their kinship claim, not only in relationship to the skipper or full partners, but to the estate of the crew – an acknowledgement that they will someday have full shares by birth right. In contrast, the shareman is property-less, and can only hire out his labour.

In a crew made up of father and unmarried sons, there is the problem of sufficient 'shore crowd' to process the fish. This usually means a man's wife and his daughters have to work in the absence of son's wives, normally the most common source of labour in the stage. In such circumstances, one daughter is usually left to look after the younger siblings and cook meals for those working in the stage. Daughters, unlike sons, get nothing for their labour – one strong motivation for the exodus of young women to the urban centres. Occasionally, crews without women, without large shore crowds, take on one of the two or three men in the community, who for one reason or another, never manage to get a berth as a shareman or fish themselves, to help in the stage at the heavier tasks. In return, they get a wheelbarrow or some fish (one wheelbarrow equals approximately $\frac{1}{3}$ to $\frac{1}{2}$ quintal of fish) for each boat-full 'put away.' As well as being a lucrative arrangement for such persons, it is one potential source of labour for those crews without large 'shore crowds' in times of heavy fishing. As I have mentioned earlier, (until recently) girls from nearby communities were also hired and paid a fixed wage for many of these tasks.

The economics of the fall fishery are less complicated and formally arranged. Since all 'hard' boys are back in school and since sharemen have returned home, only mature fishermen are on the water, and catch and expenses are usually shared equally by them. Each man owns his own gear, and women are no longer a consideration in the division of the voyage as they no longer work in the stages. As the crews go out only once each day, the men themselves process the fish. During the fall, all the fish may be salted in one crewman's stage and shipped together, or each man may salt his share separately.

In the salmon and lobster fisheries, each man (or boy) fishes alone and assumes full responsibility for his own expenses and therefore, profits. Every boy above the age of eleven has a few lobster pots which he builds, sets, and hauls himself, before and after school, until vacation begins. Several boys also have a salmon net of their own, or at least an interest in one. If a man

has a good salmon and lobster fishery, he can sustain a mediocre or poor trap voyage, but if salmon and lobster are poor or if prices are bad, then the summer voyage must be a success in order for him to meet expenses and have some cash left after the 'winter's diet' has been 'put in.' Still, Cat Harbour fishermen regard a poor trap voyage as a bad year, even though they may have a financially successful year based on the fall, salmon, lobster, and seal fisheries. This attitude reflects the cognition surrounding the central 'summer voyage' and its important traditional relation to life in the outport.

2. Income and Returns. I would like to present some concrete examples of the economic year of a Cat Harbour fisherman. It should be immediately obvious in these examples that today, the unemployment benefits (along with family allowances, they are perhaps the most real and intensely felt advantages of Newfoundland's confederation with Canada twenty-two years ago) constitute an important source of income over the winter months. They are available only to those fishermen having no employment at this time and who have earned claim to the benefits by virtue of a complicated system of analysing the success of their endeavours. In 1964, all men caught enough fish to qualify for such benefits, but in bad years some men may not qualify.⁷⁶ In such cases, public welfare is the only financial alternative – one that Cat Harbour people are hesitant to take unless there is no other way to manage until the next fishing season.

Against the obvious criticism that such benefits tend to keep men unemployed in the winter, it should be understood that many fishermen would not take work if it were available to them; there is a considerable amount to be done during the winter months in preparation for the next year's fishery and in getting fuel from the forest. Unemployment benefits act simply as an additional source of revenue. There are few men in Cat Harbour who fish exclusively for stamps, that is, until they have qualified for unemployment benefits. For cod fish, in Cat Harbour perspective, are worth more than stamps. The lack of jobs during the winter is, of course, another critical factor.

In 1964, the annual income of family heads, excluding the merchants, varied between (under) two thousand to over five thousand dollars per year (excluding fishing expenses), the average being under three thousand dollars. This was considered a good year – better, in fact, than the past seven years, and in terms of monetary return, the most lucrative year in the history

⁷⁶ The method of assessing a man's eligibility for unemployment benefits is based on having a sufficient number of 'stamps,' which are issued him by the buyer each time he sells or ships codfish, lobsters, salmon, or seal. 'Stamps' vary in value depending on the amount of fish sold above the minimal requirements to get the lowest-value stamp. The higher the value, the more money a man receives in each cheque (received every two weeks during the period of unemployment), and the greater the number of stamps, the longer unemployment benefits are issued. Benefits may be drawn up to a maximum of 20 weeks, and may total up to \$36 per week for the highest-value stamps.

of the settlement.⁷⁷ The lobster and salmon fishery were not as successful as in previous years, and the seal fishery was all but a failure. However, prices for each species were high, the highest ever earned locally. Top prices were twenty dollars per quintal of salt bulk fish, thirty-five dollars for the best seal skins, thirty-five cents per pound for salmon and up to sixty-five cents per pound for lobster. According to current market conditions and current consumer prices, it is difficult to see how, except perhaps in the case of salmon, these prices could be exceeded.

A few superlatives serve to illustrate the substantial nature of the returns, if each species be pursued to the extreme. I have mentioned that on the one or two days each summer when the fish 'strike,' the larger (composed of three full shares) and more efficient crews (that is, those with a large 'shore crowd,' enabling the crew to stay on the water as long as possible) landed up to fifty quintals of fish – one thousand dollars for a long day's labour (expenses, of course, had to come out of this gross value). This meant over three hundred dollars for each full share. On the three or four best days of lobster fishing, a single man with up to one hundred lobster pots out, could land over two hundred pounds of lobster, or almost \$150 for a few hours' work. The best salmon catchers in Cat Harbour landed as much as five thousand pounds for the year, making over \$1500 (less expenses) for very little effort.

The above figures constitute the best returns in optimum conditions. Expenses are always great: in the case of the crew landing the most fish in 1964 (over four hundred quintals), they totalled almost one thousand dollars. This is not extraordinary; even the smallest trap crew must count on at least four to five hundred dollars of expenses, *not* including loss or excessive damage to gear. During the trap fishery of 1964, two large crews had their traps almost destroyed – one by ice and one by whales – a loss in capital outlay of almost one thousand dollars each, and in economic potential, a more substantial loss. A trap in disrepair is almost worthless; it must be ready to go into the water at any time. Other crews had persistent boat and engine trouble, forcing the purchase of new engines in two cases (costing over one thousand dollars for the larger of the two). Moreover, a crew that diligently prosecutes the trap fishery has little time to tend to salmon nets or lobster pots, for the seasons overlap (see Chart 4, Appendix), thereby curtailing their earnings in those fisheries. Only those who exploit lobster and salmon full time, realize the high returns mentioned above for these species.

I have listed (Table 11) specific examples of the earnings of several fishermen, selected at random, to illustrate the above.

⁷⁷ Illustrative of the uncertain nature of the returns, the summer fishery of 1965 was only one-third that of 1964. Many men did not have enough stamps to qualify for unemployment benefits and had to work in the lumber camps during the late autumn and early winter.

TABLE 11
Sample of Cat Harbour Yearly Incomes
(All figures in dollars, unless otherwise indicated)

Fisherman	Lobster	Salmon	Trap Fish	Fall Fish	Cod Oil	Other	Unemployment	Expenses	Total ^a
B2 ¹	2300 lbs 1200	—	(S/2) 92 Q's 1800	(S/3) 20 Q's 400	4 bls 60	—	4½ mos 460	S/2 300 summer 150 other	3470
C9 ²	1400 lbs 750	6000 lbs 2000	—	(S) ³ 58 Q's 1160	2 bls 30	100 on govt. project	4½ mos 460	S 600 total	3900
C10 ³	2900 lbs 1500	—	—	(S) ³ 38 Q's 750	—	350 seal hunt 50-govt.	4½ mos 460	S 600 total	2510
E1	1400 lbs 750	—	(S) 45 Q's 900	(S) 15 Q's 300	2 bls 30	90 on govt. project	4 mos ⁴ 230	S 500 total	1800
N1	800 lbs 420	—	(S/2) 78 Q's 1560	(S/2) 25 Q's 500	2½ bls 40	200 on boat for LS man ⁶ 50-govt.	5 mos 520	S/2 250 ⁷ total	3040
S3	600 lbs 300	850 lbs 250	(S/3) 110 Q's 2200	(S/2) 9 Q's 180	4 bls 60	250 on house for LS man	4 mos 400	S/3 300 summer 100 other	3240

Notes for Table 11: A Sample of Cat Harbour Yearly Incomes

Q's = quintals

S/2 = ½ of total voyage (and expenses)

S/3 = ⅓ of total voyage (and expenses)

S = all of total voyage (and expenses)

bls = barrels

1 unusually high lobster catch for trapmen

2 best salmon fisherman in Cat Harbour

3 a good lobster fisherman. Poor seal fishery.

4 low 'stamp,' thus low monthly unemployment cheques.

5 Note in this case the heavy expense to 'stand' alone. includes netting and trawling during the summer trap fishery as well as during the fall.

6 LS = Lumsden South

7 note exceptionally low expenses – almost none apart from trap voyage.

8 excludes federal family allowances of \$6-\$8 per child per month.

The examples given illustrate the rather high discrepancy in the earnings of fishermen. This is reflected in their material possessions, and expressed, to a certain extent, in their diet and the way in which their children are dressed, although most fishermen attempt to save beyond what they need to live on, in order to cover bad years. It is not unusual to find fishermen, especially the older ones, with several hundred or a few thousand dollars saved, though few of the younger family heads have any money in reserve. These differences in wealth are not used to crystallize class distinctions between persons, as differential gains are not at the expense of one person in the community *vis-à-vis* another, except in the case of merchants. Table 11 also illustrates that the best returns accrue to those who prosecute more than one fishery.

B. MERCANTILE CAPITALISM: THE TRADITIONAL OUTPORT ECONOMIC SYSTEM

1. *The Rise of the Scarlet House: Debt and Obligation I.* Newfoundland literature is full of accounts of the traditional exploiting outport merchant, originating in the 'planter' (McGrath, 1911:46), the fish trader on a moderate scale who acted as middleman between the fishermen and the large mercantile houses of England, St. John's, and mainland Canada (see Chapter 2). The early "supplying system" inaugurated by them is still operative today: each spring the fisherman becomes outfitted on credit, and charged against his catch each fall when he sells his fish through the merchant who supplies him. Naturally this sort of system has led to flagrant misuse of the fisherman by the merchant. But this is not the total story. Human beings are adaptive, and the Cat Harbour merchant must live in the community. The history of the local mercantile house, the Scarlets, is an illustrative history of adaptation, and an example of the general tendency to maximize advantage within outport cognition — a moral order which dictates a precise code of behaviour and which prohibits overt exploitation, economic aggression, and which inhibits the mercantile entrepreneur within the community.

The largest mercantile family in Cat Harbour today has been a feature of the local scene for three generations, since the grandfather of the present operators migrated to Cat Harbour from England (via Conception Bay) and established a small shop (see Chapter 2). His only son by his third wife continued the business, expanding somewhat, but still continuing to fish as well. It has been only under the stimulus of the third and present generation that fishing activity by the family has ceased, and the four brothers involved today devote themselves exclusively to the shop and its operation. There are five other small shops in Cat Harbour, but the proprietors of all but one glean the major part of their income from fishing, the only exception being Ches Brown (M11), mentioned previously, who holds the most influential

position in the anti-mercantile Federation of Fishermen and who is able to channel some of the business, that would normally fall to the dominant merchant, into his own hands. Even in this case, however, the "cream" of Ches Brown's economic existence comes from his own lobster and salmon fishing and his pursuit of the fall cod fishery. The other shops remain foci of small, cash only, neighbourhood grocery trade. These shops play an important part in the social life (see Chapter 11), but are not of great significance economically.

The critical basis for the economic dominance of the Scarlets is found in the old credit-supply system decried by so many historians. They supply the fishing gear and outfit all Cat Harbour fishermen (except for the small amount purchased for cash through the orders of the Federation of Fishermen). Although they have always supplied Deadman's Bay, recently they expanded, and are now the dominant mercantile interest in Lumsden South and attract a considerable number of customers from Cape Freels as well (the total area 'A,' see Map 2).

The father of the present Scarlet brothers, Sidney, who retired from active business over fifteen years ago, was a cautious man and seldom extended credit or supplies when he was not absolutely sure of a prompt return on his investment. He viewed expansion and diversification with suspicion, and thus fishing was a necessity and the chief contributor to the family's wealth. But as he was cautious with his debtors in extending credit beyond the normal annual supplying system, so was he conscientious with his own debts, and promptly paid and settled with the large St. John's, Canadian, and English firms who supplied him, establishing an enviable reputation with these interests. This meant that the Scarlet brothers were able to expand, while holding off their own creditors on the basis of the reputation their father established. What Sidney Scarlet ignored, however, was the future of his business, an error recognized by his sons, who through their keen perception of local behavioural ethics have essentially "sewn up" the mercantile trade in Cat Harbour and expanded to the surrounding communities, which provide the greatest returns.

During 1963 (which was considered locally a bad year), the Scarlets grossed well over \$100,000, which constituted more than three quarters of all the money in Cat Harbour for the year (including that coming into the community in the form of wages from outside labour, unemployment and family allowances, as well as from fish sales). This enabled them to pay the most demanding of their creditors, pour almost \$10,000 back into the business in the form of a school bus, which they contracted out for transporting teenagers from the surrounding settlements to the new regional secondary school in Lumsden South. 1964 was a good year by local standards, and the Scarlets bought out the largest (and disliked) merchant in Lumsden South, purchased a new truck for hauling fish, for delivering construction materials

for government projects, and for distributing supplies from the schooners docking at Wesleyville and the railhead at Gambo, and paid each brother a salary of more than \$350 per month. The brothers also pay various men to fish and unload supplies, and hire their own sons and cunny kinsmen in itinerant capacities; paid salaries (including their own) in 1964 totalled more than \$20,000. The same year, they grossed just under \$200,000.

The business today is run by four brothers. The youngest, John, is ostensibly the manager (this term is never used) and the only brother to have gone to secondary school (although he never finished); he is considered the 'brains' of the organization. It is John with whom the fishermen 'settle up,' order, work out unemployment entitlements, and he who makes the major decisions regarding buying supplies, extending credit, and who keeps all the books and handles the finances. Peter drives the school bus and helps clerk in the Cat Harbour shop. James handles the supply system from the schooner landing at Wesleyville (20 miles 'up' the shore) and the railhead at Gambo (86 miles away), and hauls and ships lobsters and codfish. Henry is the clerk in the Cat Harbour shop and the chief contact with the retail public. Fishermen today regard the shop not as 'Scarlets' but as 'John's' and consider him the only one of the brothers whom they can trust and with whom they wish to deal. James and Henry are disliked, and James is ostracized in many interaction situations for his frequent breach of local ethics.

The Scarlets' phenomenal control of spending in the outport is even more surprising when it is realized that the local Federation of Fishermen number all but five fishermen and offer much better bargains in twine, nets, rope, and other gear than do the Scarlets. Moreover, the new institutions of mail-order buying and installment purchase have permeated the outport; the outside world via the illustrated picture-catalogue and the easy payment plan are more attractive both in selection and in price than what the Scarlets offer. Yet they manage to hold on to a considerable amount of the capital available in Cat Harbour.

A measure of explanation rests in tradition. Until recently, there were few alternatives to the local mercantile supply. We have seen the disastrous failure of the emancipatory efforts of the FPU (Chapter 1), and the demise of other shops in Cat Harbour. Fishermen simply took from the merchant's selection, at his price, and 'settled up' after the voyage on the sale of fish (again at the merchant's price). Fishermen patronize Scarlets' shop also because it is there; it is easier than ordering from a catalogue or through the Federation of Fishermen. This is important. But I think there is more to this patronage than just the aforementioned.

Much of this system is no longer necessary. Were Sidney Scarlet alive today, the business would probably not prosper for he failed to comprehend a critical behavioural transformation, a dynamic of exchange, which makes debt, credit, obligation, and respect closely related "commodities."

The exchange dynamic I speak of is essentially the transformation of debt into obligation. By debt, I mean a liability incurred in receipt of goods or services, carrying the implication of creditor power over the debtor. Obligation, on the other hand, is a liability, the settlement of which one is morally bound to pursue. The creditor disseminates his power in the contract into a diffuse respect, loyalty, or reputation; he becomes powerless in exchange for an ethical bond to settle the account and accord him respect and patronage. Where the exchange dynamic is violated – that is, where the obligation is ignored, it once again becomes debt, liable to the exercise of power options such as legal recall.

Let me explain more fully. Fishermen 'outfit' in the early spring. They get the twine they need for knitting new parts for cod traps, rope, and gear, and place this 'on account.' Throughout the summer, all fuel, salt, and other materials are added to this account, and when the fish are bought and shipped, the merchant deducts all of the entries on this account from the price paid for the fish. Although today, most fishermen could pay for items as they were received (from money held in reserve from good years, or unemployment monies), they do not; the current fish must pay for the current account. If the voyage is good, the merchant's accounts are covered; if not, the merchant is commonly left holding the deficit and the fishery of a subsequent year must pay the expenses. This is, of course, where the merchant stands to lose and several successive years of bad fishing can ruin him. But unless he exercises power and extracts from the fishermen what they owe him each year, that is, demand payment of debts regardless of the success or failure of the fishery, he must continue to supply and carry the loss of a bad year over to the next year or the year after. He must find funds to take care of his own debts to the large mercantile houses in St. John's and elsewhere, yet the fishermen are not in the same position *vis-à-vis* the merchant. This is where the 'good businessman,' in the Cat Harbour view, must turn debt into obligation and subscribe to the exchange dynamic of the moral order. For he must at all costs insure his accounts in bad fishing years by transforming unpaid debts to obligations. This can only be achieved by careful adherence to several rules stemming from this dynamic of economic interaction. Once under an obligation, fishermen reciprocate by selling their fish through him, enabling him to control the money, erase what is owed him, and 'settle up' with any remainder. They give him first access to the proceeds of the voyage. The man who is supplied by the merchant and sells his fish elsewhere (in Cat Harbour, unless outside buyers enter the community – an increasingly common occurrence – only the Scarlets and the Federation of Fishermen buy fish) violates his end of the economic relationship and may not be supplied in future years.

The considerable power potential and advantage of the merchants must be turned into respect or reputation; but there are other "rules" as well. Their

potential advantage must not be overtly displayed materially nor in a status hierarchy. Their focus must be *in* Cat Harbour and they must abide by and reinforce the ethics and patterns defining the local community; they cannot adopt the trappings or values of the outside world, and their 'social' relationships must be local. In this, John Scarlet may have sacrificed his position in the local community somewhat in his recent expansion and acquisition of the shop in Lumsden South, for many people view this as a shift of interest out of the settlement and a consequent disregard for his reputation locally: 'John's not been the same since he got over there with that Point (Lumsden South) crowd'; 'Prices are cheaper in Deadman's Bay and on the Point, but they're gone up here, sure'; 'He don't seem to care about folks around here anymore, but we don't have to deal with him you know, I allow the Union will buy my fish this year.' Mercantile *entrepreneurial* activity must be focused outside the community.

Moreover, the merchant must never disclose the details of any personal contract, the standing of any individual fisherman's account, nor pass a concrete opinion on locally controversial subjects. John Scarlet's role, which appears quite successful, is usually passive acknowledgement of whatever issue is being argued in the shop. All business with fishermen is carried out behind the closed door of a small office in one corner of the shop, where he extends credit, takes orders for special items (such as engine parts), and helps fishermen with the increasing numbers of government forms: for unemployment benefits, family allowances, federal government rebates on salt, nylon gear, and bounties for boat construction. John Scarlet also mediates between the fishermen and many of the representatives of the outside institutional structure who come into the community, such as the regional welfare officer, game wardens, Department of Fisheries officials, and often appears to support the fishermen in issues versus the government.

A merchant with debtors is then, as I have mentioned, in a position of considerable potential power. He can foreclose at any time, with threat of legal action to collect (when asked if he had ever taken legal action to reclaim an outstanding debt, John Scarlet answered, 'No, never had to - I always got paid after so long a time'), or otherwise abuse those in his debt. He can force those with whom he is dealing to pay cash at all times and refuse to extend credit. An example of transgression and its consequences on the mercantile level is found in the former dominant merchant of Lumsden South. This individual, like the Scarlets in Cat Harbour, owned the only large business in the community apart from the Federation of Fishermen trade. But he extended credit only when absolutely necessary and took no unnecessary risks. He overtly expressed concern about the payment of accounts and demanded that men 'settle up' each year's account during the year in which it was created, and nagged for payment. As a consequence, this merchant was extremely unpopular; his debtors and his business suffered. It was this

merchant, deeply in debt, to whom people owed considerable sums but felt no obligation to pay, whom Scarlets bought out in early 1964.

By the end of the year, John Scarlet had almost doubled the volume of business and had cut into the Federation's trade in Lumsden South, severely hurting the smaller merchants. Furthermore, people were paying their accounts. Yet prices and selection remained largely the same. One man from Lumsden South expressed it to me, 'They've really fallen for John over here. He speaks our kind of language and seems like part of the place. Peter Crow (the former Lumsden South merchant) was always nagging to pay up - it's no wonder fellers didn't. John Scarlet'd do anything for you and never ask you to settle up. You don't mind paying then.'

John Scarlet's skilful adoption of the ethics associated with this economic situation has enabled him to make a great deal of money. He is, in a sense, "exploiting" those with whom he deals. But it must not be assumed that this is contrived, for he is firmly part of the community. In bad summers, he worries about making enough on fish to cover his accounts. His concern is real, for he has a great deal of money involved in credit, but he is shrewd enough to know that if he is to reclaim any of it, he must follow certain rules. John Scarlet may not be able to articulate the exchange transformation, but his performance clearly indicates this is part of his social competence.

But both parties in the exchange must adhere to the rules. What of the fishermen? They must allow the merchant access to their fish, of course, but they too have a "social" obligation stemming from the basic dynamic of exchange. They must accord the merchant a place in the local order and support his reputation, and should they not, they are guilty of a breach, just as is the merchant who exploits his power advantage or refuses to grant credit.

The fishermen must not divulge any of the particulars of the interaction between themselves and the merchant, and are under an obligation to support the merchant in the course of normal conversation, accord him comradeship in instances of interaction, and not slander him in the shop arguments. Discussions of prices, the merchants, and the relative merits of the Federation versus the merchant are common topics, yet those individuals under an obligation to the merchant, seldom join in any sharp criticism of him. (Criticism invariably comes from those outside the moral community: those who, for example, after having been supplied by the merchant, sold their fish elsewhere.)

It must not be assumed that the relationship fishermen have with John Scarlet is one of patron-clientship, such as is familiar to Latin America. On the contrary, the entire minimization of power results in an egalitarian stress; even though actual equality does not exist and even though there are differences in wealth between individuals, these differences are not allowed to become the focus for rigid distinctions between people; and in overt be-

haviour, all men (women must be, to some extent, excluded) are regarded as equal and classify themselves in a single social class category.

In some cases, however, individuals ally themselves with the merchant and a patron-client relationship develops. The merchant hires these individuals for small jobs, and they appeal to the merchant for such jobs. They are the individuals who sometimes help 'put away' excessive catches, being the structurally "disinherited" men who, because they never married at all, or because they married into the community, are not fully accepted into the milieu of normal adult life. Furthermore, it is usually these individuals who fail to qualify for unemployment benefits, and therefore, must depend on the merchant for subsistence or enough casual labour to acquire sufficient stamps to qualify for these benefits. These individuals are available at the merchant's beckoning and would be in serious financial straits were the mercantile situation to alter. The extent of this patron-client relationship is evident even in the terminological sphere. The children of such men (if they have children) call the merchants and their wives by the familiar 'Aunt' and 'Uncle' terms, not applied to them by others save by their *real* nieces and nephews. Most men, however, regard working for the merchant as degrading and injurious to their status in the community and toward the merchant. Beyond the obligations set up in the dynamics of economic exchange, a man minimizes his obligation to the merchant.

The character of the exchange transformation itself has considerable bearing on its success. In essence, the specific relationship between any fisherman and the merchant (or with another fisherman) may be described as a dyadic contract, and the mutual obligation of both parties to honour the contract depends on the privacy of the relationship. The details of any particular relationship may indeed be public knowledge, but it is important that the participants do not make it so. An interesting instance of a breach of this "rule" is that of James Scarlet, a brother of John, who drives the mercantile truck, hauling freight, supplies, and salt, and shipping fish.

James Scarlet is, without a doubt, one of the most unpopular men in the community and a constant thorn in the Scarlet's business. As he is often travelling to nearby communities to deliver goods and pick up fish, men of Cat Harbour procure rides with him for such business as they may have in these communities. There has come to be an agreed standard rate for this transport, but James talks the entire trip about how low and reasonable it is, giving details of fuel costs and the like, to run the truck (which must, of course, make the trip anyway). On these occasions he also discloses the details about which men owe the business and him in particular, and how much he has done for others. Men therefore avoid going with him unless they have no other alternative, and constantly talk of James' faults, and of their dislike for him. They also do not feel as bound to pay debts to the shop

which have been contracted through James, and as a consequence, John Scarlet has required of all the brothers that they let him arrange the details of payment for all supplies and services. He alone can place those entering the contracts under a binding obligation.

James frequently complained to me of the community's lack of appreciation of him, especially since he 'always did so much for them.' But James destroys any obligation toward him by violating the fundamental rules of the outport contract. Private debts cannot be converted into 'public' debts for sanctions to insure obligation. Public knowledge (or speculation – quite often the details of the truth make little difference) can serve as a focus for conversation which forces a delinquent man to pay his debts in certain circumstances, but usually it simply frustrates the debtor. Men say, 'James is too much like his father' (Sidney Scarlet, who also failed to completely grip the subtleties of the economic dynamic).

One other case illustrates the degree to which a breach of the dynamics of economic exchange can ostracize an individual. Henry Blue fished with his father, younger brother, and a shareman. Jake, the father and skipper, has always dealt with the Scarlets and motivates the 'company' to take all their supplies from John Scarlet and sell their fish through him. Henry, however, squandered his money in the past and thus always insists that they sell their fish elsewhere, so that John Scarlet will not have access to Henry's money to cover his accounts. On one occasion, although Jake and Henry's brother paid John Scarlet what they owed him for supplies, Henry did not pay for his share of the voyage expenses. Henry still has this outstanding debt and constantly runs down the Scarlets, criticizing their hold on the community. No one, however, supports Henry, for he violated his portion of the contract, and in his frustration, attempts to tear down the reputation of the Scarlets. He was even denied support by his father and brother, and this has resulted in a premature cleavage of the crew – Henry breaking off to fish with his two sons (who are as yet not old enough to assume a full crew member's responsibility).

John Scarlet's skill in transforming, temporarily, the money owed him into "loyalty" or 'respect,' or at least an obligation to sell fish to him and avoid open criticism, is due to his willingness to supply on credit and faith and be discrete about the transaction, avoid criticizing his debtors, and subscribe to the rules derived from the dynamics defining the morally-active community. It must be emphasized again, however, that although his precise methods may be contemplated, the fundamental dynamic is not conscious, but is the patterned response to the socialization common to all those involved in the morally-active community and the techniques used by the fishermen in dealing with each other. In other words, though the quantitative content may differ, the dynamics of the relationship between John Scarlet and the

fishermen is the same as those between everyone subscribing to the dynamics of Cat Harbour exchange – quite apart from the merchant.

It should be stressed that the entrepreneurial schemes of John Scarlet are *external* to the community; locally the Scarlets' success has simply been in obligating their customers. The exchange transformation in the latter, used by all members of the community in economic relations with each other, should not be viewed as entrepreneurial activity; it is not "conversion" to other economic spheres (cf. Barth, 1963).

2. *Contracts: Debt and Obligation II.* Money owed in traditional Cat Harbour is converted into enduring commodities, into lasting obligation and 'reputation,' where it can always be claimed. Obligation is, in a sense, more valuable than money, and a man counts himself fortunate if others owe him favours and obligations (remembering, of course, that debt must be converted to obligation). It is only with the merchant that obligation is sometimes unavoidable; between each other, fishermen attempt to maximize the obligations owed them, while at the same time minimizing those they owe. They say, 'I don't like to be beholding to any man.' The marked lack of specialization, the fact that every man attempts to build his own boat, his own house, and cut his own wood is a precise correlate of the degree to which Cat Harbour people attempt self-sufficiency in an economic sense. This has led to the novelistic image of the "independent" fisherman which is largely mythical, for men are often linked in a complicated series of mutual obligations to one another for help in many daily tasks. However, it is significant that the only men in Cat Harbour who regularly contract others to build their boats and houses, who cannot do it themselves (any man who 'belongs to the place' is ideally supposed to be able to), are either 'strangers' or incapacitated locals.

There are two types of contracts: a short term contract characterized by debt and rapid cash settlement, and the longer term contract characterized by obligation, the absence of money, and the transformation of the creditor's potential advantage into respect and reputation. The latter typifies most of the contractual interaction between people 'who belong to the place,' whereas the former is most commonly negotiated with 'strangers' or 'outsiders,' and with those in the settlement who have been ostracized from the moral community. Individuals who do not acknowledge the obligatory facets of the contract are required to pay in cash or kind, whereas most men would rather have money owed them from those who subscribe to the rules stemming from the exchange dynamic; payment is rarely demanded and may even be refused. With the former, men say, 'It doesn't pay to do things for some fellers; they never give you any credit or do anything for you.' Let me illustrate this ethic with examples.

Case 1. Leo Coral (R15) and Hank Olive (L1)

Hank Olive is a 'stranger' who moved to Cat Harbour several years ago with his family (see p. 68 for details of the 'L's'). He does not know how to build boats, so negotiated with Leo Coral, a retired fisherman and superb boat builder to do the job for him. Leo agreed to do the major building for one hundred dollars, and insisted on payment immediately on completion of the job. Hank, an unsuccessful fisherman and one who is largely supported by small jobs given him by John Scarlet, did not have the money available, for he was counting on paying Leo (or so he claimed) with the bounty he would receive from the government (a government bounty is paid on fishing vessels over twenty-four feet – paid after the vessel is in use). Leo persisted, however, and Hank was forced to borrow the money from John Scarlet to pay Leo. This incident, which had been heated at points (such as the time Hank informed Leo he did not have money to pay him), was the focus of shop conversation for many nights. Men agreed that Leo's attitude had been somewhat severe, but acknowledged that his claims were legitimate: 'With fellers like Hank, you got to deal in cash.' Leo told me, 'I helped Hank scarf (lay out the 'timbers' which determine the shape of the vessel – see Faris, 1966a:291) a punt last year and had to wait a great long time to get my money. I wouldn't mind that, lots of fellers owe me money for years, but Hank never gives you any credit for what you done for him. It's different with them kind, sure.'

This case may be compared with another involving the same builder and a man who 'belonged to the place' and who was an active member of the moral community.

Case 2. Leo Coral (R15) and Zack Silver (D1)

Zack Silver is a busy successful fisherman. He wanted to replace the kelson, garboard plank, and engine mountings in his trawling boat, but could not find time to do it himself. As Leo is retired, Zack asked him to do the job. Leo agreed, even though there was no mention of the price. This task is difficult as it involves tearing out all the old parts and trimming each new piece to the exact shape and dimensions of the original fittings. When Leo finished, Zack asked him how much it would be, to which Leo replied, 'Would sixty dollars be too much old man?' This is, by outpost standards, a reasonable price for all this job entailed, and Zack went to get the money to pay Leo. Leo, however, stopped him and said 'No, don't pay me now, you can wait till later.' Zack brought this up in the shop conversation about the 'row' between Leo and Hank Olive, saying, 'That's a mighty queer thing; Leo refused to take money when I tried to pay him. He did a mighty fine job, though – better'n I could have done myself.'

Leo knew Hank would not uphold the obligatory aspects of the contract relevant in Cat Harbour economic arrangements, so he demanded cash. Zack, on the other hand, still owes the money as far as I know. Hank did not acknowledge Leo's ability and reputation while owing him money (one of the requirements), and was therefore forced to pay (note the community support for Leo in his 'row' with Hank).

These same dynamics of economic exchange work in other ways also, as, for example, in incurring a debt with a 'stranger' – one whose reputation is of little concern locally as he or she is not part of the morally-active com-

munity. It is also uncertain in what manner the stranger might attempt to exploit the exchange dynamic to convert debt into obligation. Men attempt to deal in cash with such individuals, or to complete the contract and 'settle up' as quickly as possible. When I did something for someone, such as help haul a trap, launch a boat, 'put away fish,' haul wood from the forest, or give a man something, the recipient felt extreme discomfort until he could reciprocate and obliterate the debt and any claim I might have had on him – not only on his service, his money, his reciprocity, but also on the ethical demands in Cat Harbour cognition that required him to support me and laud my reputation, merits, and qualities. It is especially uncomfortable to have these relationships with strangers, as one is never sure of the demands they might make when one is under obligation to them. Rapid cash payment or reciprocity completes the contract and frees the debtor of potential obligation. There is, of course, the reciprocal; one can simply forget the transactions incurred with the stranger. This may be why outport people are regarded as poor credit risks from the urban perspective. Unless other sanctions are evoked, debts to absentee strangers may be ignored.

Although cash has emancipated the outport individual, it has drained most outport contracts of the obligation aspects characteristic of the cashless traditional setting. Cash is a foreign media of exchange and the relationships for which it is used exclusively are regarded as 'stranger' relationships, as it were. Cash obliterates the exchange dynamic and constitutes a threat to the moral community. The conversion of debt into obligation acted as a check on the accumulation or exercise of power, and reinforced an egalitarian ethic and non-aggression pact in a society where there is a real potential of economic aggression and status distinction based on wealth. This potential must be curbed if the community is to persist and maintain a façade against the outside.

Tradition is giving way, of course, but in Cat Harbour today, pure cash transactions (especially outside those in the shop) are sufficiently 'strange' that they are surrounded with the symbolism characterizing the outsider, the stranger, and the outside world. The latter may be seen in the custom of knocking before entering someone's home. Normally, one never knocks when entering an outport dwelling. Only strangers who are unaware of this ethic knock. Mummers (local people masked as strangers at Christmas 'times' – see p. 161) also knock. But in Cat Harbour, the general cognition of the stranger is sufficiently broad that local people knock when establishing a stranger-like relationship with one another. Thus, any transaction involving a cash exchange such as canvassing for a charity, or buying and selling something on the spot, requires knocking. Children who normally run in and out without warning, knock to be admitted if they have papers, calendars, seeds, or cods' tongues for sale. This brief cash-for-merchandise (or service) type of contract is of an outsider type. It is a dyadic relationship which one

has with a shop clerk in St. John's or Gander: it is finished on the culmination of the sale and bears no semblance to transactions in the traditional outport setting. Adults, in fact, knock on a table or wall in order to distract misbehaving children, who know a knock means strangers, and are socialized to the evil portent of such a signal.

Even the clever merchant does not always want cash, for it frees people from debt and potential obligation to him; they then are free to 'shop around' for the best bargains for their money. A merchant's higher prices are, of course, part of his "gain" in the entire transactional arrangement, and in the end, cash will mean less business for him.

3. *Aspects of Non-Contractual Economics.* The avoidance of economic aggression applies not only to the relationship and contracts between fishermen and merchant, and between fishermen, but also to other spheres of what may profitably be treated as economics. For example, those men who, because of an ambiguous attitude toward the Sabbath, fish on Sunday are regarded as taking unfair advantage over those who do not. Although chastising and gossip surrounding such men is articulated in terms of the spiritual 'wrong' involved, the motivation is clearly economic envy, stemming from a condemnation of economically-aggressive behaviour.

Trapmen who pursue the fishery later in the day than others, or stay out longer in rough weather, or haul their traps in the strongest tides, or have the most competitive attitude toward the catch, are termed 'fish killers,' the term often implying an aggressive and opportunistic exploitative strategy. The greed of the Pinks was pointed out to me several times: on being told he had a 'mighty fine dose of fish,' George Pink was said to have replied, 'Yes, but it's no good to me if someone else has more.' This aggression and competition are regarded as hereditary traits in the Pink clan, and as the reason for their history of mental disorder. They have always been outsiders in community activities and recently, the two youngest Pink brothers gave up fishing to start a small dairy and vegetable farm a short distance off the peninsula (see point w, Map 3) – one real measure (and proof) of their "outsiderness."

Fish killers are also very successful fishermen; an opportunistic fisherman who failed to get many fish would hardly be labelled a 'fish killer.' There is a certain amount of ambivalence surrounding the use of the term, for although it usually implies a violation of the ethics prohibiting aggression, it also implies skilful and successful fishing. Old men may react with discomfort at being labelled 'fish killers,' but they relate with pride the large numbers of fish they 'killed' in their day.

Trap fishermen do not usually ask the amount of another crew's catch, for this is regarded as too competitive an interest. Instead, they send one of the pre-adolescent boys to hang around the stage head and find out, or wait until a third party volunteers the information of another's catch.

Individual fishermen who exploit the lobster, salmon, and fall cod fisheries are also subject to accusations of aggression. They are often accused of 'steaming' over someone's salmon net (as salmon nets float on the surface, this causes considerable damage), or of steaming over lobster buoys (this cuts the rope with which the lobster pot is hauled to the surface), or even of hauling another fisherman's salmon net or lobster pot. In most cases, it is not certain who the transgressors are, although those outside the morally-active community (that is, those having committed some breach of rules previously) are most often accused.

When fish are extremely plentiful, trapmen may give away fish if they cannot haul the trap often enough or process all the fish the trap holds. In such cases, a signal is hoisted by the glutton crew and those fishermen without traps come to take away the excess fish. If a non-trapman depends too heavily on this as a source of his summer catch, he is termed a 'hawk,' with all the aggressive and predatory connotations of the word. There is, however, a general tendency to suspect and regard any fisherman 'going on his own' as being a hawk. They are objects of contempt (and perhaps, to some extent, envy). 'I'd never be able to get fish that way.' It is also believed that the "normal" way to prosecute the fishery is via the cod trap, for note that the success of a year is measured in the 'good' or 'bad' trap voyage, regardless of the success of the other fisheries.

The hawk, however, often ends up better off than the men trapping, for he has no trap expense and does not have to share his voyage; what he hawks is total profit. Moreover, the giving away of fish usually implies no obligation to the trap crew by the man to whom it is given. He may help them load their boat and haul the trap (a heavily loaded trap can often be difficult to manage), but he is not necessarily required to do anything else, nor acknowledge any obligation. Part of the trapman's contempt arises from the frustration of this situation; he cannot possibly handle all he has caught, and so is forced to give fish away, getting little or nothing in return. Yet he cannot refuse to give away the fish, for it is considered a most heinous breach and the worst economic sin to dump excess fish overboard. The hawk then, while not overtly aggressing, is conceptually placed in the category of those who do – that of the violators (or rather, maximizers) of the exchange dynamic and its resultant value system, which condemns opportunism and stresses economic egalitarianism, even though economic equality is, in fact, fictional.

Religion

10

Organized religion and the folk supernatural occupy considerable attention and time, particularly for women. The Church and Kingdom Hall furnish one of the few avenues for the overt expression of social differentials.

A. THE CHURCH AND THE KINGDOM HALL

Christianity, represented today by the United Church and the Jehovah's Witnesses, is regarded as a given necessity. People say 'You've got to be something.' The religious dichotomy chiefly follows kinship lines or lines of social cleavage; religious conviction sits rather lightly on the shoulders of many people and has little influence on Cat Harbour morality. In querying religious affiliation, the most often-expressed answer was, 'I pay the minister' (that is, the United Church minister – Jehovah's Witnesses have no formal clergy), or, 'Well, our crowd's always been Bible Students' (Jehovah's Witnesses).

The Jehovah's Witnesses see the United Church as looking to the outside world, and as a place where women compete for social status ('If my wife had a new hat and a new coat, she's be right over there in the first seat with the rest of them'), and as not being sufficiently concerned with the real problems of salvation: 'They don't even know what's in the Bible, sure.' The United Church regards the Jehovah's Witnesses as having disrupted community solidarity: 'We were all one 'til they came in'; as fanatical and uncompromising zealots: 'They're always telling you you're going to Hell'; and, especially by the United Church elite who have travelled in the Province, as socially inferior: 'If you stick with them you never get anywhere – they're the lowest class of people in most other places.'⁷⁸ All of these statements are, of course, gross exaggerations.

1. *The Jehovah's Witnesses.* There is an almost fanatical obsession in formal Jehovah's Witnesses' credo with minute points of doctrine. The sect is millenarian, and the current interpretation of the Scriptures places Armageddon 'within this generation.' Cat Harbour Jehovah's Witnesses defined a genera-

⁷⁸ It should be mentioned at this point that, except for a few women having adopted outside values, class distinctions symbolized by religion are not relevant within the community.

tion to me as 'a lifetime,' 'thirty years,' and 'one hundred years.' The sect's publications advertise, 'People now living will never die.' One suspects the advertising will be adjusted to correlate with the success or failure of the prophecy in the coming years. There has been one prophetic failure locally, and it was revealed to me that more than one family had extra food prepared in anticipation of the return of their ancestors.

Based on extractions from the Bible and on an immense amount of "interpretative" literature, the Jehovah's Witnesses manage to maintain their exclusiveness by denying the current world in all its manifestations, especially new issues which come into vogue. This means that such factors as tobacco, liquor, politics, blood transfusions, birth control, and issues of morality have to be constantly dealt with. The response in each case could almost be predicted without recourse to Biblical 'proof,' for the sect's maintenance and appeal depend to a large extent on its persecution and rejection of the ways of the world. It must not, at any costs, become "accepted." It must find at every turn "new" information with which to reject the appeal of the contemporary world and "accepted" decisions on these topics and issues. This quest for new information has special relevance in Cat Harbour (see Chapter 11), and certainly in former times, rejection of acceptable outside values was no detriment to the group's proselytizing. But it would be a mistake to view the Jehovah's Witnesses in Cat Harbour as an independent agent whose success is in any way relevant to its creed. Religious affiliation follows economic and kinship networks, not vice-versa.

One sociological conclusion to come from the few studies of the sect is that it (the sect) substitutes religious status (by an elaborate series of "classes" of salvation) for social status (cf. Stroup, 1945). This appears to have little relevance in Cat Harbour, however, for one of the wealthiest men in the community, a retired merchant and owner of a Labrador schooner, is the leader of the local congregation. His father, Jim Tan, introduced the Jehovah's Witnesses into the community; almost entirely via close kinship networks (see Figure 6 below), it has spread to a total of fifty-eight (20.4 per cent of the population) individuals, including children, who either attend Kingdom Hall or acknowledge allegiance.⁷⁹

I attempted to find out, as far as possible, why Jim Tan introduced the sect to Cat Harbour. The answers were mixed, but clearly, there was a rift at the time in the United Church (or Methodist, as it was then) ranks. Jim Tan was the Methodist lay reader and one of the two dominant merchants in the community, while Sidney Scarlet, a loyal church attender, had the other shop. The oft-expressed adage 'When you find two churches on the hill, there's going to be two merchants in the place' may be particularly relevant in this case (see Chapter 2). There may also have been cross-currents to this mer-

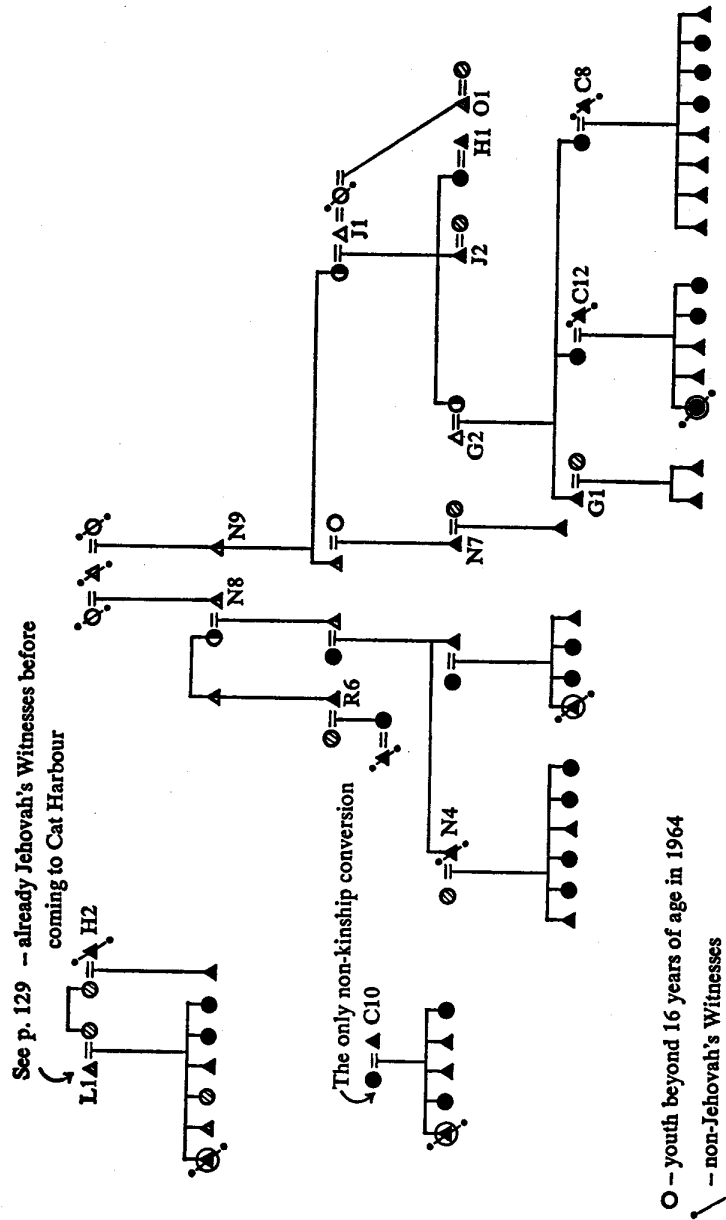
⁷⁹ These figures do not take cognizance of the various "degrees" of membership, and include both "Persons of Good Will" and 'proper' Jehovah's Witnesses.

cantile competition, for at the time, the Fishermen's Protective Union was active and had built a union store in Cat Harbour. Henry Tan, the present Jehovah's Witnesses' leader and son of Jim, admitted (though insisting that his father's introduction of the sect was purely a spiritual matter) that his father's business was at its lowest ebb then. There are indications of Jim's divergence in the minutes of the local Fishermen's Protective Union Council, as 'Friend Tan refused to receive the password' on one occasion, and at another meeting was removed from membership. Into his new sect he brought two half-brothers, N8 and N9 (N9, his wife's father). The distribution of the Jehovah's Witnesses today, with the exception of one conversion (motivated by a close friendship with a practising Jehovah's Witness) and a family's (L) moving into Cat Harbour, can be traced to the descendants of these men (see Figure 6).

It must not be assumed the Jehovah's Witnesses are an "emotionally appealing" sect giving vent to fundamentalist overt expression. On the contrary, the appeal is an intellectual one, based on a concentrated and elaborately "reasoned" reference to Scripture.⁸⁰ Indeed, this explains to some extent the lack of success in converting many people in Cat Harbour, for a confirmed adherent of the Jehovah's Witnesses must follow the voluminous literature and interpretative "help" of the sect's hierarchy – rather frustrating for individuals who can neither read nor write. In fact, in the most socially-depressed and least successful community (in economic terms) on the 'Straight Shore' – Deadman's Bay – the Jehovah's Witnesses made no conversions at all, because so few adults could read.

The sect is dying in Cat Harbour today. The original founder is dead and his offspring are now aged. The appeal to youth is naturally difficult, for the sect demands abstinence from the pleasures and symbols of a contemporary middle-class world, many of which, in the form of popular music, clothing, and hair styles, are just entering the outport and affecting the youth (note the drop in youth above 16 years of age on Figure 6). The sect does not acknowledge Christmas, and repudiates the "pagan" celebration of birthdays and the social gatherings of the United Church. Films (since the road and electricity have come into the community, they are shown once each week by a travelling entrepreneur), dancing to the jukebox in the 'restaurant,' and parties are considered 'sin' – a waste of time which could be spent in 'the Lord's service.' With the previous generation, the bright lights of the outside world had not really permeated the outport and so the Jehovah's Witnesses' restrictions did not hamper growing up in traditional Cat Harbour society. The decline of the sect is compounded by the fact that the school system (particularly influential is the new secondary school at Lumsden South) is

⁸⁰ I think it is clear that a sect which encouraged emotional expression would have little appeal in the community. The guarded behaviour and rigid role expectations would act against its establishment.



For other symbols see Legend, Main Genealogy - Chart 1, Appendix

Figure 6. Cat Harbour Jehovah's Witnesses

in the hands of the United Church, and although religious discrimination is disallowed by provincial law, this situation, nevertheless, frustrates the Jehovah's Witness youth who attempts to maintain close relations with the sect.

As further conversions in the community are apparently now impossible, the sect (which requires that its adherents do a certain amount of 'publishing,' that is, distributing Jehovah's Witnesses' literature) proselytizes in communities some distance from Cat Harbour (in area 'B,' see Map 1), and devotes a great deal of effort to maintaining its existing flock in Cat Harbour. The outside Jehovah's Witnesses' hierarchy provides elaborate schemes for keeping watch on straying members and backsliders, while the local congregation occupies itself with Bible studies in the homes of its members, and with threats, appeals, and concentrated assignments to its youth.

It might appear that the Jehovah's Witnesses would effect major schisms in all aspects of the society, but in actuality there is little disturbance. The Jehovah's Witnesses form social cliques and constitute networks of interaction, but in every case, these networks overlap (in kinship, residence, or otherwise) those of the United Church members; any real exclusiveness is undermined.⁸¹ The force of tradition, the real everyday factors of fishing, the shop gatherings, and the dynamics of interaction blur these differences. Jehovah's Witnesses subscribe to the same structural logic and cognitions defining the moral community as do the United Church folk. The sect was introduced in a situation of mercantile competition and has spread little.

This will perhaps not be the case for long, however, for the moral order itself is threatened by the coming of the highroad and the adoption of "outside" attitudes and values; the exclusiveness of the Jehovah's Witnesses' creed will play an ever more important role. With time, religious status will perhaps become increasingly a substitution for social status. The Jehovah's Witnesses' hierarchy maintains a rejection of the contemporary urban world, but this is a world of which Cat Harbour has little experience. The rejections established by the sect's hierarchy (in Brooklyn, New York) have little application to the traditional outport way of life today, but they are rejections of middle-class urban values and attitudes rapidly percolating into the outport.

2. *The United Church.* The United Church is numerically and 'socially' (according to the United Church Women) the dominant group in Cat Harbour, numbering 227 men, women, and children (79.6 per cent of the total population). The local branch is on a pastoral mission charge and shares a minister with the nearest five communities. I have noted above that people,

⁸¹ Figure 6, above, shows that several marriages are of mixed denominations, a situation that appears to produce little overt tension (not inherently present for more basic structural reasons) in the conjugal relationship.

when asked about their religious affiliation, say 'I pay the United Church minister.' One must 'be something,' and one must 'pay' the minister for specific services and favours. The long years without clergy in Cat Harbour left people to their own devices (see Chapter 2), and this meant they relied on a combination of what they had been given of Christian tradition, and folk supernaturals.

In certain spheres, they were left wanting, however; for marriage, baptism, death, and burial normally demands ministerial aid. When asked today why they support a particular denomination, people reply, 'Well, someone's got to marry you and bury you.' Reverend Lumsden documents a conversation he had with a fund raiser in the charge. 'He complained to me one day that the young men were remiss, and added, with grim unconscious humour, "I tells them that they will want the Parson to bury them some day"' (Lumsden, 1906:187). People feel 'paying the minister' entitles them to these services; it is a contract of a personal sort, like other outport contracts, for which they give and for which they receive. In the distribution of congregational monies, people (especially the more traditional) are reluctant to allocate funds to the various foreign orphanages, divinity schools, and so forth in the care of the large Protestant churches of Christendom. These activities have little relevance for what they 'pay the minister.'

Women form the backbone of both the Jehovah's Witnesses and the United Church, but particularly the latter. They are responsible for putting on the various suppers, plays, concerts, and socials to raise money. The Cat Harbour United Church is obligated to provide a portion of the minister's salary, help pay off a large, luxurious manse (located in Newtown, at the other end of the pastoral 'charge' and outside the local socio-economic sphere), pay the debts still owed on their own church building (built in 1953), and provide funds for mission work in other countries and for the various foreign agencies documented above – all a large chore for a poor fishing settlement who see a minister for an hour every two weeks, and perhaps not at all during the summer. The women handle the Sunday school, the choir, the periodic cleaning and decorating of the church, and except for seven men, are the only full communicant members.

It is the women who keep alive the status aspects of church membership and among whom are waged ever-so-subtle status differences within both congregations. As the majority of the women (two-thirds of all marriages) come from elsewhere, there are often somewhat diverse social, intellectual, and religious backgrounds among them. They bring ideas from other congregations, which quickly become a focus for status differentials, or 'ranking' as it is expressed. Among women of the United Church, there is a struggle between the younger progressives who want to introduce new ideas from the outside institutional structure – the "new Christianity," and the older con-

servative women who still feel the church ought to occupy itself with questions of local concern: morality, sin, and the path to salvation. During my research, the younger women were dominant and were introducing rather sweeping and significant changes into the Sunday School curriculum, into the United Church Women, and into the fund-raising techniques, all under the direction and encouragement of the urban-based national organization. This was illustrated by their bold and heretofore unheard of criticisms of the traditional minister assigned to the pastoral charge in 1964. They were looking out, adopting attitudes and values of a contemporary urban society, and as a result, crystallizing a type of female stratification system.⁸²

The Jehovah's Witnesses' women do not have this degree of freedom; their doctrine, belief, ritual, and 'social' activities are more concretely delineated and thereby restricted by the outside hierarchy, and members have little latitude in which to manipulate. Still, differences in dress and hair style are significant in the congregation. During the annual Jehovah's Witness Circuit Assembly (a district meeting of all the Jehovah's Witnesses on the 'Straight Shore' and Fogo Island), the women competed in a surprisingly aggressive manner for the entertainment and reception of the outside guests, competition being particularly keen between female cunny kinswomen. Clique differences based on age, dress, and hair style were quite noticeable, and the basis of considerable gossip.

There are roles filled exclusively by males in both the Jehovah's Witness and the United Church congregation. The Jehovah's Witness leader, the Congregation Servant, is Henry Tan and other posts are filled by men. In the United Church, the lay reader is a man (Henry Scarlet), as are all the trustees and stewards.⁸³ Yet there is no overt competition for either status or office among the men; the 'ranking' aspirations of the women, especially of the younger and more aggressive, are sometimes a source of embarrassment to the men, who, by virtue of the shop gatherings, are in constant interaction in situations stressing equality. Men compete in fishing, but the resultant differentials do not become the foci for status distinctions.

Organized religion to most of the community, then, is simply an accommodation, as 'you have to be something.' They are bound to it rather loosely by tradition, kinship, and a certain fear of supernatural consequences if it be ignored. Moreover, it provides the wherewithal for the situations of crisis:

82 'Ranking' is a term used to imply a stratification, and (more often) an exclusive clique of some sort. A number of variables determine who one ranks with, the female ranking system being hierarchically arranged only as it is perceived by each individual – not as it is stratified by the consensus of all. Thus, every woman does not strive for the same rank. Only women speak of ranking; it is not a relevant social categorization among men. Littlejohn documents a similar situation in rural Scotland, where "... women value status more than men while men value esteem more than women" (1963:131).

83 The United Church lay readers take over services in the absence of the minister.

baptism, marriage, death, and burial. Also, it is significant that the two major mercantile interests were focused one in each group.

I have mentioned in the previous chapter the concern with fishing on Sunday. No man is so flagrant as to haul a cod trap or bait trawls on a Sunday, but many will work at small jobs and haul their lobster pots and salmon nets. Those who do not, severely chastise and pass judgement on those who do. I have suggested that the motivations are those of economic envy rather than spiritual concern, however. This is borne out by the fact that few Jehovah's Witnesses fish on Sunday, even though their formal doctrine states that Sunday observance is not scripturally-based and, therefore, an error. But it is largely the moral order that places a negative sanction on Sunday work, not the religious or ritual order, and the Jehovah's Witnesses, as well as the United Church folk, subscribe to the traditional dynamics of interaction more strongly than to their faith introduced from the outside. Not 'keeping' Sunday can result in supernatural sanctions in the outport theory of causality, but this is probably more closely related to the folk supernatural than to orthodox Christianity (see below, p. 140).

Beyond tradition and status mechanisms for the women, what does religion mean to Cat Harbour? I have commented on the religious animosities of the latter part of the 19th century which forced the Roman Catholics out of Cat Harbour (see Chapter 2). Today, there is no Catholic "threat," as the wane of the Orange Lodge clearly indicates. The United Church attendance is slight.⁸⁴ The Jehovah's Witnesses' attendance is somewhat better as there are specific chastisements if one is absent from the services.

In former times, meetings were held for purposes of praying for fish and good weather (Lumsden, 1906:271), and during my field research there was a harvest service – essentially a thanksgiving and propitiation ritual – in which produce, baked goods, bottled meats and berries, salt fish, and a flask of clear water (which had been obtained off the peninsula) were placed on a table in the church, then later auctioned off to the highest bidders at a 'time'⁸⁵ (see Chapter 12, for an explanation of 'time'). This was one of the few occasions I observed any causal relationship in the ritual itself with

84 Inasmuch as the Cat Harbour church has three distinct sets of pews, there is a structural significance in the seating arrangements. On one side sit the Upper Harbour folk, on the other side, the Dog Cove residents. In the middle sit the "structural neutrals": the aged, no longer active in the residential dichotomy and who no longer patronize the residentially-based shop gatherings, as well as the lay reader and the few other people having ambivalent positions in the community. The latter have either violated the dynamics of interaction in some way, and are ostracized, or have a status which removes them from active participation in the relevant residential sections, such as the postmistress and fishery officer.

85 The striking parallel between this and the propitiation rituals, ceremonial redistribution, and community indulgence of "savage" society (cf. Malinowski, 1935II) should be obvious.

details of local existence. Religion does, however, play a part in the local theory of causality; more than once, individuals, who normally were never seen at church, attended, after a particular crisis which they cognitively associated with the Christian supernatural. This leads to another important aspect of local causality, the folk supernatural.

B. CAUSALITY AND THE SUPERNATURAL

As I have argued, a fundamental assumption in this descriptive account of Cat Harbour is that there is a powerful impetus toward perfected responses and predictable behaviour. This is, in part, what the "dynamics" of interaction attempt to order. But there is a causal aspect to this ordering, and everything in Cat Harbour has to be 'explained' in some way; there is reckoned to be a cause and a reason for even the most aberrant happenings and behaviour. It may not be a Christian explanation, but can involve any number of supernatural causal factors in the realm of the folk supernatural such as witchcraft, 'jinking,' and 'bad luck.'

I have mentioned that women are often regarded as witches as they are commonly 'strangers' – a category edged with suspicion and from whence witchcraft is thought to stem. Witchcraft is in a class separate from 'bad luck' and 'jinking,' although cognitively part of the same conceptual logic.

1. *Witchcraft.* Witchcraft is essentially the wanton power to hex an endeavour or person, or to bring about a malady for purposes of revenge, spite, or wanton destruction, in many cases stemming from economic envy.⁸⁶ I have data on one case where witchcraft was hired; that is, a man hired a witch to hex for him as he did not have access to the power himself. Most commonly, however, it is used by a witch for specific retaliation or in response to envy. While the power is regarded as something innate, it apparently has learnable attributes, for people spoke of a particular witch having obtained her 'power' from 'an aunt' (an old woman who lived elsewhere). But they are not usually familiar with the past of witches as witches are outsiders, and most will agree that witchcraft is largely inherent: 'There's just people that have it in'm; we've had a few come into the place. Witches aren't bad, less you cross'm.'

An examination of the kin relationship between the witch and the victim is not particularly illuminating in the Cat Harbour situation. Relationships in which there is considerable tension such as those between male siblings, are not the focus of witchcraft accusations. Neither does tension arising from

86 Not everyone in Cat Harbour believes in witches and witchcraft, and not more than one in four adults takes it seriously. There are constant religious sermons and attempts to steer people away from such beliefs, especially by the Jehovah's Witnesses. Interest came to the fore during my visit, however, with the "success" of a local witch in hexing a sealing vessel.

economic competition between members of different crews or between merchants and fishermen appear to give rise to witchcraft accusations. It is, of course, impossible as these people all 'belong to the place.' But envy by an outsider is regarded as very much a potential threat.

All of the community's midwives were regarded as witches save one, a woman 'born and reared in Cat Harbour.' The reasons for this are several. In former times, children born malformed or in some way deficient, were often put to death on the spot by the midwife (thereby making any attempt to get data on still-births or infant mortality difficult). Therefore, one sees no birth deformation in Cat Harbour. Considering this fact, it would appear that the common element surrounding witchcraft accusations seems to be those material situations about which the outcome is precarious and unpredictable, such as childbirth and fishing, and especially sealing, where unpredictable and otherwise inexplicable failures can seriously hurt and must be explained.⁸⁷

2. *'Jinking.'* In contrast to witchcraft, any normal endeavour can be 'jinked' (that is, jinxed). It may be as significant as a fishing voyage, but more commonly it is something simple, such as running out of 'oil' (petrol) on the 'offer' grounds and having to row in, losing a few fish overboard, or, more recently, having a flat tire. A 'jink' is an unexpected and usually annoying outcome or happening, thought to be due to the unwitting influence of a 'jinker.' It is not inspired by conscious malevolence as is witchcraft, for any 'outside' or 'stranger' phenomena or person may jink. I was, for example, thought to have been a 'jinker,' although I was never, to my knowledge, a witch.

Between the years 1957 until 1964, when the summer's fishing was 'good' again, the community had experienced relatively poor yields. In 1958, the government built a wharf in Upper Harbour (see point j, Map 3), and it is the firm conviction of many fishermen that the wharf (an 'outside' feature) jinked the settlement. Some advocated taking it down, citing pragmatic support such as its uselessness; others insisted that they should wait, for the jink would be over 'in seven years.' Significantly, the year of my research (1964) was the seventh summer and as fishing was good, it simply reinforced what they had already known – that the jink had been operative.

Unlike a victim of witchcraft, a man suspecting he has been jinked, takes no curing action. Fishermen say, 'Shooting the witch's heart (see *Cures* below) is no good for a jink.' All that can be done is to avoid the person or thing suspected of having unwittingly jinked the endeavour. The problem is

⁸⁷ This simple analysis appears to make good sense of Cat Harbour witchcraft. The material is plentiful but I do not have the space to consider in detail the folk supernatural; I am more interested in showing how this sphere of social life is ordered and the dynamics which operate therein.

to distinguish the cause of something going wrong. If witchcraft is diagnosed, there is usually a specific suspect: a man (or more commonly, a close female relative such as his wife) who is getting fish when others are not; a man (because of his wife) who gets a berth in a sealing vessel when others do not; or simply 'crossing' a known witch. It is in these sorts of cases that a cure may be attempted.

3. *'Cures'* (Anti-witchcraft). Cures are the Cat Harbour term for anti-witchcraft rituals.⁸⁸ These are specific recipes, the details of which are a constant source of discussion. Only men, and only men who 'belong to the place' undertake these cures. 'Witches cures' involve some sort of symbolic inflicting of pain, injury, or death on a witch; they are conscious attempts at evil directed against a particular individual. The individual may not always be known, and curing then must be generalized; that is, if, 'shooting the witch's heart' is the cure undertaken, one waits to see who 'drops.' For if the cure is successful, there is, besides a release of the hex, an overt physical indication of the effect of the cure. This was brought out when, during a lull in the summer fishing activity, one of the more cynical of the fishermen jokingly said to me, 'If the fish don't pick up, some hand'll be shooting the witch's heart and they'll be looking for you to fall down.'

There is no evil felt to be attached in undertaking the witchcraft cure, although a man will often feel embarrassed to use such techniques in front of his more sophisticated friends. On the contrary, it is regarded as a legitimate act, as a corrective mechanism, not as a punishment; one that is necessary to restore a condition of normality and order. It is regarded as beneficial to the community as a whole, and affects no one but the witch. Prior to the hexing of a sealing vessel by a local witch, men assured me 'Nope, there ain't been no witches around here since Hank Green shot the witch's heart off Queen's Head a couple of years ago.' This single act apparently rid the entire community of whatever hexes it had been labouring under at the time, as well as ridding Hank of any particular hex.

The two most common curses are 'shooting the witch's heart' and 'boiling the witch's piss.' The first involves cutting up a coin (argument varied as to whether this coin had to be silver or simply any coin – presumably symbolizing silver) and firing it from a muzzle-loading gun toward a heart drawn on a piece of wood or paper. If the cure succeeds, the hex is broken and the witch is supposed to fall down, sometimes apparently receiving a wound not

⁸⁸ These anti-witchcraft rituals fit the Evans-Pritchard category of "sorcery" described by Middleton and Winter, (1963:3), in that it is a specific ritual which can be performed by anyone and is an attempt to bring bodily injury or harm to another individual. Yet sorcery carries a connotation of evil action, whereas the Cat Harbour rituals are regarded as beneficial to the community by the act of bringing evil to the witch. This problem is not discussed by Middleton and Winter.

unlike that made by a gun. It is said that witches have been known to drop dead.

Boiling the witch's piss involves taking some of the witch's urine (here argument varied as to whether it had to be urine from the actual witch or if any urine would do), and placing it in a bottle on a stove. As the urine begins to boil and the vapours disseminate, the witch is conversely affected; that is, she (or he) is prevented from being able to urinate, and must break the hex or suffer the consequences (urine in the minds of Cat Harbour folk is poison unless released). A variation of this cure calls for the bottle to be corked, with a small hole in the cork to allow the vapours to disseminate. In addition, the cork is filled with needles, the object being that when the witch attempts to urinate, it will cause pain such as that of being pricked with needles.

Both cures were attempted during my field research, neither of which appeared to have been successful. In the latter, the witch's urine was not used, as the witch, a clever and cynical woman, took her chamber pot down to the ocean to empty each day rather than throw the contents on the land wash as is usually done. This behaviour convinced those who already suspected she was a witch (responsible for the failure of a sealing vessel on which her husband could not get a berth). The woman, 'Aunt' Emily Olive, basked in the attention, and inflated with her success (or the attention), predicted all sorts of maladies for the coming year, much to the frustration of the traditionally-minded members of the community. A 'cunny kinsman' of the witch (Aunt Emily was his wife's sister) who had been on the ill-fated sealing expedition, confided to me that it was not really Aunt Emily at all, because he had met a 'stranger' in St. John's prior to leaving who, 'told just how we'd get jammed in the ice and break in the bows - everything just like it happened. He's the witch, sure, not Emily at all.' What was clear in this man's mind was that the vessel had been 'witched,' that the failure had to be explained, and that the fate was predestined by the malevolent power of the stranger.

The cures are, of course, *post facto*; that is, they do not ward off the evil eye or prevent witches from hexing. Each concerned individual can take precautions in this regard, however, and many houses have brooms under the front porch or step - said to inhibit the entrance of a witch inasmuch as she (or he) must stop and count all the straws of the broom. People go out of their way not to cross a known witch or attract her envy and, as I shall explain below (Chapter 12), the very real and lavish hospitality is in many ways a response to this.

4. 'Wizards' or 'Doctors.' Wizards or doctors (both terms are used) are always men. This is an *all good* category, those possessing this quality being able to 'charm' (stop) blood, cure warts, toothaches, stomach upsets, and find lost objects. There are women in the community who are known to have

specific remedies for minor illnesses such as removing kinks from muscles; but this involves simply a practical, acquired skill in using universally available elements; it is not in any way regarded as magical as is the wizard's art. Initially a wizard 'comes by charm' by virtue of his birth; that is, the seventh son of the seventh of seven sons is automatically supposed to have this magical ability to cure. It is heritable, however, and on his death, he is able to pass it on, usually to a close kinsman. The only man possessing a 'charm' during my period of research, inherited it from his mother's father (a man from Deadman's Bay), but did not use it as he was a Jehovah's Witness. He said he could still effect the charm, but since 'we don't believe in that,' he no longer used it, indicating to some extent the way in which the folk supernatural merges with the codified religion from the outside world.

The substance of the charm varies. I was told by the above informant that it involved no recitation, but simply touching the bleeding wound, or asking a few questions about a lost object. Others have told me that when they consulted a wizard, he had a charm which 'came from the Bible.' One aged man had his arm severely injured by the explosion of a muzzle-loading gun, and was initially treated by a government doctor in the area at the time. He dressed it and tied off a bleeding artery, 'but it was a woman's knot and didn't hold, so I had to send for Uncle Robert to charm it. That fixed it proper.'

5. 'Bad Luck.' There is another category of the supernatural which is considered conceptually distinct from those mentioned previously, and generally referred to as bad luck. It results from the purposeful or unwitting (most often the latter) transgression of any of the local folk taboos. The term 'luck' is commonly used to refer to the good or bad outcome of any endeavour without implications in supernatural causality. A "good bye" parting, for example, is 'good luck.' But 'bad luck' can mean the specific malady befalling one who has transgressed one of the local taboos. Acknowledgement of the transgression is required if the malady is not to continue; some transgressions, however, result in situations which cannot be corrected. For example, little can be done if a woman steps into a boat and 'jinks' it, save acknowledgement; although, if a fisherman discovers this prior to leaving, he may not go out in that boat for the day. If, however, he unwittingly turns his boat 'against the sun' and 'bad luck' befalls him, he recalls, then turns his boat around 'with the sun' and continues. Men attempt to be conscious of the taboos and avoid them at all times.

There are a great number of these taboos. I shall mention but a few which have implications in other areas of social life. The number nineteen is avoided: men will not use or set foot in a boat with nineteen sets of 'timbers' (ribbing); in the annual cod-trap berth drawing, the number nineteen is left out completely.

Initiating any activity on a Friday is avoided. Men would formerly never set a cod trap on a Friday, or go into the woods or begin any large-scale project such as building a boat. When I asked why this was so, it was explained to me that most of the disasters, bad storms, and deaths in the community had occurred on a Friday; thus it was considered an unlucky day.⁸⁹ The most traditionally-minded men in the community would hardly venture out on a Friday. Indicative of the strength of this folk concept, many older men would consider setting a trap on a Sunday before they would on a Friday. Similarly, work during Christmastide is regarded as 'dangerous,' especially on 'Old Christmas Day' (January 6th). One story is told of 'poor' (that is, deceased) Stan Orange, who, in defiance of this taboo, went into the woods on Old Christmas Day. He struck his foot with an axe, splitting it. Stan claimed this was purely coincidental, and the next year went into the woods again on the same day, whereupon he struck his other foot, splitting it. Cat Harbour people found this especially significant: 'Then he had two cloven feet, just like the Devil sure!'

Today, however, many of these things are changing; men often work on Sundays, and initiate activities on Fridays. However, some of the taboos are still significant even for the younger men. During my visit, one of the most progressive young fishermen 'shot the witch's heart.' Another time, I was chastised by one of the mercantile brothers for having turned a boat 'against the sun.' During the summer of 1964, a large iceberg 'came aground' on one man's cod trap and remained on it for almost four days, continually tearing the net. The iceberg finally moved off with a high tide late on a Saturday evening. To the owner of the trap, this was an indication that the cause of his misfortune had been his laxity in attending Church, where he was dutifully found the next day (although I did not see him in church any other time after that). One young fisherman, the son of a lay reader in the church, was hauling his lobster traps one Sunday when he found his engine would not start and he had to row in. The reason for this misfortune was clear, and he was not found on the water on subsequent Sundays. Working on a Sunday brings on the wrath of God, but the logic is similar to the expected misfortune of the transgression of one of the "folk" taboos.

Just how does one know, however, exactly what prompted the misfortune? One man explained it to me thus: 'If something's happened or you're not getting any fish, you try to remember if you've gone against the sun. If you haven't and you haven't been jinked (how this was determined was never clear to me), then it's got to be witches sure.' Cat Harbour people do not see this explanation in the least tenuous or vague. When I asked what happened if one attempted a witchcraft cure and it did not work, the reply was,

⁸⁹ How much this has to do with the Passion on Friday I do not know. I have been told this is the reason the same day is thought to be unlucky in rural West Country England today.

'Then you either didn't know how to do it (note the concern mentioned above with details of techniques in the cures), or that weren't what it was.'

In addition to the above conceptual categories, there are a number of 'tokens' (omens of impending evil, of violent storms, or changes in the weather), usually in the form of 'lights' which appear in particular places. One such place is the site of pirate's (Billy Murne's) 'tilt,' (point x, Map 3). 'Lights' sometimes 'chase' people and are vaguely associated with spirits of the deceased, as several appeared to have originated from the cemetery and known burial places.

A crow landing on top of the church is regarded as another evil token. The crow and anything black by nature has evil associations, and a general black-white symbolism pervades the entire community. The Devil is the Blackman; 'hard' looks or evil faces and frowns are called 'black looks.' Catholics, as I have noted earlier, are referred to as 'pretty dark,' and mummers, the disguised individuals who go from house to house during Christmastide, are sometimes called 'the Dark Ones.' Other things being equal, older men regard a white or light-colored sled dog or horse as more dependable, trustworthy, stronger, and of more worth than a black one.

When men become too involved in a heated argument, they are said to be 'getting black'; the premium placed on the avoidance of conflict in Cat Harbour is significantly endowed with this black/white symbolism. The logic behind the symbolism and its reference to the outsider, can be illustrated most succinctly in this conversation between two men who had not seen each other for some time: 'I haven't seen you for days; you're a proper stranger.' 'Yep, I'm just as black as the Devil.' In fact, if one wishes to make reference to a stranger with whom everyone is not familiar, someone directly from the outside, as opposed to a 'stranger' having been in the community for many years, he will speak of a 'black stranger' or 'blackest kind of stranger.' This symbolism extends even further: at funerals, those classed as 'mourners' – the closest kinsmen of the deceased – wear black ribbons, and are regarded as being in a state of ritual pollution. They are mourning a highly emotional (in outport cognition, therefore dangerous, tabooed, and polluting) undertaking (see Chapter 12, Section A). They are seated separately in the church, 'parade' separately in the funeral procession, have a special and exclusive ceremony in the house of the deceased, and do not touch the corpse, coffin, dig the grave, or handle any of the logistics of burial. Instead, a category of persons displaying white ribbons – "close outsiders" in a kinship sense – take care of all the physical arrangements of the funeral. They include the pall bearers, the horse and sleigh (or now, in good weather, a pick-up truck) used to pull the bier, and the officiating minister or lay reader. Each of these bears a white ribbon and is necessary, to use an African idiom, to "make hot things cool."

The fear of blackness, of darkness is very real in Cat Harbour; men (and

women) are extremely frightened of the dark. Jukes documented this trait over a century ago: "... and to my great astonishment, I found that, though an active daring boatman, he was absolutely afraid to venture fifty yards in the dark and that his fear did not seem unnatural to the rest" (1842, 1:73). This fear and the associated conceptual implications are kept alive by the threats made by parents, in correcting misbehaving children: 'Do you want us to let the Blackman get you?' and 'If you don't straighten up we'll put you in the dark.'

The Structure of Verbal Communication⁹⁰

11

In this chapter, I will document and explain the dynamics by which successful communication, that is, verbal interaction is insured and maintained.

The Cat Harbour year is centered around the intense activity of the summer fishing voyage. For much of the other ten months, there is plenty of time for talking, and married males are found each evening and several times each day, in one of the settlement's small shops to transmit and exchange information, or to simply listen (see Daily Round, Chart 5, Appendix).

Dog Cove and Upper Harbour (see Map 3) are the two residential sections which resulted from the settlement on the end and on the east side of the peninsula, respectively. Each area has a shop which stays open until 10 p.m. or later, and situated midway between the two ends of the settlement is 'Scarlet's shop' – the "residentially-neutral" shop. Scarlet's is the only large mercantile concern in Cat Harbour, and the shop where outsiders come first. It is the disseminating point for most 'news' entering the outport, from where the information is carried to one or the other of the "residential" shops for further discussion and dissection. A man attempts, at least once each day, to get to Scarlet's shop to learn 'what's new,' first hand, for the news may be considerably different from what was originally reported in Scarlet's, when it is discussed at the evening "residential" shop gatherings. Scarlet's is not open at night.

A. TRANSMISSION

In the present chapter, I shall not discuss the content of information to any significant degree, nor the specific functions of any given communication. The content of any transmission is, of course, important to its very transmission and the situation in which it is transmitted, and the communication may be directed to specific ends; but I hope to demonstrate that the structure of verbal exchange, the dynamics of communication, are largely the same regardless of the particular content or specific functions served. Differences in content vary with the age, sex, and other characteristics of all the participants in the exchange (men, for example, are seldom interested in how clean a particular woman keeps her stove, though this is of primary import-

⁹⁰ This chapter, in extended form, appeared as: "The Dynamics of Verbal Exchange: A Newfoundland Example," in *Anthropologica* n.s., vol. VIII, no. 2, 1966b:235-248.

ance to other females, and females have little knowledge of the techniques of fishing which forms so important a base for male verbal exchange), but the same logic, I suggest, will be operative in any transmission.

Information transmitted locally is of essentially two types: 'news' and 'gossip'; apart from commands, formal salutations, commemorations in verse and song, and short term exchanges (while one man is helping another, or when individuals are making known purchase wants in shops), there is little verbal exchange except for gossip and news. Learning in Cat Harbour is largely by way of observation, not conversation (cf. comments of Hymes in D'Andrade and Romney, 1964:235-236).

It is said that 'only women gossip; men don't gossip, they tell cuffers' (tall tales). But in actuality, women communicate more often in small groups or between individuals where news of a more personal and perhaps slanderous nature can be transmitted.⁹¹ Gossip is news transmitted privately rather than publicly. Information that was gossip in past years becomes acceptable news when introduced in shop (in "public") conversation years later – when the individuals involved are not present or are no longer sensitive about the issue. Men gossip, but in the normal course of events they are not in situations where they can transmit or purvey the type of information labelled 'gossip' by the community.

Transmission takes place in the shops, in private, and rarely, on the road (which runs the entire length of the peninsula). If two people meet on the road, there is an obligation to acknowledge one another; if two people in the community are not speaking to one another, they simply avoid meeting – an easy feat, for the daily routine of each inhabitant is known to all others. During the first week of my arrival, I forced more than one woman off the road into deep snowbanks simply because they wanted to avoid acknowledging the encounter. When one does meet, the exchange is usually highly formalized and impersonal. These formalized exchanges are most commonly about the weather or the condition of the sea, and usually the reply is the same, no matter what the initial comment. My introductory greeting of 'It's awfully cold today, isn't it?' was often met with 'Best kind' (short for 'best kind of day' or 'I'm in the best kind of health') or 'Yep, the sea's some heavy' – a reply one would expect to a query about the condition of the sea.

It is not often that information is exchanged on the road unless the parties have something short and specific to speak about between themselves, such as a detail of a previously established dyadic contract. There is a good reason for this. As kinsmen of those involved in a bit of gossip might be in the shops, gossip must be told privately, not on the road, but across gates or in kitchens

91 "Personal" information does not mean that the exchange is necessarily intimate or personal in an emotional sense, but simply that it involves fewer people and thereby increases the scope of the conversation, such as items involving more individuals. "Emotional" expression of any sort, as mentioned, is generally avoided altogether.

by women and in 'store lofts'⁹² by men. Two women may walk down the road together in silence, then one woman will enter her garden, close the gate, and the two will then engage in the bit of gossip – one in the private sanctity of her garden. Or more rarely, they will visit one another in their homes. Men know by an open window or smoke coming from the store loft chimney that a man is 'on the loft mending twine,' and climb up to deliver or receive the item of gossip. Exchanges on the road are regarded as being under the surveillance of the entire community, and conversation is usually avoided. Public news is saved for the shops.

Women usually avoid the shop, but when they have to go, they never speak while there, unless it is in reply to the rare question addressed to them, by one of the men invariably present, about something pertaining specifically to their families (such as, for example, a query about the condition of a woman's sick husband or the family's dying horse). While they are waiting for the clerk to bring the purchases and total the bill, however, they listen intently and inconspicuously to the conversations of the men and carry the information out with them. Often, from herself or other women or children having visited the shop, a woman will have already heard an item of news before her husband returns for a 'lunch' (one of several each day).

If children are available, a woman always sends them to the shop rather than go herself, and pre-adolescent children play a vital role in the dissemination of news. Children of this age group have full run of the community and enter any house without knocking. Their important information-transmission role has been considered previously (see above, p. 76).

Except for gossip of a personal nature and items of interest to women only, all other information reaches the shops sooner or later, particularly the "residential" shops each evening.

B. THE DYNAMICS OF CONVERSATION

For communication to be 'news' or 'gossip,' it must be in some manner out of the ordinary, over and above the common and universally acknowledged store of information.⁹³ The sea and weather, ever-changing, thus furnish one valuable supply. But cognitively acceptable news from the outside, or news from within the community is very much in demand and gives the individual possessing it a special status for the time being; he is accorded the floor as 'all hands' listen demanding as much detail as possible. The clever individual maximizes this advantage and gives out only bits at a time, thus being able to

92 The upper story of a fisherman's two-story storage structure is the 'store loft.' This is where cod traps are stored and where net mending takes place during the winter. It usually contains a small stove for warmth.

93 "Real" news, as I speak of it in this study, is simply "new" news; that is, information about which there has been no previous discussion.

make more, as it were, of his news. This concern was observed by Jukes in the late 1830s, who describes a situation that could easily have been Cat Harbour in 1964:

One point in the character of most of the inhabitants of Newfoundland seems to be common to the whole of North America, namely, the eager inquiry after news, and the propensity to exaggeration and invention, to use the most polite terms. It is really astonishing how news of the most trifling matters, especially if dashed with a little scandal, flies about, not only in St. John's, but along the coast to the most distant settlements. Reports of the most ludicrous nature – ludicrous for exaggeration, even if they have foundation in fact – gain instant credence. It seems to be a stain on a man's character if on coming into a harbour he has not a budget of news; so that if he knows none, he immediately draws upon his imagination. The seal hunters, and the furriers in the country make a point of giving false information as to the results of their expedition; and they were, once or twice, quite angry with me for telling the truth on these points. "Sure, Sir, what's the use of letting them know what we've got?" "But what's the use of telling a lie about it?" "Faix! and its no lie; what call have they to be asking about it?" The consequence of this indifference to truth is a bad one. Malicious sayings, and tale bearers, reports of private conversations, and remarks with ill-natured emphasis or additions, and all the petty malice or scandal are rife in all the settlements I visited; often introducing the most bitter private dissensions in the community that might otherwise be happy and united (1842, 1:239).

And Reverend Lumsden (a circuit missionary assigned to the Cat Harbour area around the turn of the century) documents the frequent appeals for news, as local people were continually asking him "Anything strange lately, Sir?" (1906:97).

On the return from some noteworthy event such as the seal 'fishery' in 1964 (which brought especially exciting news as one of the vessels was badly damaged in the ice jams and had to return to St. John's), or occasions such as the return of men caught by storm on the 'offer' (outside) fishing grounds, the reception in the shops of the individuals involved was most interesting. Such men would enter Scarlet's shop separately (the "neutral" shop where most "real" news is introduced) and conspicuously later than usual – long enough to make certain that the audience which was bound to gather was there before them. (It should also be mentioned that too early an arrival would be considered excessively eager.)

Almost immediately the topic being discussed was dropped and one or more of the men would ask, 'How was it out there old man?' the reply to which was, in almost every case, 'Well, I can't begin to tell you everything that went on out there. We did it all, I tell you, we did it all.' This almost formal reply, of course, acts to preserve the store of information, especially if it was feeble to begin with, and thus maximizes the interest and esteem of being able to relay, create, or possess news. Such a reply forces those in the shop to ask more questions to which the possessor would reply in detail if the audience seemed sufficiently attentive, though if it were clear that a detailed

reply at this point could not be used to advantage, a short, curt answer would be given.

Often, as soon as those listening had been given a few of the details,⁹⁴ one or more would leave to go to the "residential" shops and thus themselves be the recipients of the attention and esteem of the shop gathering, as they repeated the 'news' they had got at Scarlet's shop. This secondary transmission may have already been made, so in order to make it news again, an exaggeration or twist might be added. That evening, as the men of the two respective sections of the community gathered in the residential shops, the entire episode would be gone over, as well as perhaps several nights following. The more controversial the issue or the interpretation of the issue, the longer it lasted. This is, in essence, the conversational behaviour in the shops, and the reason news is rarely passed between two men meeting on the road; it is simply not to one's advantage to relay information to such a small audience.

One case is quite interesting. It, like my own visit, furnished information which was essentially "free for all"; that is, no one was the special or privileged possessor and the transmitter with the most vivid imagination usually acquired the most prestige. However, it must be remembered that anything considered or "made" news locally *has to be within the local conceptual scope*.

During the late summer, an unannounced group of seismic physicists from a Canadian university set up a small station on the headland just off the peninsula in order to conduct tests of the thickness of the earth's crust in the region. They set up large antennae and a series of small receivers on rocks for several hundred yards in all directions. A ship, some distance offshore, exploded depth charges sending shock waves to the earth's liquid core, from which these waves returned to be measured by the small receivers set on rocks. No local people visited the installation at all (the group spent approximately two weeks in the area), but they quickly 'sized up' the group and their activities, which were made all the more suspicious by the fact that the group worked only at night to avoid interference from daytime noises such as trucks, aircraft, and explosions, and by the fact that two of the group's staff were of oriental parentage.

People speculated (that is, transmitted the news), that the group were 1) Germans (stemming from the symbolism assigned Germans after the heavy Newfoundland losses in World War I); 2) Russians (the reaction of the younger inhabitants – the ethnographer was also suspected of being Russian); 3) hunting for gold, specifically 'Billy Murne's treasure' (a local pirate

94 In the case of the seal hunt, local shop conversation several days prior to the sealers' return had centered upon speculation of its success, the damage to vessels, and 'what went on out there,' so that everything had already been gone over. But there is always room for more speculation, which of course, may be preferred to the "facts"; I mean, the necessary alternatives if the facts are not known.

of the last century who ostensibly buried his gold in the area); 4) hunting for oil (a black organic slime is found in many of the local fresh water ponds, indicating oil deposits to local people); 5) preparing to drain the bogs and marshes to put them into crop (stemming from the fact the government had taken an agricultural survey of the area the year before). Even after the physicists' purpose was made clear (the group visited the local shop several times for supplies), many people still assumed it was a 'front' for more sinister activity, and there was serious concern that the depth charges would kill all the fish and destroy the cod fishery.

News of this sort which enters the community and provides everyone with the wherewithal to transmit is especially welcome. Even today, with road links to the outside world and domestic radio in most homes, there is not always something that can be considered "real" news. The rather unenthusiastic reception that the community's first television received was simply because little on the screen was culturally significant news.

The absence of news was much more common in the past, and a considerable quantity of news had to be manufactured. When this was necessary, the technique of the 'cuffer' was used. A cuffer is essentially an exaggeration or a twist – something 'new' on an old item. Cuffers can be used to describe the number of seals taken in 1905, the tonnage of a vessel which sunk twenty-five years ago, or the details of a notable storm of the last century. Although most men will have a general (or even specific) idea of the "facts" of the incident, the cuffer is a technique used to create humour, or, as usually happens, to get an argument started over details of the particular case which will insure that discussion and conversation continue – even an argument about picayune details, when everyone may well know the exact "facts" (the "facts," of course, may not even be relevant). If a conversation lags, one is likely to hear, 'Tell us a cuffer George,' by which it is meant, "Introduce some exaggeration or twist to an item of history or contemporary event in order to keep the conversation going."

It is not without significance that the query Reverend Lumsden was frequently asked was phrased in the way he reported (see, p. 146), for in essence, news is 'anything strange,' or anything made 'strange' or out of the ordinary. Within certain limits, mundane information can be twisted or exaggerated or otherwise changed to make it strange or new. In the technique of the cuffer, all men are aware of the extent of the exaggeration and tolerate it within limits which seem reasonable to keep the conversation going. What is "reasonable" is defined by a number of criteria: the age of the event,⁹⁵ the situation in which it is brought up, the relevance for illuminating an issue or proving a point, or for purposes of humorous exaggeration – especially welcome if it pokes fun at an issue that, in the opinion of many, is being taken

⁹⁵ As arguments brought about by 'cuffers' often concern the precise date of an event, there may be a functional advantage in keeping tab of the aging of deceased 'clansmen.'

too seriously. A detailed analysis of these remarks belongs elsewhere, but one criterion is important here: the status of the individual attempting the cuffer.

Not everyone can or is allowed to cuffer. Apart from the ability to "tell a good story" and the possession of material considered "newsworthy," Cat Harbour folk impose another important qualification on those to whom they accord the esteem and prestige associated with successful verbal interaction. It must be stressed that the cuffer is not regarded as either a lie or an outright falsification. A lie is an unsanctioned moral breach while the cuffer is a licensed exaggeration allowed those firmly subscribing to the rules of local behaviour, to those of good standing in the local moral community. Persons having in some way ignored one of the interaction dynamics or having transgressed one of the rules stemming from these are not acknowledged in their attempts to cuffer, but rather are met with a marked lack of reaction, or a reaction of a negative sort, as if the cuffers were lies or falsifications. Within the moral community, however, the technique of the cuffer is sanctioned and important in the dynamics of conversation.

Any arguments the cuffer brings about are regarded as legitimate conversations, and although quite startling to an outside observer, the loud and ostensibly serious exchanges (involving much shouting, wagers, and even threats) during a shop argument are in actuality a formalized and impersonal technique of communication; it is a serious breach of the technique if men actually become angry and genuinely serious in their argument. Although I spent most nights in the shops, very rarely did I see a conversation become heated. Latent conflict characterized some exchange, but the loud and noisy conversation taking place cannot be assumed to be conflict. Men are, very significantly, said to be 'getting black' if they become personal and serious in their argument. Any real quarrel between persons is labelled 'black' and is to be avoided in Cat Harbour at all costs.

Physical violence is rare (there is considerable horseplay in the form of joking, knee-grabbing, back-slapping and shoulder-thumping), and in the community's long history, there have been no cases of homicide.⁹⁶ Physical encounters that have occurred are sufficiently rare that the occasion is long remembered and constantly brought out in the cuffers. Most conflicts are marked by naming the location after the fight (indicating their importance), and many Cat Harbour place names reflect this. 'Scratch-Ass Tickle' is the name given a small passage between two offshore rocks (point bb, Map 3) reflecting an argument between two early settlers, one of whom received abrasions from one of the rocks as a result of the encounter. 'Kinkhorn Valley' is a shallow valley in the nearby forest where forty years ago, one

⁹⁶ This may be compared with homicide rates documented in the studies of "peasant" communities in other parts of the world, particularly Latin America. Cat Harbour does, however, have a rather significant suicide rate (4 in the past 35 years).

local man grabbed another by the larynx (the 'kinkhorn') in an argument over wood.

Obviously, those most often involved in fights are those who are the least successfully socialized in other respects as well: those who transgress behavioural rules in other areas, who ignore the moral order, and deviate from the formalized and rigid role expectations characterizing the community.

Just as the dynamics of verbal interaction and physical contact are marked by an absence of aggression (or a formalization of it in the loud cuffers and the physical horseplay), so are the dynamics of successful economic interaction marked by an avoidance of economic aggression. This is not, however, in my experience, a "ritual rebellion." I do not see the loud shop arguments as necessary to the "solidarity" of the group (cf. Gluckman, 1955, for a statement of this thesis). On the contrary, the avoidance of overt aggression (or the formalization of it) in Cat Harbour is a real survival response in tenuous socio-ecological circumstances. People do 'get vexed' with each other, they do become angry, and there are animosities of long standing in the community. The point is that they are seldom allowed expression; a premium is placed on repressing overt conflict. This is aptly illustrated in the case of one old man who became 'vexed' with his neighbour. From across his garden fence he shook his fist at him and shouted, 'If I were in the outside world, I'd really smack you one.' The fact that conflict characterizes and would be presumably allowed in the 'outside world' is, as has been seen, extremely important.

The noisy arguments in the shops, then, are simply formalized and sanctioned exchange, and even the loudest arguments are not referred to at the next meeting of the individuals concerned. But if the shop conversation becomes personal – if men become 'black' – the individuals involved avoid each other and the conflict becomes news.

There was a marked reaction to my own attempts to gossip or attempt the technique of the cuffer, and anxiety that, as a stranger, my information was personal and not the formalized and routinized communication of the local people. It was expressed in discomfort, not in resentment. The reaction was essentially wariness of a stranger becoming so familiar; I suddenly posed a threat from an angle they had not previously considered and I was exploiting a dynamic allowed only those firmly part of the moral community.⁹⁷ (I should

97 This is in contrast to Gluckman's analysis of gossip and scandal (1963) which stresses clique distinctions. Cliques (informationally-based) are absent in Cat Harbour. Transgressors of the community "moral order" are ignored in their attempts to cuffer, but not because of snobbery on the part of the moral community. Violators may exploit this interaction dynamic and aggress in this behavioural sphere as they have elsewhere. Exploiting the rules of acceptable local behaviour in one area is seen as indicative of one's action in other areas.

add that I did not persist in my cuffering attempts, more, however, from lack of skill rather than community reaction.)

News, in summary, is culturally determined. As it makes the rounds of the settlement in the way described, being thoroughly discussed and exaggerated, it ceases to be news and is relegated to a dormant store of information which may be activated as news in the form of the cuffer – essentially the way conversation and communication is maintained and continued should there not be any "real" news. The person who can provide the most "real" news or cuffer most successfully is accorded esteem. But individuals are not allowed such an opportunity unless they subscribe to the rigid rules of the moral community.

It seems perfectly congruent to me that in a society which accords esteem to the successful transmission of 'anything strange,' we find such a marked lack of exchange of information which is considered culturally mundane and common, even to the degree of the lack of verbal exchange in learning processes. In fact, the absence of verbal learning is coincidental with a local symbolism characterized by codable cues with high meaning capacities, and is used extensively in lieu of verbal exchanges. The phenomenon of high semantic load is further discussed in Faris (1968).

A dynamic of occasion may be abstracted in the form of yet another transformation, in this case generating rules of behaviour labelled 'special' in the moral community; that is, behaviour characteristic of acceptable deviation.

There are several situations where Cat Harbour people of both sexes gather, apart from those connected specifically with fishing. During these occasions, there are quite striking differences in behaviour from that which prevails in normal daily interaction.

Throughout this study, rather rigid and highly formalized behaviour has been seen to characterize Cat Harbour. There is a premium on the repression of emotion and random behaviour; should these be expressed, the reaction is one of considerable discomfort and repugnance. This accords well with my argument that a basic principle in human relations is the tendency toward perfected response, especially in relatively homogeneous societies, and in situations where the conceptual "others" or "outside world" is a potential threat. In such homogeneous systems (among which I include Cat Harbour), there are usually certain premiums on successful interaction, and the limits of the moral community may be defined locally in terms of the maintenance of this interaction. This applies even during the periodic 'occasions',⁹⁸ even though, to the outside observer, it appears that behaviour at these occasions is topsy-turvy and totally different from what one might expect. The theme of this section will emphasize the degree to which behaviour is highly predictable and rigidly formalized even on these occasions when it appears so aberrant, and indeed, that the discernible patterns of behaviour at these occasions furnish one precise indicator of the *limits* of role expectations in Cat Harbour and the mechanisms by which these are facilitated.

People gather in circumstances apart from those involving fishing activities. The most common gatherings are those at the shop (exclusively male) each evening, and the religious services occurring once each week during all but the busiest times of the summer for United Church adherents, and up to three times each week for the Jehovah's Witnesses. I have previously discussed the shop gatherings and the Church and Kingdom Hall services. But there are a number of other occasions when people gather that are specifically

98 Events termed 'occasions' are regarded as 'special' and are considered apart from non-special events.

seasonal and unscheduled: weddings, funerals, 'socials' (under the auspices of one of the institutions such as the United Church Women, the Jehovah's Witnesses' Assembly, or the Orangemen), and "informal" occasions, especially during the parties of Christmastide and the 'scoffs' of the fall and winter. These latter occasions are the Cat Harbour 'times' *par excellence*. Times and funerals are both known by the special generic term – 'occasions'.⁹⁹

A. FUNERALS

In considering funerals in some detail, I hope to clarify the preceding remarks. I want to demonstrate that both funeral and saturnalia have certain basic structural features in common, and even share the same colour symbolism. A *dynamic of occasion* enables sense to be made of this seemingly bizarre behaviour, and a statement of this transformation is necessary to understand similar behaviour occurring at both funerals and saturnalia.

Death means grief, and often, prolonged sorrow and mourning. There can be little doubt of the genuine loss felt in numerous instances. But what is interesting sociologically is the extent to which the expression of grief, however motivated, is subject to rigid rules, and the extent to which it is formalized. On any death, be it Jehovah's Witness or United Church, the window shades of the house in which it occurred are immediately drawn (although members of the former should ostensibly avoid such ceremony as it is undoubtedly derived from 'pagan superstition'). The more traditional of the deceased's nearest kinsmen may also draw their shades, but only on the side of the house which faces that of the deceased. As the mourning party passes through the community on the way to the cemetery, the shades of houses are drawn on the side of the house facing the road. This is articulated as 'respect' for the deceased in most cases, although older individuals have explained it as an act to prevent the 'spirits' thought to be surrounding the dead, from entering the house.¹⁰⁰

In the house of the deceased, the shades are left down for a specific mourning period and drawn up a certain amount each week until the mourning is over. In one case, the shades were fully down for one week, approximately three-quarters drawn another week, half-drawn a third week, and fully raised again after the fifth week. Let me repeat, I am not making light of the real grief which may be felt on the death of a kinsman, but simply pointing out

99 A formal analysis of 'occasions' appears in Faris (1968).

100 Two pre-adolescent girls were discussing the custom with me, and one volunteered that her mother raised the shades after the mourning party had passed 'up' the road. The other stated with obvious superiority that her mother left the shades down 'until after he's buried,' and that this was the more respectful action. I shall discuss below the degree to which 'respect' can often be equated with fear, both operative in the custom of drawing shades.

the way in which the Cat Harbour moral order requires that it be expressed.

On death, the shades are immediately drawn, thus signalling to the community when it has occurred (during my period of research, deaths were expected, as there were persons of advanced age and others with incurable diseases), and creating a bit of 'news' which makes the shop rounds. Someone is sent to procure a coffin (during 1964, they all were imported commercial models bought from the merchant) and telegraph close kin elsewhere (offspring, parents, and siblings). Close kinsmen living in the community visit the house of the deceased to mourn and console those who lived with the deceased, and to decide upon pall bearers. The latter handle all the logistics of burial such as digging the grave, helping to dress and prepare the corpse, and carry the coffin in the mourning procession. It is significant that kinsmen are usually excluded from this activity; it is handled by "close outsiders," those not regarded as kin, but 'close' to the deceased, usually of the same 'race,' if they are available. Kinsmen who are 'mourning' are in a polluted or sacred state, engaged in an activity which places them in a special category characterized by special behaviour, and excluded from participation in other activities.

The traditional period between death and burial is three days. People say this gives relatives time to get home should they be in St. John's or elsewhere. Apart from the three days being associated with Christian symbolism, this is about the limit of time a corpse can be kept, especially in the summer. Immediately after the pall bearers have been decided upon, the body is 'dressed' and placed in the coffin, which is then put in the coldest room of the 'inner part' of the house on a bier covered with plastic flowers. It is never placed in the common room, the kitchen. The ostensible reason for this is that the kitchen is usually heated and thus too warm. But there is also a conceptual association between everyday normal outport life and the kitchen, where visiting, eating, and most daily interaction takes place. The living room or parlour – the 'inner part' – is associated with formality, reserve, and fear, reflected in an outside entrance which is never used by the inhabitants, and which frequently has no handle nor steps leading to it from the outside. Only 'strangers' go to this door to be admitted and only strangers are entertained in the inner part (it being a serious breach of conduct to enter the inner part without being specifically invited).

After the body has been prepared and is ready for display, more distant kinsmen and others come to the house to 'pay their respects.' Each invariably brings a sympathy card and a small bunch of plastic flowers (obtainable at the local shops) almost as a ticket of admission, and is asked if he or she wants to see the body. Most consent, go in to view the corpse, then return to sit quietly in the kitchen for a few minutes. There is usually a stack of sympathy cards and telegrams from St. John's and elsewhere, which each visitor (whether they can read or not), is obligated to look through and

acknowledge. Then each excuses himself and leaves. This visiting continues until just prior to the funeral.

On the third day, the funeral is held in either the Church or the Kingdom Hall, usually in the early afternoon (or 'evening,' as the day past noon is termed). Immediately before the funeral service, there is a short service in the home of the deceased, led by the minister (or lay reader), or the Jehovah's Witness servant, involving prayers and one or two hymns. In attendance at this service are the close kinsmen (the 'mourners') and the group of pall bearers, the "close outsiders." Others including more distant kinsmen, not classified as 'mourners,' go to the church to await the funeral party. After the private service, the lid is placed on the coffin and the pall bearers carry it out (usually using the front door to avoid the kitchen area) and into a pick-up truck, or, if weather and roads are prohibitive, onto a sleigh and horse. It is then pulled to the church (or Kingdom Hall), the bearers riding or walking behind.

The church bell tolls about thirty minutes before the service is to begin (the Jehovah's Witnesses have no bell, simply a designated agreed time) until the arrival of the mourners and the rest of the funeral party.¹⁰¹ The mourners 'parade' into the building behind the pall bearers in order of kin reckoning to the deceased.

The composition and 'parading' order of the mourning party varies according to the circumstances and structural position of the deceased: whether the deceased 'belongs to the place,' whether he or she married into the community, his or her age, marital status, numbers and kinds of surviving offspring and other kinsmen, and the circumstances surrounding the death. In the case of an old man without children, his widow (a Cat Harbour native) paraded first, followed by his sister (his only surviving sibling who married a Cat Harbour man), then the males of his clan (consisting of a nephew and two sons of his patrilineal parallel first cousin), plus their wives (the general crowd). These were followed by the widow's brothers, their wives, and children (that is, the deceased's wife's clan and their spouses). Regarding the latter, I was told that normally a wife's kin would not be included, but 'Uncle Peter had no one at all besides his cunny kin.' In another case, a child died – a situation considered unnatural and contrary to the normal course of events. Infant mortality was high in the past, but this child died of a cerebral tumour at the age of thirteen, a situation considered abnormal. The mourners parading behind this girl's bier were limited to her mother and father, her sisters and brothers (all unmarried), and her father's brothers. In the case of a suicide, the mourners were limited to (in this order) the deceased's wife and his children, his brothers, and two patrilineal parallel first cousins; with the exception of his wife, they were clansmen, 'people

¹⁰¹ At funerals even the church bell has a different façade, for instead of the normal quick gonging, it is rung at a slower pace.

who were really Corals.' In this case, there were no kinsmen of ascending 'races' still living.

These examples of funerals I attended illustrate the regulations surrounding those signified as 'mourners' – those in a state of ritual exclusion, as it were, from the mundane factors in daily life and from having anything physically to do with the corpse. On entering the church or Kingdom Hall, the bier is placed in front of the conductor of the funeral service. Mourners sit in a reserved section (significantly, in the middle or structurally neutral group of pews in the United Church, delineated by black ribbons), while the pall bearers and 'helpers' sit in another section marked by white ribbons on either side of the middle group of pews. The more distant kinsmen as well as non-kin occupy the rest of the seats. Depending on the day, a funeral can be a large social occasion: if it be Sunday, for example, many people from both denominations come. 'We attend each other's funerals and weddings.' After the funeral sermon and one or two prayers and hymns, the bier is borne out again, the mourners immediately behind it, and taken to the cemetery. Here, after a brief prayer and hymn, the casket is placed in a crude wooden box, lowered into the grave, and immediately covered by the pall bearers.

It is of some significance that, although the traditional aspects of the funeral ritual, symbolism, and method of recruiting mourners is the same for both groups, they have separate cemeteries, with their dead oriented in opposite directions (the heads of the United Church dead point in a general westerly direction, those of the Jehovah's Witnesses towards the east). United Church folk regard the latter as an especial affront to traditional practice and I have heard reservations about the chances of salvation with one's body oriented eastward.

I have previously mentioned the colour symbolism surrounding the categories of people and things involved in funeral occasions (see above, p. 141). Those categorized as mourners wear small black ribbons on their lapels. They are, in a real sense, removed from normal intercourse and their behaviour, symbolically and actually, is distinguished from that expected in the usual course of events; they are placed in an 'outsider' position, peripheral with regard to the mundane prosaic aspects of daily life. Their role, symbolized in the small black ribbon, is cognitively similar to the other conceptually 'black' categories in Cat Harbour – those surrounded with an aura of pollution, danger, and potential contamination. In marked contrast, those who act as pall bearers and help with the logistics of the ceremony, and who are "closest," but not kinsmen, wear small white ribbons. Even a pick-up truck used to transport the bier has a small white ribbon tied to the rear-view mirror or to a door handle. Included in this category are those who 'belong to the place,' but are not kinsmen, needed in a special way to make "hot" things "cool."¹⁰²

¹⁰² The use of an African idiom is deliberate. The striking parallels cannot be ignored.

B. THE 'TIMES'

There are other 'occasions' in Cat Harbour where behaviour is markedly different from that allowed and expected in daily interaction, that is at the opposite end, so to speak, of the behavioural continuum. These are the situations of social "license," the 'times' of weddings, the Christmastide parties, and the fall 'scoffs.'

Not all events of this sort necessarily mean a time, for a time is, in essence, a situation where the deviations and role "reversals" sanctioned by the occasion are fully achieved. People at a time may drink, dance, and joke sexually in a manner normally thought to be quite out of order. If this is not achieved, people say, 'We didn't really have a time, did we?' Times usually occur seasonally, and this is, in fact, one of the rules governing the licence; if drinking, dancing, or sexual liberties occur on unsanctioned occasions, they are violations and are regarded as sinful indulgence. People feel there is a special season for times which is usually after fishing, at the fall scoffs and the Christmastide times. They can also be achieved at weddings.

1. *Weddings.* Weddings are potential times. They may occur any time of the year, but generally in the autumn or spring, before and after fishing.¹⁰³ People regard it as a poor and suspect decision to be married in the summer, and say 'No, no one gets married in the summer; there wouldn't be anyone come.' And I have also heard, 'Folks wouldn't think of dying in the summer; everyone's too busy to bury them,' and it is perhaps of psychological significance that statistically, Cat Harbour has fewer deaths in the summer. People even joke about the cessation of sexual activities during the busy fishing season and refer to the summer as a time of 'sleeping back-on' (back to back).

In line with the lack of strong parental authority, the young couple who decide to wed simply inform the parents and tell them of the marriage date and plans for the affair. It is assumed in most cases that the bride-to-be is with child, so it is too late for much opposition. Approximately one week before the wedding, written invitations are delivered by hand (using one of the pre-adolescent children) to almost everyone in the community and even in the surrounding communities. It is considered a serious breach if someone is deliberately or accidentally overlooked. The elderly may not be invited if they are not kin to either of the partners, especially those considered eccentric. There is seldom any cognizance taken of the religious dichotomy in the community in issuing the invitations, nor does it make significant differences in the choice of partners (save the strong prejudice against Catho-

¹⁰³ The date of a wedding is, apart from summer, of no real concern, and is seldom related to the date of conception (see Chart 6, Appendix), except that the couple attempt to marry before the child is born.

lics). However, despite the large number of invitations distributed (two hundred invitations may mean five hundred people, as one invitation is issued per household), many do not actually come.

There is a distinction made between a 'wedding' and a 'marriage' in Cat Harbour.¹⁰⁴ The wedding refers to the reception, the supper, or party coming after the marriage, which is the church service only. Inasmuch as the Jehovah's Witnesses do not have ordained ministers, and if both partners are of that sect, the service is usually performed by the United Church clergy or a Salvation Army officer found in the larger communities of area 'B' (see Map 1). The marriage is attended only by the bridal party and a few close friends and kin, whereas the wedding where people anticipate a time, attracts vast crowds.

The marriage is held in late afternoon, with three 'bridesmaids' attending the bride, consisting of a sister of the bride, a sister of the groom, and a close friend of the bride; a brother of the groom, a brother of the bride, and a close friend of the groom normally attend the groom. Should these kinsmen not be available, kin alternatives are chosen, usually from those of the same 'race' in what is the next closest structural position – a patrilineal parallel cousin if a sibling is unavailable. Brides are always given away by their fathers or a father substitute, who brings the bride in from the entrance of the church after all the guests and kinsmen are in their places, and after the groom, 'bridesboys,' and bridesmaids are standing before the waiting minister. As with the mourners in funeral ceremonies, those "closest" to the bridal pair in a kinship sense, are seated in a special section and parade behind the married couple and the bridal party in a specific order when the service is over. More distant kin and spectators sit elsewhere. The marriage service itself is like the funeral service – a formal arrangement in accord with the procedure established by outside institutions.

At the wedding, however, outport tradition is again evident in the procedure of the 'tables' – the arrangements by which people are fed. Like funerals, weddings provide keys to the composition of kin groups and their relative importance at the occasion. At each wedding there is a large table seating up to fifty people, where the 'lunch' is eaten. This consists of meats, salads, several elaborate desserts, tea, and wedding cake. After the lunch and toast to the bride, the group sitting gets up and another fifty sit down. This goes on from about 8 p.m. to 2 or 3 a.m., so that up to four hundred people may be served. Those serving are female kinsmen, close neighbours, and female friends of the couple (though more from the community of the spouse in which the wedding takes place). Much of the food, especially the

104 This is probably related to the former discrepancy between the legal ceremony and the outport celebration to mark the occasion – because of the infrequent visits by the missionaries.

desserts, are contributed by these same women, while the meats and salads are usually prepared by close kin of the couple, chiefly by the parents.

The order in which people sit at the tables is determined by their kin position *vis-à-vis* the married couple. The couple, the bridal party, the elementary family (including younger siblings of the bride and groom), along with important 'strangers' (note the significance of this below, p. 163), the minister, and the toastmaster (who is usually not a kinsman, but a literate man, commonly the secondary school principal, whose duty it is to make witty comments and propose several toasts) are seated at the 'first table.' The close kinsmen seated here are those seated in a special section during the marriage service, and unlike the 'mourners' at a funeral whose composition varies with the factors surrounding the structural position of the deceased, the personnel seated at the first table is structurally the same at all weddings. The only significant variable affecting the composition of the first table is the location of the wedding itself, for one of the couple may be from a foreign community.¹⁰⁵

The 'second table' is composed of the next closest kinsmen, and so on; by the 'third table' or so, anyone who can scramble to a place usually does so. After eating, the women who are not involved in serving, sit in the hall and gossip and chat with kin, neighbours, and people from nearby communities. The men, except for the elderly and the few teetotallers, drink. This does not take place at the scene of the wedding as the building is usually a school or the Orange Lodge in which drinking is prohibited, but in the home of one of the parents of the couple. The first drinks are provided by the host, with the groom participating in moderation, as he is expected to spend the major part of the affair with his new bride, talking to guests, and helping to open gifts from the hundreds stacked up around a table in one corner of the hall especially set up for this purpose.

Drinking can become heavy at weddings, for as soon as the parental supply is exhausted, the groom is obligated to provide and many individuals will also have brought their own. As the consumption is exclusively by males and in the confines of the parental home, the order of entertainment is sexual joking and risqué 'cuffers.' Men who otherwise seldom drink are often intoxicated, an expected and sanctioned deviation, a role reversal, as it were,

105 Although there appears to be no fast rule, there is a strong tendency for the marriage and wedding to take place in the community in which the couple are going to live. This is most often in the home of the groom. Other factors which may determine the choice of location are: the wishes of the bride's family, especially if they are financing the occasion (expenses of a wedding are not the traditional responsibility of either set of parents, but are shared, or, if one is significantly better off, assumed in total by the wealthier), and the availability of a suitable public building or hall in which to hold the wedding.

from the temperate façade normally maintained. It is significant that the few fights known in the outport occur at weddings; 'At weddings men are likely to get black if they get too much to drink – a little rum and some fellers get full sail' (uninhibited). Old grudges come to the fore and a man who has in any way violated the moral order is usually expected to be able to defend himself, and may be called to task or challenged about his transgressions. It must not be assumed that those who normally operate within the confines of the moral community initiate these fights, for it may be that the violators, who, perhaps because of the frustration of being 'outsiders' in their own community, usually start the fights.

Later, men not totally drunk wander back to the wedding and attempt to get a dance underway, which may last until 4 or 5 a.m., the music being provided by a 'fiddler' (that is, someone with an accordion). Favourite dances are reels and jigs, especially those with overt sexual overtones.

2. *The Christmas 'Times.'* Christmas in Cat Harbour is a twelve-day celebration beginning Christmas Day and ending on the 6th of January, 'Old Christmas Day.' People attempt to 'get in twelve day's wood and water' and ideally do as little work as possible; it is a time of frolic and license, an occasion for times.

During my research, most men began drinking their Christmas beer, rum, and 'homebrew' one or two days before Christmas, and the majority remained slightly intoxicated for three to four days. They kept in reserve enough liquor for one or two more extended times at the end of the year, New Year's Day, and Old Christmas Day. Any person who had access to alcohol beyond these three periods during Christmastide was considered lucky; for although liquor is not usually regarded as essential for a good time, it does weaken inhibitions and makes people, at least for the time being, feel less responsible for their actions and for maintaining the demeanour and formal expectations of everyday life. It enables them to achieve the behavioural deviation, the role reversal, required for the successful 'time.'

Visiting characterizes this period; both men and women are found visiting another home or entertaining friends in their own house during the entire period.

On Christmas Eve there is an annual 'Christmas Tree' held in the Orange Lodge Hall, at which Santa Claus passes out gifts to children and parents. Santa is a local man, who under the guise of a mask and costume (note the similarity to the mummers), frequently exceeds the bounds of normal propriety, pinching, kissing, and hugging the adults, and passing comments and poignant remarks on the character, reputation, and conduct of persons present, as well as chastising and warning children of the dangers of misconduct as he gives them their gifts. Both parents and children often express fear of Santa and refuse to go forward to receive their gifts in spite of pleas

from others: 'He won't hurt you'; 'You know it's only Lloyd.' In one case, a woman refusing to go forward was a sister-in-law of the man playing Santa. When someone did venture forth, 'all hands' applauded and cheered. When I queried this display, I was told, 'It takes some guts to meet Santa, so we always blow them up and clap.' Santa Claus is, in spite of the gift-giving, a stereotype 'stranger.' He comes from the most remote place in outport cognition, 'down' at the North Pole, and parents often threaten children with 'Do you want us to let Santa Claus put you in his bag and carry you away?'

It is of some significance that the majority of Christmas gifts exchanged in the community are taken to the annual 'Christmas Tree' at the Orange Lodge. For just as the overt expression involved in punishment is displaced (see p. 76) and referred to outside agencies, institutions, and supernaturals, so also is the potential expression of emotion involved in direct gift exchange. Gifts are given indirectly through a Santa Claus, thus obviating emotional involvement. Moreover, the obligatory aspects of the exchange are less pressing under this system. 'If you're going to give someone something, it's easier if you get Santa Claus to do it, isn't it? It's not so embarrassing. I just couldn't do it my own self.' Even parental gifts to children are relayed in this way.¹⁰⁶

The most significant Christmastide times are the 'Janneys,' or 'Mummers,' or 'Dark Ones,' as they are sometimes called. These are individuals who go from house to house in disguise, often engaging in activities considered a complete breach of the moral code. Having considered the mumming complex in detail elsewhere (Faris, 1969), suffice it to say, here, that their behaviour is a complete reversal of that characterizing everyday life; it is a real time. It is important, however, to realize that the behaviour which is regarded as appropriate during mumming – drinking, sexual licence, dancing, and the like – is conceptually associated with 'strangers,' the representatives of the evil and potentially dangerous outside world. This is indicated in several ways; for example, both strangers and mummers knock to be admitted, both are associated with the black colour (black/white) symbolism, and both strangers and mummers are treated to lavish 'lunches' and drink.

Although I witnessed it only in a joking or sham manner, mummers are said to have formerly beaten anyone offensive to the general moral community if they caught them out, and thus had, as well, the sanction of physical coercion normally absent as a corrective mechanism in Cat Harbour. It is significant that only in the 'stranger' guise was this possible.

106 Parents give to their children, female siblings to each other, aged children to aged parents, and occasionally cousins to each other, spouses to each other, grandparents to grandchildren and aunts and uncles to nieces and nephews. These are all relayed through Santa Claus.

3. *'Scoffs.'* Weddings and Christmas are the only times at which community-wide drinking and saturnalia are really sanctioned. Individuals may have birthday parties and 'scoffs,' at which there will often be liquor, but these occasions may be frowned upon by others (especially by those not invited who wished they had been). A birthday is usually the excuse for a scoff if it comes in the autumn or early winter, for at this time, new vegetables, fresh moose, wild duck, and geese are available.

These times consist of three or four, or sometimes five couples of the same 'race' who all contribute something to the late supper, the scoff. They play cards, perhaps parlour games, and the men (rarely the women) drink. The climax of the evening is the scoff which invariably consists of potatoes, turnips, cabbage, salt beef, salt pork, and the main fresh meat such as moose or duck.

Apart from the drinking, the scoff is an occasion for considerable sexual joking and licence with wives and husbands other than one's own, both men and women taking the initiative. Traditionally the ingredients for a scoff are 'bucked,' that is, taken from someone else's garden or cellar (or, in the case of moose, taken from the carcass hanging in another's fish store). Bucking for a scoff is sanctioned within limits; it is not 'stealing' for a 'meal.' But if others are not invited, if there are no cards, drinking, or licence, then taking these items for a late supper would be regarded as stealing. It is a transgression of the moral order about which community pressures, opinion, and gossip would begin to operate.

The action taken if someone discovers he has been victimized by a 'scoff' is to attempt to get it all back after it is cooked, by 'second plundering' (from those who 'plundered' the first time). Second plundering applies also to goods plundered from ship wrecks, and bucking goods initially plundered is regarded as legitimate; it is said, 'second plunder is the sweetest.'

At the time of 'Bonfire Night' (November 5th – only rare individuals know the English antecedents for the celebration), barrels of any sort which are left unprotected are bucked – even prized water barrels and new fish casks – to be burned on the bonfire. If persons have barrels they want to keep, they must be secured inside a 'store.' The practice may be abused by breaking into stores which are barred on Bonfire Night (though not at other times), but this is considered a breach of the sanctioned license.

As I have mentioned, it is not necessary to always have liquor to have a time, for as long as roles prevailing in daily interaction are sufficiently reversed, and the sanctioned deviation is achieved, then a time is had. This is what happens on such occasions as the socials in spring, just prior to the seal fishery, held by the United Church Women, the Orange Lodge, and the Royal Black Preceptory. Drinking is prohibited, but sufficient opportunity is allowed for deviation in other ways. At these socials, there may be a number of skits or a full-scale play. But there is usually always a period of games and, of course, food. Admission is charged, and if there is dancing

or partner-exchanging games, a time may be had. These events, however, are not normally accorded the label 'times.'

Consideration should be devoted to the symbolic significance of food in Cat Harbour life, for it plays an indispensable part at the times. Food is, in the local view, the only proper idiom in which to express hospitality. Any special guest or any stranger must be fed, and if for some reason this is not effected, those involved worry over what is to them, a serious breach of the ethics of hospitality. But hospitality, as with respect, is often more akin to fear: by feeding a stranger one learns more about him and his purpose, and one also puts oneself in good stead with him. The point here is that food means hospitality. Furthermore, in the traditional theory of disease and well-being in Cat Harbour, food is all important. Any complaint from the 'neck to knees,' as it is expressed, centres on the stomach; a cough, for example, is a rattle in the stomach, and in the case of a seriously ill person, the first query is not about his temperature, blood pressure, or colour, but about his appetite; regardless of whatever else may be wrong, if a person is still eating, those concerned feel things are going well. Food, as a factor in hospitality and in times, must be seen within the framework of this cognition.

Let me summarize the main points of this section. I have discussed the several occasions in Cat Harbour when people gather, apart from fishing activities. In many instances, they are positive sanctions for deviation from the rigid role expectations normally characterizing the community, and have been shown to apply to the behaviour of mourners at a funeral, as well as to that of revellers during Christmastide. The "deviation" is in essence, *reversed* behaviour from that normally obtaining.¹⁰⁷

In the case of the times, it is worth noting several things. There are two common elements in the times: a formal admission symbol of some sort (money at the organizational social, gifts at weddings, something bucked for the scoff, and the mummer begging entrance in the form of knocking); and hospitality expressed in terms of food (at considerable expense and inconvenience in the case of weddings and socials). Then, there is the behaviour thought to characterize the stranger. First, the stranger knocks, something outport people rarely do, and secondly, he is given food, again not something normally extended to local people casually visiting. In the role reversal of the times, people define their conception of what is 'reverse' by the most deviant category known to them: the symbols and behaviour they regard as characterizing the stranger. I find it plausible and, under the historical and ecological circumstances to be expected, that the *dangerous* and *sacred* extremes of Cat Harbour society found in the occasions are part of the symbolism surrounding the stranger.

107 This analysis owes much to Leach (1961b:132-136), but whereas Leach stops with structural equations, I consider it important to explain why the ideology of reversal takes the form it does, and from whence it comes in given cultural circumstances.

The preceding study is a description and explanation, and I have attempted to be explicit about its theoretical and methodological foundations. The initial settlement of Cat Harbour was a function of an economic and political system over which people had no control; it required settlement in the most tenuous and severe physical and social circumstances. This demands comment on several points.

Cat Harbour society is *not* a function of biological male bonding as the presence of male dominance, male/female symbolism, and male production units might indicate (*contra* Tiger, 1970:133ff). The subjugation and oppression of women is not evidence of male biological dominance. It has been shown that the historical and material conditions and thus the necessary division of labour could have resulted in little else: early Newfoundland had few women, and fishing, unlike farming, cannot be undertaken with small offspring. Moreover, women normally marry into the community and are thus outsiders and not always thoroughly integrated into the local milieu. Furthermore, it must not be overlooked that male agnates commonly split when the opportunity arises, a fact ignored by Tiger in his misrepresentation of biological male bonding in Cat Harbour.

Cat Harbour society is *not* a function of a cognitive orientation of inhabitants stemming from a world view of limited good, on the evidence of egalitarianism and the lack of individual achievement manifestations (*contra* Foster, 1965). On the contrary, inhibitions on individualism and self-aggrandizement have been shown to be related to material and historical conditions where predictable and cautious behaviour is at a premium and real exploitation may result from individual exposure.

Cat Harbour society is *not* a function of particular psychological syndromes on the evidence of repression and formalization of aggressive behaviour. The interaction dynamics – transformations for the facilitation and continuity of relationships (performance) – are not formalizations of aggression (such as the loud shop behaviour which might be explained as formalized verbal aggression; or the egalitarian stress in contractual obligations, which might be explained as formalized economic aggression). On the contrary, these are necessary operations for the maintenance of appropriate behaviour in isolated and dependent circumstances. For the same reason, I have found functional explanations premised on the establishment of solidarity and

integration in the place of structural conflict to be tautologous (*contra* Frankenberg, 1957; Gluckman, 1955; Turner 1957).

Historical, material, and ecological conditions have been shown to be basic in explaining the society. Cat Harbour was originally settled in a harsh environment for pressing social and economic reasons, and only by settling in a difficult and inaccessible spot could people minimize the threat of apprehension and coercion. These threatening circumstances gave rise to and helped reinforce a stereotype of the representative of the "other world": the hostile outsider, the potentially dangerous 'stranger.' It has been shown that this cognition has implications and is structurally replicated in several dimensions of Cat Harbour life, especially in the ideology of deviation and the symbolic associations of license and violation.

Production under these same material conditions demanded crews, chiefly of male agnates. The maintenance of this labour unit led to a series of patterns for recruitment and retirement, the mobilization of necessary equipment and its transmission to others. This, in turn, proved critically relevant to residence patterns, to the evolution of local kin categories, and the establishment of particular marital traditions. These idioms in which people relate I have called *frameworks of interaction*.

One of the enigmas of the outpost, however, is precisely the fact that the economic base demands a local corporation of agnatically-related males and emphasizes their residential integrity. This creates a paradox, as the dictates of surname exogamy means local girls leave, and wives, in two-thirds of the cases, are women who come from the outside and are 'strangers.' The broad symbolism and cognition surrounding strangers has therefore come to be associated with women in general. The exigencies of marriage overcome the ideological associations, however; for it has been seen that a man without a wife is at a disadvantage 1) economically, as he cannot contribute her labour in 'putting away the fish' and must therefore accept a reduction in share; 2) jurally, for he still lives in and is regarded as part of the household of his parents; and 3) socially, as he is not a fully accepted participant in the evening shop gatherings of married males. Moreover, a local marriage may mean the establishment of a wide system of 'cunny kin,' a series of 'kin' links often marked (especially between males) by mutual cooperation and friendship.

This cooperative aspect of cunny kinship contrasts sharply with the relationships between male siblings who, for reasons chiefly related to the partial inheritance of an indivisible estate, often do not get along with one another. It is this strain between co-heirs which commonly effects cleavage in the economic core of the garden (the fishing crew), in spite of the ideal developmental scheme in the minds of Cat Harbour folk which suggests that a man breaks away from his brothers only when his sons reach maturity and are able to help him initiate a new crew. Here, as elsewhere, the facts of life

overcome the conceptual ideals, and this is why I find it useful, indeed necessary, to analytically separate the processes I call fission in the domestic group (the household), segmentation in the territorial unit (the garden), and cleavage in the economic unit (the fishing crew). The realities of existence simply do not allow that all facts form part of a coordinated single system in terms of development; there is no single all-encompassing process to relate them.¹⁰⁸

The conceptual ideals arising from historical-material conditions do provide certain sanctions for behaviour, however, particularly in the cognitive association of violators of the moral order with 'strangers.' Other cognitive complexes developed as people attempted to reduce uncertainty and make sense of their social and physical surroundings. These cultural orders are evolutions peculiar to the local situation, knowledge of which I have labelled *competence*, using a linguistic analogy characteristic of the methodology of generative grammar. Operating on these cognitive orders – this underlying semantic store – are a series of interaction dynamics, or transformations, which generate acceptable and predictable behaviour in everyday contexts. The three dynamics elucidated are necessary for acceptable *performances* in the moral community. They generate (making explicit or explaining the processes which produce) predictable behaviour, giving interaction continuity and facilitating appropriate behaviour.

Appropriate behaviour is supported by the threat of expulsion into a category of existence not symbolically unlike that assigned to the outsider. Many of the symbolic associations are, in fact, the same: the physical and economic aggressor is labelled 'black,' and the excessive drinking and license, apart from the sanctioned 'times,' is regarded as outsider behaviour.

These transformations or dynamics of interaction produce what might initially appear to be irrational behaviour. Men gather in the shops at night and become involved in loud and ostensibly serious arguments, then act as if nothing had transpired the next day. The merchant, who clearly made a considerable amount of money, was not despised as I expected he would be from my reading of Newfoundland mercantilism; on the contrary, he appeared to be liked and supported by most people. Again, I observed a man refuse to take money for his help in building a boat, and finally, having heard from several persons of the evils of sexual license and excessive drinking, I observed these same people participating with gusto in these activities at a wedding – only to be told again by them the following day of the evil behind them. It was only after several months that I began to see that this behaviour was predictable and expected, that transformations operating on the underlying cognitive base generated this interaction, and that these dynamics of

108 In contrast to the situation documented by Goody and others (Goody, 1958), where the changes in the territorial, economic, and domestic units were precisely interrelated and formed part of a single development system.

interaction were the "logic" necessary to explain the perpetuity of interaction and the maintenance of specific relationships.

I learned that the loud arguments in the shops were formalized verbal communication in response to an impetus to insure the availability of 'news'; this I called a dynamic of communication. Similarly, the bizarre economic behaviour – the respected merchant and the refusal of money for service – could be explained as part of an economic complex within the moral community which allowed and expected that debt be transformed to obligation. This transformation I termed a dynamic of exchange. The role reversal of the 'times' marked by deviations from normal behaviour, I called a dynamic of occasion.

It has been shown that esteem and reward accrue to individuals who can most successfully effect these transformations which serve to define and facilitate behaviour in a moral community. The moral community can be maintained only so long as people seek the rewards of its citizenship and so long as they have no material alternatives. As value orientations shift outside the community, class distinctions will undoubtedly precipitate. The community today is essentially egalitarian; there are no clearly defined authority positions, no local government, and no foci for the accumulation of power. But this is changing, one example already manifesting itself in the women's organizations, particularly the United Church Women. Not only are the leaders of this group outsiders (women having married into Cat Harbour), but much of their endeavour is directed toward the values and demands of the outside world: a rudimentary ranking system is beginning. The emigrating youth will mean more change, and as the values shift, the reasons for maintaining the local moral community will diminish, along with the sanctions which supported it.

Proposed relocation of the community will hasten this change, but it could also serve to alleviate certain structural strains of Cat Harbour – strains with which the population must live for lack of alternatives. The system of land partition and garden segmentation, which is now saturated, will be relieved by relocation; and it should be expected that brothers, whose forced residential and economic interaction promotes tensions between them, may not live next to each other in the relocated community. Emancipation from the centripetal force of partible inheritance is also possible given economic change or change in fishing technology, and in such a case, brothers may cease to fish together.

One would expect more marriages to take place *within* the larger relocation community, and over time, a village endogamy may evolve. This should serve to reduce the strong patrilineal stress of the traditional outport, and open new functional networks between affines and uterine kinsmen. Given these changes, the cultural symbolism surrounding females should become obsolete as well.

Other sources of strain, such as those between fishermen and the merchant may emerge more sharply. Cash transactions will likely destroy the exchange transformation, and the distinction between producers and mercantile interests will become sharper and more manifest. Undoubtedly, new strains characteristic of urban (or rural) proletarian class behaviour will emerge.

Confirmation of these patterns must await empirical research in the new setting. Meanwhile, it has been one of the central orientations of the present study to establish a base, theory, and methodology, for the direction of this research.

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Abbreviations used in text:

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B.M.	British Museum, London.
Adm.	Admiralty Series, Public Records Office.
C.S.P., A. & W.I.	Calendar of State Papers, American and West Indies.
C.S.P., B.T.	Calendar of State Papers, Board of Trade.
P.P.	Parliamentary Papers.
J.H.A.N.	Journal of the House of Assembly, Newfoundland, St. John's.

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Appendix

See appendices in the earlier edition of this work (Faris, 1966a) for detailed descriptions of Cat Harbour fishery technology, sea creatures, trees, and boats.