CLEAN WOMEN AND QUIET MEN: COURTSHIP AND MARRIAGE IN A NEWFOUNDLAND FISHING VILLAGE

KAREN VICTORIA SZALA


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CLEAN WOMEN AND QUIET MEN: COURTSHIP AND MARRIAGE IN A NEWFOUNDLAND FISHING VILLAGE

by

Karen Victoria Szala, B.A.

A Thesis submitted in partial fulfillment
of the requirements for the degree of
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Department of Anthropology
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ABSTRACT

This work is concerned with the examination of the relationship between patterns of courtship and marriage and the maintenance of the village as a viable social unit. The principle goals herein pursued are (1) the documentation of the process by which mates are selected and marriages initiated, (2) the analysis of these patterns and processes especially as they reflect local ethos, and (3) the exploration of the relationship between these specific processes and the general meaning family and village have for the people of Shepherd's Harbour, Newfoundland.

This work is divided into four parts. The first is a general introduction to the village and the people. The second is a series of case studies detailing the courtship and marriage of nine couples. The third deals with: (a) socio-spatial configurations of courtship, and (b) the concept of the ideal spouse as an expression of ethos. The fourth and final part addresses itself to the relationship between the courtship and marriage processes and the maintenance of the village.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

This project was part of the ongoing research on Newfoundland conducted by the Institute of Social and Economic Research at the Memorial University of Newfoundland. To the Institute and especially to Dr. George K. Park, whose confidence in me as a budding anthropologist made my first fieldwork a possibility, I extend deep gratitude.

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completion but throughout the years of my scholarly training.

Finally, while it was the Institute of Social and Economic Research that awarded me a graduate fellowship, it is the people of Shepherd's Harbour who offered me a very different and special sort of "fellowship". For it was only through the sharing of their lives that I was able to understand something of their culture. I feel not only gratitude for these very special people but deep love and respect, for they warmly welcomed me into their lives to learn and to write--paying me the greatest compliment of all, by permitting me to call Shepherd's Harbour my home.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

LIST OF TABLES

LIST OF FIGURES

INTRODUCTION

This thesis concerns itself with the examination of courtship and marriage patterns in a fishing village on the south coast of Newfoundland. Field research was conducted for a period of six months in 1974, with three return visits in the following year. The thesis is divided into four chapters. The first deals with an introduction to the setting, origins and the people of the village. Included in this section is a discussion of subsistence activities, economics, religion and politics. Other points are included to illustrate the local culture for readers unfamiliar with Newfoundland. The second chapter contains eight detailed case studies. These case studies, which run chronologically, explore how marriages have been initiated for a period of over sixty years (from 1912 to 1974) and provide a way of observing how modes of courtship and marriage have either been maintained or modified throughout this period. Other factors, particularly parental interests, peer group solidarity, occupational contingencies and changes in transportation, communication and subsistence activities are explored as they impinge upon the process of mate selection.

Chapter three deals with (a) socio-spatial configurations of courtship specifically the rendezvous (the 'shop' and 'restaurant') and the venue (the 'road') and

(b) the concept of the ideal spouse as an expression of ethos.

Chapter four, the concluding chapter, addresses itself to the relationship between the patterns of courtship and marriage and the maintenance of the village as a viable social unit. This relationship is explored through the examination of such elements as: (1) the concepts of the ideal spouse, (2) notions concerning premarital pregnancy, (3) reticence in social interaction, and (4) the relationship between socio-spatial hemispheres and marriage selection. A presentation of the multi-vocal aspects of the concepts concerning 'belonging', 'crowd' and 'garden' are also included. These areas are analysed in an effort to explore and expand our understanding of the patterns of courtship and marriage in Shepherd's Harbour, but also their reflection in the local ethos; particularly the meaning that family and village have for the people. (The names of individuals discussed in this work are pseudonyms. However, some but not all of the place names are fictitious.)

CHAPTER I

SETTING

The village of Shepherd's Harbour is nestled at the entrance of a narrow fiord that extends for over a mile into the hilly barrens surrounding Fortune Bay on Newfoundland's South Coast. The barren lands are characterized by boreal muskeg,[1] low ground vegetation, spindly spruce, outcrops or rock, brooks, shallow ponds, and the occasional meadow. The thick brush, usually knee high, and the many forms of stinging insects, make summer excursions into this area a decidedly unpleasant pastime. These barren grounds, which are referred to locally as 'the country',[2] are abundant with caribou (genus Rangifer), moose (Alces americana) and game known generally as 'wild meat'[3] which provides an important supplement to the staple diet of salt fish and potatoes. During the winter months the

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[1] A sphagnum (peat) bog often found with tussock grass; a thick wet deposit of partially decayed vegetable matter found in Arctic and subarctic regions.

[2] Throughout the text, terms or phrases which are part of the local idiom will be enclosed within single quotation marks; direct quotes will be placed within double quotation marks.

[3] Slaughtered domesticated meat by comparison, is known as 'fresh meat'.

men take advantage of the increased ease of overland travel to hunt these animals deep in the interior of the island. Prior to the introduction of the snowmobile in 1970, men in groups of two or more would go for week long forays in search of wild game. Their means of travel at that time was by dog team and 'slide'.[4] Hunting trips are now usually less than a week long since the snowmobile cuts down travel time. Beside this larger form of game, there are great numbers of migratory birds which visit the island annually and add variety to the diet. Popular species hunted include: geese, ducks, ptarmagan, partridge, puffin, 'turr', and 'ice birds'.

Table 1 on page 5, provides information on Newfoundland weather. Unfortuantely, up-to-date, detailed information is not available for the Fortune Bay area. The material presented below, however, presents a general idea of the climate, although it was gathered at the Gander weather office approximately 150 miles northeast of Shepherd's Harbour.

SETTLEMENT AND HOUSING

The earliest white inhabitants of Shepherd's Harbour are reported to have spent their first winter in 'stone houses'. These structures were not actually houses,

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[4] 'Slide' is a local term for sledge, usually used for heavy duty hauling, and resembles the komatik used by Labrador Inuit.

TABLE 1

Temperature, precipitation and sunshine, figures for Gander, Newfoundland, 1937-1974

Characteristic:	Range			
	High	(year)	Low	(year)
Average Annual Extreme Maximum Temperature	91.0°f	1946	82.0°f	1969
Average Annual Extreme Minimum Temperature	+6°f	1963	-17.2°f	1957
Average Annual Total Rainfall	38.13 ins.	1950	17.17	1962
Average Annual Total Snowfall	238.0 ins.	1966	77.4	1951
Average Annual Total Sunshine	1860 hours	1972	1198	1940

Source: Environment Canada, 1974, Annual Meteorological Summary - 1974 and Long Term Record, 1937-1974. Gander: Gander Weather Office.

but clusters of large slabs of rock which protruded from the protected side of a hill and were enclosed on all but one side. According to local tradition, the first inhabitants enclosed these shelters with rough hewn wood and spent their first winter thus protected from the elements. Unfortunately, no historical or archaeological data is available to substantiate this tradition. Wooden houses are reported to have been first constructed at the entrance of the harbour. Later, as more families settled, they began to build in a protected southern cove and around a point where most people now live. Families moved further down the harbour at a gradual but steady pace as the population grew. Older houses tend to be situated on the 'landwash' (water's edge), while the more recent dwellings tend to be found on the rocky cliffs. The 'landwash' was considered to be the most desirable site for house construction since it is consistently the flattest area and provides easy access to the harbour.

During the early period of Shepherd's Harbour's history men fished intensively in and around the harbour. When they were not in their dories catching fish, they were back in the harbour on their 'stages'[5] and adjoining 'flakes'[6] preparing the fish for market. For these reasons,

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[5] 'Stages' are wooden wharfs which jut out into the harbour, and usually contain a small wooden building known as a 'store', where salted fish and gear are kept.

[6] 'Flakes', are wooden platforms where slated fish is laid over latticework and spruce boughs to be dried in the sun.

along with the fact that the dory was the major means of transportation, easy access to the water was a necessity. As shore sites become less abundant, the sons of shore residing men tend to build their homes up the cliffs from their fathers' houses and share their fathers' 'stages'.

There are two architectural styles prevalent in most Shepherd's Harbour houses. One is the more traditional two-story variety, rectangular in shape with either a flat or slightly slanted 'loft' (roof). The other is a wooden bungalow, usually one story high with a pitched roof. Houses are brightly painted and well kept, their tiny gardens neatly bounded by picket fences and footpaths surfaced with smooth, shiny stones. Around most of the older homes, one can find a number of small outbuildings, used over the years to store a variety of specialized goods including fish, gear, fuel, tools, livestock, food and generators.

Much concern is given to the care of the interior order of the house as well as the exterior. Women consider the states of their houses, especially of their kitchens, to be direct reflections upon themselves as good housewives. The most prominent feature of any village home is the kitchen. It is the center for family and social activity; it is the room where meals are taken, school work is completed and where visiting and relaxation take place--essentially where most time in the home is spent. Most

kitchens are situated on the side of the house facing the center of the village with generous windows that let in sunlight on the often cloudy days and provide the occupants with a view of the comings and goings within the harbour. Standard fixtures that complete the kitchen include, a large kitchen table and chairs, usually situated in front of a window, a stove[7] burning wood, oil or both. The latter is used for cooking and heating (often the major source of heat for the entire house). A refrigerator, with a radio on top, which is usually turned on; a television; a 'modern' (kitchen cupboards with a built-in sink); and finally, a 'daybed' (foldaway bed), where one can usually find a child, adult or cat napping.

The 'sitting room' is usually adjacent to the kitchen and is often closed off from use in the winter months due to inadequate heating. It is not so much a living room, in the sense in which it is known in other North American homes, since most "living" is done in the kitchen. Rather, the 'sitting room' is used when special guests are entertained or where weddings or wakes are held. The rest of the house is usually taken up by tiny bedrooms, pantries and over the last several years, indoor bathrooms. In the past, children bathed in the kitchen, and adults bathed in the privacy of their sleeping quarters. Chamber

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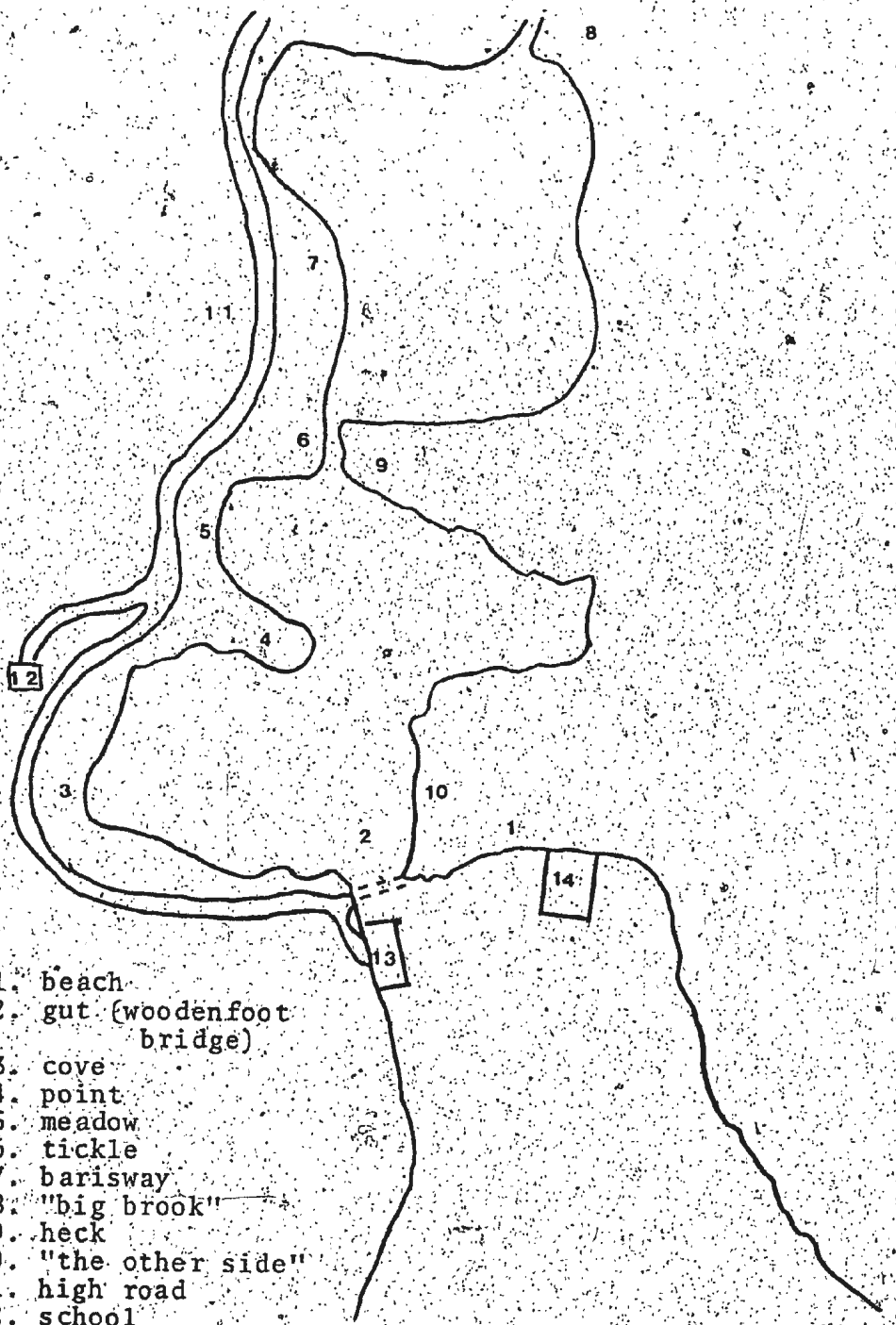
[7] Out of fifty-two households only four have electric ranges, one of which came with the mobile home in which it is housed.



1. beach
2. gut (woodenfoot bridge)
3. cove
4. point
5. meadow
6. tickle
7. barisway
8. "big brook"
9. heck
10. "the other side"
11. high road
12. school
13. government wharf
14. dory slip

Figure 1: Map of Shepherd's Harbour

pots were usually kept behind a screen in the bedroom and were used by women and girls. Men, who were usually out of the house, would use holes cut in the floor of their 'stores' which overhung the water. The duty of emptying the chamber pots was relegated to the women of the household,[8] who after lighting the fire and setting the tea kettle to boil, would go down to the 'landwash' in the early morning.

TRANSPORTATION AND COMMUNICATION

The 'high road', as it is known locally, was completed in October 1971, connecting Shepherd's Harbour with St. Charles, seven miles to the north east. Before that time, a small cart path wove between the numerous fenced gardens and over rocky crags connecting village households to one another. This path was in many places just wide enough to accommodate a small cart or in some spots only one person. With the construction of a gravel road, numerous adjustments in land boundaries had to be made, several families were required to give up all or part

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[8] Women stated that there exists a hierarchy which regulates the emptying of the chamber pot with the young unmarried teenage girls at the bottom, the young married women in the middle and the eldest married women (with children) at the top. Due to a pattern of temporary virilocality, there were frequently several young unmarried women in the household at one time. In such cases, a woman's date of arrival or some other criterion would be used to fit her into the hierarchy.

of their property for the construction of the road.[9] Many people purchased automobiles before the road was actually finished. One man kept his car in Schooner's Cove, two villages away, and would take the steamer the rest of the way to Shepherd's Harbour. On his way back, he would catch the steamer for Schooner's Cove and then proceed to St. John's via automobile. By the time the road was half completed (3-1/2 miles) many men purchased cars and drove as far as they could, walking the rest of the way. The road radically changed people's perception of their mobility. Now, nearly every household has an automobile or access to one. People no longer need to rely on the coastal steamers or intermittent fish collection boats for transportation. Villagers, could, if they cared, drive straight to St. John's, the capital, in one day or go for a short visit to neighbouring villages. Despite this fact, women still remain less mobile than men, though this situation is gradually changing.[10] The road has affected visiting patterns in the village as well. Sunday traditionally involved a pattern of

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[9] With few families holding deeds to their land property ownership continues to be generally ambiguous. Bitter controversy arose when some families saw all or part of their lands go to road construction. This situation was communicated to me by a few key informants yet when asked about the issue directly, most villagers attempted to convey an aura of friendly community spirit.

[10] During the time of this research, most middle-aged men and practically all young men had drivers' licenses. Only three women were licensed drivers.

visiting from house to house. With the advent of the road families began to go for Sunday rides to neighbouring villages to visit family and friends, or drive to a roadside restaurant miles away for 'Sunday supper'.[11]

Prior to 1971 Shepherd's Harbour relied upon the coastal steamer for mail, supplies and transportation. While the steamer still calls at the village, the main means of transportation has been supplanted by motorized vehicles. Mail is now delivered five days a week by truck. Telephones were first installed village-wide in 1972. Service is at best marginal and direct dialing is restricted to the fifty-two households within the village and to two other villages on the opposite shore of Fortune Bay connected by underwater cable. Prior to the installation of the present system the village was served by one mobile phone, housed at the home of the shopkeeper, who also maintains a line to the Canadian National steamship authority. He arranges for the steamer to make stops, or is notified when the ship is pulling in with freight or passengers.

Electricity was first introduced to Shepherd's Harbour in the early 1960's. "Delco" generators (gasoline powered) were installed and shared by several households, each providing sufficient power to operate lights, radios,

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[11] 'Sunday supper', is usually a cold plate of meats, potato salad, cole slaw and pickled beets. Followed by cake, sweets and tea.

televisions and other small appliances during the night hours. Co-operative ownership of these generators tended to follow kin ties between fathers and sons in the same manner in which rights to 'stage' use and land were reckoned. In 1970 a powerhouse with a diesel generator was built for the village with provincial funds, supplying service to all the houses on a twenty-four hour basis. Before electricity oil lamps were used for illumination, and cooking was done on wood or coal burning stoves. As late as the mid-1960s[12] coal boats from North Sydney, Nova Scotia, would call at all the small villages along the South coast in the Autumn. Women, children and men (if they were home from the fishery) would 'put away' the coal. Positioning their dories near the coal boat they would unload the fuel into their dories and row back to their 'stages' where other 'hands', usually children, would carry bucket loads to the winter storage areas located in either a crawl space beneath the house or in an outbuilding. Due to the rocky terrain cellars could not be built without excess expense. In recent years coal has declined in popularity due to its sootiness and cumbersome quality. Heating oil is now delivered by truck and is used in most cooking stoves and heaters. Oil furnaces have increased in popularity in recent years.

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[12] It is common practice to remember dates in the past by connecting them to significant events in the past, but they are usually only approximations.

VISITING VILLAGES

As noted by numerous authors on Newfoundland society there exists a phenomenon I refer to here as visiting villages . By this I mean that residents of one village visit, conduct economic transactions with, or otherwise communicate with other villages. Across the island, it has been found that each fishing village will have one, two or three villages with which they share a complex network of friendship, kinship and business ties (Chiaramonte, 1970; Faris, 1972; Firestone; 1967). Shepherd's Harbour over the years has established a strong relationship with the larger community of Schooner's Cove, which is a twenty mile drive overland or a seven mile trip by sea. Like Shepherd's Harbout it has long been a predominantly Roman Catholic community and has been involved in the inshore and offshore fisheries throughout its history. Most Shepherd's Harbour families are reputed to be the decendants of Schooner's Cove families. This would date settlement at around the early 1800s as far as most sources indicate. Unfortunately, historical documentation for most South Coast villages tends to be sparse and Shepherd's Harbour is no exception. In the first census available for Newfoundland in 1836, there were eleven residents of Shepherd's Harbour, all of whom were Anglican. The next report, completed twenty-one years later, in 1857, shows a population increase of nineteen, bringing the total population to thirty (see Table 2 below). During

the same time period, the Roman Catholic population of neighbouring Schooner's Cove declined by nineteen and the Roman Catholic population of Shepherd's Harbour increased by the same number.[13]

TABLE 2

POPULATION FIGURES FOR SHEPHERD'S HARBOUR AND SCHOONER'S COVE, BY RELIGION, 1836-1857

Census Year	Village	Total Pop.	Anglican	R.C.
1836	Shepherd's Harbour	11	11	0
1836	Schooner's Cove	53	15	38
1857	Shepherd's Harbour	30	12	18
1857	Schooner's Cove	37	18	19

Over the years, ties between the two villages have remained strong with more or less secondary ties to the Roman Catholic community of Colline. While the present day telephone exchange includes the villages of Bras D'or, Shepherd's Harbour and Colline, in its toll-free area; villagers complained that they rarely called those places but frequently placed calls to Schooner's Cove which was an

[13] According to local tradition the Anglican population which was already settled in Shepherd's Harbour prior to the 1836 census came from Schooner's Cove.

extra charge. In fact, a perusal of telephone bills indicates that a majority of toll calls were made to Schooner's Cove numbers.

Another interesting point worth mentioning here is that, despite the fact that the 'high road' between Shepherd's Harbour and St. Charles (predominantly Anglican) has been open since 1971, little interaction has taken place between the two villages. Neither Anglican nor Roman Catholic villagers increased their interaction appreciably, the former of which continue to maintain ties to friends and relatives in the predominantly Anglican villages of Rencontre East and Belleoram.

MEN'S SUBSISTENCE ACTIVITIES

The Inshore and Offshore Fisheries

The men of Shepherd's Harbour have had a long-standing involvement with both the inshore and offshore fisheries. Initially the men were involved with the catching and curing of cod. They also fished for herring which was bountiful in Fortune Bay, as well as lobster and salmon. Since they were too far away from mercantile centers, fish merchants would send out collecting vessels known as 'smack boats' to the villages along the coast to pick up catches. A lobster boat still calls during the season from May to July. Not only did these boats collect fish for market or bait, but they provided an added means

of transportation and news transmission, a situation not unlike that found by Chiaramonte (1970:7) on the Southwest coast.

In the late 1800s opportunities began to open up in Nova Scotia and Newfoundland for men to work aboard the wooden 'banking schooners'.[14] With twelve dories manned by crews of twenty-four to twenty-eight 'hands', the schooners would make voyages lasting as long as nine to ten months, taking the men away from their villages from March to October or November. Even though vessels would make bi-weekly returns to port offloading their haul, the distance to Shepherd's Harbour was usually too far and the time ashore too short for men to return home to their families. The men would try to make at least one trip home at mid-cruise preferably for May twenty-fourth celebrations (i.e., Victoria Day, the official celebration of the Queen's birthday and traditionally one of the biggest celebrations outside of the 'twelve days of Christmas'. [Christmas eve to Ephiphany]). Returning at mid-May was also important because the men could help prepare the land for the planting of vegetable gardens. Upon the close of the schooner fishing season, in late fall or early winter, the men would return home from Nova Scotia or other Newfoundland ports via coastal steamers and or smaller

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[14] 'Banking schooners' were termed such because they fished the many banks in the Northwest Atlantic.

boats, laden with a year's provisions. A sample of the cargo included: flour, sugar, molasses, beans, cotton, lamp oil, shoes, clothing, tools, crockery, furniture, and any other miscellanea they or their families might need during the course of the coming year.

Their return was anticipated by their wives and children, for as one old fisherwife remarked, "this place was some lonesome in them times...just women and chil'en, t'was all there was". The men played an important role in the subsistence routine which included among other duties: the slaughtering of sheep, hogs and cattle, hunting wild game, and the cutting and storing of the winter's supply of wood. Groups of men, usually kin, would go on to the barren grounds at this time, in search of caribou and moose. Expeditions of this sort were usually successful, providing enough game ('wild meat') along with domesticated meat ('fresh meat') slaughtered in the fall to sustain families throughout the winter. Caches of game and meat were hung from the rafters of 'stores' to be frozen by the cold temperatures. Because of its preservative qualities, the frost was known as 'the God's frost'. While an increasing number of men became involved in the schooner fishery and later in the dragger fishery, there were still men who opted to stay at home. These men fished locally with nets and traps, cured their own cod and sold it along with herring, salmon and lobster to the merchants and fish collectors. Most men

either fish in the inshore or offshore fisheries exclusively, while a handful still divide their time between the two.

The Dragger Fishery

With the advent of World War II the schooner fishery was curtailed due to the threat of submarine attack by the German navy. For the majority of schooner fishermen in the village this meant a search for an alternative means of support for themselves and their families. Only a few men had sufficient trawl gear, lines and outfits to make pursuing the inshore fishery a viable economic enterprise. Many of the men who either lacked the gear to fish or the cash to purchase it had no recourse but to take jobs as construction workers at the United States Army and Navy installations or join the merchant navy.[15] However, none of the men from the village joined the military service.

In the late 1950s, the last of the schooners sailed out to the fishing grounds and the fishery converted to steel draggers. Many of the men who worked for Nova Scotian concerns remained with them after the transition

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[15]Most schooner fishermen were unable to accumulate cash savings from the year's earnings. The bulk of their wages went toward the purchase of provisions and or manufactured goods which they acquired from a merchant. Fishermen from Shepherd's Harbour reported that on many occasions the owner of the schooner and the merchant was the same man. Thus very little of their cash wages ever were brought back to the village at the end of the cruise.

period while others either transferred to existing Newfoundland companies or joined newly formed companies on the island. The life of the fisherman, however, did not change much. As deck hands they still worked at 'gutting', 'heading' and 'filleting' fish during any one of the three round-the-clock shifts, on cruises that lasted from twelve to fourteen days, with only a forty-eight hour shore leave. At least, with changes in transportation, fishermen were able to return home more frequently than their forefathers. Separation nonetheless, remains a hallmark of their lives.

Aside from jobs either in the inshore or offshore fishery, there are only few full- or part-time jobs available within the village. 'Land jobs'[16] are considered desirable, especially by wives who wish their husbands would not have to be away so much. Actually, the desire is somewhat unrealistic in that: (1) 'land jobs' within the immediate confines of the village are scarce and largely seasonal,[17] (2) most do not pay well enough to maintain

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[16]Four men from Shepherd's Harbour have jobs outside the village, commuting on weekends from St. John's, Come-by-Chance, and Marystown. One is a mason, two are employed at an oil refinery and the fourth works as a welder at the Marystown shipyard. Aside from one carpenter, the shopkeeper and two highway workers there are no full-time jobs available to men in the village.

[17]During the winter months, when the weather makes fishing conditions hazardous, the provincial government subsidizes "community initiative programmes" or better known locally as 'winter works'. Under the aegis of this annual program the village men have constructed a community center with a seating capacity of approximately 300-400 people, an extension to the school house, and a badly needed foot bridge connecting the East side of the village to the West. During the winter of 1974-75 they maintained these structures as well as widening the gravel road inside the village.

the high standard of living that practically every family in the village now enjoys, and (3) jobs not related to fishing do not hold the same prestige and respect as do fishing jobs.[18] A good trip could bring a ship's engineer, for example, as much as several thousand dollars; a bad trip, as little as one hundred. Draggermen receive a set rate according to the current price of fish. If the haul is exceptionally large the men receive a bonus from the company. Men's salaries can fluctuate from cruise to cruise depending on the fluctuation of resource and fish prices.[19] Nonetheless, Shepherd's Harbour is one of the most prosperous villages on the South Coast for as Table 3 illustrates, there is a large proportion of high level fishermen as well as deck hands in the village. When seen in conjunction with the relative affluence of the village and the almost 100% employment (among males), these people indeed enjoy a high standard of living in comparison to many other Newfoundland villages.

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[18] The importance of fishing as an aspect of male identity is discussed at greater length in the Conclusion.

[19] People rarely discuss financial matters openly and frankly. It is a popular habit to falsify the amount of one's (or one's husband's) pay cheque. The object being to inflate the amount only to a believable level but never to disclose the exact amount.

TABLE 3

OCCUPATIONAL CLASSIFICATIONS HELD BY MARRIED MALES IN SHEPHERD'S HARBOUR ABOARD OFFSHORE FISHING VESSELS, 1974[20]

Captain	4
Engineer	9
Mate	6
Boatswain	3
Cook	3
Deckhand	18

WOMEN'S SUBSISTANCE ACTIVITIES

The subsistence activities of Shepherd's Harbour women have changed radically since confederation[21] in 1949. Traditionally, they have taken an active and productive part in the processing of fish. In the 1891 (p. 330) census of Newfoundland and Labrador, under the

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[20] No data on occupational classifications was collected among unmarried males, but by and large most were deckhands. It should also be noted that for the last four categories, except cook, the personnel may shift from cruise to cruise, so that a man may be a deckhand one trip and mate or boatswain the next. Captains and engineers do not shift in this manner since licenses must be acquired for these positions.

[21] In 1949 the island of Newfoundland then a British possession, was offered independence from the crown. Newfoundlanders had the option to join Canada, the United States, or be a sovereign body. They chose Canada and became the tenth confederated province in that year.

category "catching and curing", notes that with a population of 138 persons there were twenty-nine fishermen, all of whom fished and cured cod, and twenty-two women who worked on the shore operation. The method used to cure cod is a time consuming operation requiring keen judgement about highly changeable weather conditions and standards of quality control for salted fish. The curing of fish is a task shared by both men and women. The men catch the fish, 'head' and 'gut' them; then the women wash the fish in fresh water, bathe them in salted water (not sea water) and sprinkle them with layers of coarse salt. After this the women place the fish on the 'flakes' to dry for several weeks. Optimum drying conditions include sunny days with a low level of moisture in the air and a good breeze. One of the limitations of this process is that South Coast weather is changeable. Often it can be sunny in the morning and raining by the afternoon. Not only must the fish be put out each day, and turned during the course of the day, but they must also be taken in at night or at any time that rain threatens.[22]

As an adjunct to the curing process, some women ran small seasonal lobster canning operations during the 1940s and 1950s. Entrepreneurs from Harbour Breton and Grand Bank would distribute instructions and wooden crates

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[22] For a more detailed account of the curing process, see (Firestone: 1967).

of one pound cans to women throughout Fortune Bay, commissioning them to pressure can their husbands's catches for sale in the United States and Canada.

Besides the care given to their families,[23] women dominated the areas of animal husbandry,[24] gardening, weaving,[25] needlework, sewing, knitting and quilting. Families had at least one milk cow, a flock of sheep, and, occasionally, a hog, chickens and geese. Every household had its own milk house where fresh milk was stored, along with a supply of churned butter, and 'crudd's cheese', or farmers' cheese. Agriculture was carried out intensively despite the small amount of arable land available within the confines of the village. Yields continued to grow at an increasing rate, meeting the demands of the growing population as more land was cleared for agricultural purposes. One author (Matthews: 1973) notes that the introduction of the potato during the mid-eighteenth century probably had a substantial effect on settlement. The generally poor and rocky quality

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[23] Women maintained a wealth of knowledge about herbal remedies and folk medicine. There was always at least one woman who knew midwifery in the village, the last of which delivered her own grandchild shortly before her death at 79, in 1969.

[24] For a time, foxes were raised and sold for their pelts, but their care was the responsibility of men or their sons.

[25] For a description of weaving, see (Firestone: 1967).

of Newfoundland soil does not lend itself to the cultivation of wheat or other grain crops, but excels with regard to the potato. In many ways, the standard Newfoundland dish, salt fish and potatoes, is an apt symbol for Newfoundland. Without the cod chances are Newfoundland would never have been considered for European habitation, without the potato it might never have been permanently settled.

PATTERNS OF SUBSISTENCE

Traditionally, Shepherd's Harbour was nearly self-sufficient. While they were not completely self-sufficient in that they had to rely on outside markets for manufactured goods and other items, their diet, was by and large, village produced. An account of their skillful exploitation of the land and sea seems worth noting here. By far the most important resource for this coastal community has been, and still is, the sea. For, above everything else, it provides the staff of life--fish. Even today, when frozen and canned meat are available, the most frequent meal served is fish, with its constant companion, the potato. Practically every part of the fish, save the scales, is consumed in one way or another. While fillets lead in popularity, cod tongues, cheeks, heads, liver and roe are familiar to the local palate. Other forms of aquatic life are consumed as well, and include: lobster, ocean salmon, scallops, caplin, herring, and squid. From the fresh water lakes and ponds come

trout in the late spring and early summer, the catching of which is a favourite pastime among young boys. Sea birds and game birds, being plentiful in the region, provide an abundant and welcomed variety to the diet. 'Turrs', puffins and 'ice birds' are the most common of the first type, and partridge and geese of the second.

In the late spring, women, with the help of their husbands and children, 'put in' crops of parsnips, turnips, potatoes, carrots, cabbage, onions, beets, cucumbers, pumpkins and savory. In a good year, one family alone might have produced as much as twenty barrels (at approximately 150 pounds per barrel) of potatoes, twenty barrels of cabbage and several gunny sacks each of parsnips, turnips, carrots, onions and beets. While it is rare to find many fruit trees on the island, villagers do say that they had apple and pear trees at one time.

The early settlers were highly adept in preserving food. While 'God's frost' preserved caches of meat over the winter, it was seen as a mixed blessing when it came to saving the vegetable harvest. To protect the summer's yield from spoiling villagers placed their crops in root cellars. These cellars consisted of pits, five feet deep, walled with stone, and situated in the general vicinity of the house. Layers of straw were placed between each layer of potatoes or other root crops and the entire pit was covered by eight feet of earth. In parts of the village where rocky outcrops prevented this, root cellars

were dug into the sides of hills or mounds, making up the needed depth. Being permanent structures root cellars were usually covered by small wooden roofs and walls. Cabbage and beets were kept in either crocks or wooden barrels, and frequently lasted into the spring when most other food stuffs had been depleted. Finally, seeds were dried and kept from year to year.

Livestock were also part of village life. One elderly informant noted that in days past, "Shepherd's Harbour was just sheep...far as you could see!". Every family owned a flock of at least twelve to fifteen sheep that would be 'set to' over the barrens until the end of the summer and shearing time. Some women kept two cows, if they had adequate pasturage, and would sell surplus milk to others in the village for cash or kind. Someone always kept one or two bulls for breeding purposes within the harbour. Oxen were not as popular in Shepherd's Harbour as they were in other villages around Newfoundland. Principally, oxen were kept for their labour during the winter lumbering season when trees are felled and hauled over the snow from the woods. Lumbering in Shepherd's Harbour did not seem to be extensive enough to warrant their use, however. Hogs were not particularly popular either, though some families kept them from time to time. Generally, they were considered to be 'contrary', odious and altogether too taxing an enterprise. Hens and geese, however, were a welcome and abundant addition to the

livestock, providing both fresh eggs and a convenient and economical source of meat throughout the year.

Berries were gathered throughout the summer months and well into the autumn, providing a much needed source of vitamin C, and were also sold to the merchant 'smack' boats that plied the waters of Fortune Bay. During one particular season, a widow and her children picked twenty gallons of partridge berries (Mitchella repens). The one dollar per gallon that she was paid supplemented the rather meagre compensation allowance provided for widows and dependent children during the 1920s.

The decline of Shepherd's Harbour's relative self-sufficiency began during the late 1940s. When asked why they stopped keeping livestock and planting gardens, the most frequent answer offered by villagers, was that it was "hard, dirty work"; that it was "messy, smelly and old fashioned"; and that it was "not modern". Superficially, these statements seem to be true, especially on an emic level. Yet there are other factors which have contributed to its decline. As Table 4 illustrates, the population was on a gradual but steady increase, yet the availability of suitable house sites and arable land for gardening remained static due to the geological morphology of the harbour. Even at the height of their productivity economy of land use was an imperative. Vegetable gardens and hay meadows were literally at one's door step. Dairy cattle and sheep were not permitted to graze within the

confines of the village but, rather, were herded out over the hills. Good land was scarce and used intensively. The location of 'stages' and 'flakes' served as extentions of land into the harbour, freeing shore areas for agricultural purposes.

These local-level factors, coupled with an island-wide trend, during the 1940s, toward increased participation in an expanding world market, and the presence of American capital and personnel during the war and post war years, produced an atmosphere which placed less emphasis on traditional life styles and stressed modernization. A statement made by one elderly woman sums up the attitudes about the old ways: "Well, we just wasn't modern, ya see...we had to catch up wid Sin John's and the rest a Canada...".

TABLE 4

POPULATION OF SHEPHERD'S HARBOUR, 1836-1974

1836:	11	1911:	138
1857:	30	1921:	160
1869:	101	1935:	189
1874:	111	1945:	210
1884:	124	1961:	228
1891:	138	1966:	245
1901:	116	1974:	262

EDUCATION

As late as the 1940s, Shepherd's Harbour had the services of a teacher for only five months out of the year. In some years there was no teacher at all (this situation occurred as recently as 1969). There were enough school children to require a teacher, but according to the current principal the entire province was experiencing a shortage of teachers. Throughout Newfoundland, prior to the establishment of teacher training programmes in St. John's, it was common for teachers to begin their careers upon completion of their secondary education, and they were appropriately called 'boy teachers' or 'girl teachers' locally. It was uncommon in the past (1940s and earlier) for a boy to attend school beyond grade six. The villagers say that, "in them times it was many a boy who spent his thirteenth birthday out on the bankers (schooners)." Girls, on the average, went to school for a few years longer than the boys but in any event, children's education was neither extensive nor systematic. There are many men and women, now in their fifties and older, who are only able to write their names and compute simple mathematics and there are others who lack even these skills.

At present there are four full-time teachers for the over 100 pupils from kindergarten to grade eleven. While the school house has been renovated and enlarged over the years, students must still attend classes with three or four grades located in the same room. Among older

students there is a growing discontentment with continuing their schooling beyond the ninth or tenth grades. By age sixteen or seventeen most boys are able to find work aboard the draggers and girls become interested in fish plant or domestic work in the larger urban areas or are considering marriage. Unlike the trend during their parents' day, more young men are receiving advanced training than are young women. Many of the village's young men have enrolled in trade schools, and fisheries college to acquire various nautical licenses. Thus far only two girls have gone outside of the village for educational purposes; one to a trade school, enrolling in a beauty culture program, and the other attends a Catholic high school.[26] On the whole, most people view education as superfluous, unless it leads very directly to occupational advancement or improved financial status. Education for men is seen as a sound investment, but for women it is generally viewed as a waste of time.

POLITICS

Politically, there has been a new awakening in the village over the last several years. In December

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[26]It is interesting to note that the girl attending this St. John's high school is also the daughter of the most prosperous dragger captain. She has ambitions to attend university and will be touring Europe upon completion of high school.

of 1973, the first village council was elected and consisted of the merchant, his uncle, his aunt and one other person. The idea behind creating a council came about when people began to notice the government benefits neighbouring villages were reaping by having a council. Projected plans for the next few years include the installation of a sanitation system, the establishment of a refuse disposal area, street lights, and the eventual surfacing of the gravel road within the immediate confines of the village.[27] The presence of the council as a governing body is not a persistent or daily part of the lives of the people. It usually makes its presence felt only when a major village decision is to be made.

On the wider political scene, the people do take an active interest in the affairs of the province. During the federal elections of July 6, 1974, eighty-nine percent of all eligible voters cast their ballots. The fishermen from Shepherd's Harbour have been very active in labour disputes between trawlermen and the fish companies, with one of the men serving as a labour representative in the negotiations in Ottawa.

CONCLUSION

In this chapter, I have presented the village

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[27] This last point is of particular concern to the women because they complain that the dust from the road in the summer spoils their laundry, and in the winter the mud from the road gets tracked into the house.

background of the study. Over the more than 200 years of their history, the villagers of Shepherd's Harbour have experienced numerous changes, but most intensively during the past thirty years. The effects of modernization have touched nearly every aspect of their lives. Advances in transportation and communication have brought them closer to the rest of the world by bringing the materials and ideas of the wider society into close proximity. The mid-1940s were a significant turning point in the lives of these villagers. During that period fishing operations had to be curtailed, funneling many members of the work force into military construction work. This created opportunitites to develop diverse job skills and made cash more accessible.

During the post war period the move toward confederation grew and with it an awakened sense of urgency to share in a greater participation with North American culture. This involvement brought with it a variety of goods and services heretofore unavailable to Newfoundlanders. This increased accessibility to materials and social services, particularly social insurance, had a radical effect upon traditional subsistence strategies and employment. While in other parts of Newfoundland the effect of this change was rather severe, Shepherd's Harbour remained economically viable, due in large measure, to an ability to successfully adapt to changes in the offshore fishery.

CHAPTER II

INTRODUCTION

In this chapter, I present a series of case studies. Some are descriptions of actual marriages, others, for the sake of brevity, are composites of several cases. In order to protect the anonymity of individual informants all personal names and some place names used in this and other chapters are pseudonyms.

The cases are presented chronologically, the first couple being married in 1912 and the last in 1974. The purpose underlying the organization of the cases is twofold: (1) to offer an historical perspective as to how marriages have been initiated over a given period of time, and (2) to describe in detail how traditional modes of marriage initiation have been either maintained or modified--indicating when and where new factors were introduced.

CASE 1: JOHN CHARLES COUGHLIN-86 AND NAOMI FINCH-82[28]

In this first case, a traditional marriage is described in which a high degree of value is placed upon

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[28]The numbers following the names of persons discussed in the cases (i.e., "86" and "82") represent their age at the time they were interviewed.

the ability of each spouse to effectively perform the numerous economic duties of a husband and wife. During this period (the early 1900s) survival required an intensive and highly skilled population that could efficiently exploit their environment. These coastal people achieved this level of efficiency by having the men fish while the women gardened and engaged in agriculture and animal husbandry. This division of labour was directly related to what was considered to be desirable in a spouse. Consequently, while deep affection for one's mate was important to the success of a marriage, being able to perform the numerous tasks required of adult individuals was of great importance to overall survival. But it should be remembered that there is no mere one-to-one causal relationship between ecological and socio-cultural factors. Such relationship are far more complex and reticulate, as the case studies will bear out.

This case concerns the courtship and marriage of John Charles and Naomi (Finch) Coughlin. John Charles, as he was known, is the youngest child of Charles and Gertrude Coughlin's seven children. Shortly after his birth, John Charles' mother died; leaving his older sister to care for the needs of their father and younger brothers and sisters; their father never remarried. John Charles, following in the footsteps of his father and brothers, made his first trip aboard the fishing schooners at age thirteen. When John Charles was twenty

his father entered into semi-retirement, fishing from his dory in and around the harbour as most older men do. By this time all of John Charles' brothers and sisters had married with the latter moving away to the villages of their husbands'. John Charles and his father were left to fend for themselves, not an easy task in a community where a strict division of labour exists between men and women. The situation was further complicated by the fact that John Charles was away nine months out of the year fishing from Halifax, Nova Scotia. When John Charles would return in the fall, he, along with his father, would harvest their garden crop, cut a winter's stock of wood, secure and store a supply of coal, and when the snows made hinterland travel possible, they would go hunting for moose and caribou.

Once the harvesting, fuel and hunting duties subsided and the holidays approached there were more opportunities to visit friends and to attend 'times',[29] particularly the 'twelve days of Christmas', which were a series of 'times' including dances, visits from the 'mummers'[30] and concerts. During these 'times' dories

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[29] 'Times' are social events, e.g., dances, card parties, soup suppers, concerts and plays held either for church or school fund raising purposes or for a purely social function.

[30] Costumed persons (usually men) who go about the village being mischevious, carrying out pranks and drinking. For a more detailed series of accounts, see Halpert and Story (1969).

filled with village folk would head for neighbouring communities to visit and participate in the various social functions. It was not uncommon for young fishermen to go alone or in groups to neighbouring villages for several days at a time to visit and to have an opportunity to initiate new romances or rekindle relationships with the young women there. Most young men during John Charles' youth, would go in groups to the Schooner's Cove. John Charles, having kin in Lynx Cove, occasionally made the seven-mile trip via row dory.[31] He would spend a few days in the household, not as a guest but as was customary, making himself useful in any way needed, doing work he would normally do in and around his own household.

After supper, John Charles, usually in the company of cousins and other young men, would go walking up and down the road[32] and footpaths for the purpose of meeting young girls. It was on one such occasion that he met Naomi Finch. John Charles was twenty one and Naomi was seventeen. Naomi, like other girls, used to go for walks with her sisters, cousins and friends, usually in

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[31] Row dories differ from motor dories in that they are propelled by oars. Motor dories which made their appearance in the mid-1930s, have a housing constructed in the middle of the craft where the motor is situated.

[32] Most villages have only one road that runs the length of the community with footpaths intersecting or jutting off of the main road (see footnote 34).

a group of three or more. I asked her why they would go in these groups, and she said,

> well, it was more fun; laughin' and talkin', you'd loose one (to a young man) and pick up two more! Or then some fellah might ask ya fer ta go with him, walkin' and if ya didn't care to, t'was better havin' a crowd along, ya see? But most times you knowed who was who, even if they was from away.[33]

When Naomi and John Charles first met they were both in such 'crowds' and merely 'passed the time of day', i.e., as their respective 'crowds' passed, they said, good night.[34] After several nights of these encounters, John Charles finally conveyed rather casually to his cousin, Graham, his interest in Naomi. The divulging of this information was no accident, for Graham and Naomi's sister, Susanna, were a 'serious couple' (see pages 40 and 41

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[33]There is very little descriptive folk terminology surrounding courtship and marriage. Even in the present day setting, people never use words like "dating" or "going steady", etc. This lack of terminology in some ways reflects the low profile most people take on the issue. Despite their active interest in romantic intrigue, no standard vocabulary exists. See the analysis of reticent behaviour in Chapter IV for a more detailed discussion of this.

[34]Passing the time of day, is a custom whereby an individual exchanges salutations or comments on the weather or other light topics with anyone they pass along a footpath or road. Common forms include, good morning, good day, and good night or something to the effect of, "some weather we're havn, eh?" To pass without so much as a nod of the head is considered a breach of etiquette. No matter how many times courting couples walked by each other during an evening they still say good night.

and also page 63). Indirectly, John Charles' intent was relayed, via Graham and Susanna, to Naomi. After several days, Graham and John Charles went out for their walk, this time without the 'crowd'. Susanna and Naomi did the same. When the two pairs met, they 'passed the time of day', joked and teased back and forth until Graham asked Susanna to walk with him, Susanna accepted according to the plan. By leaving the two alone in the road, Susanna and Graham were able to bring John Charles and Naomi together without John Charles having to ask her directly. In his own words, "after all, I was from away and hardly knowed her, she might'a said no, if others was handy!"[35]

Naomi said that they went for walks whenever John Charles came to Lynx Cove.[36] They would talk about themselves, about people they knew (the more popular of the two topics) or sometimes they would just walk in silence, speaking only when they exchanged 'good nights' with other strolling couples. When John Charles was away from Lynx Cove Naomi would go for walks with other boys and when John Charles was away from Naomi he saw other girls.

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[35]At this point in most discussions, I would experience difficulty getting informants to tell me, for example, what would happen on a walk. My queries were usually met with blushing, stammering and embarrassment, especially on the part of male informants.

[36]Most young people would stroll along one particular road or footpath that had few houses on it and was not well lit.

The two did not see each other for about another year while John Charles was fishing aboard the schooners. As Naomi puts it, "I figured it wasn't nothin' serious, me and him, but I was some glad to see refit[37] come 'round again".

That October, John Charles and Naomi saw much more of each other and began to attend dances, soup suppers and concerts in and around Lynx Cove. However, they never went to Shepherd's Harbour (John Charles' home) until after they were married. By January, they had been categorized by most of the villagers as a 'serious couple'; that is, they were spending a great deal of their time exclusively in each other's company. Villagers began to speculate about the possibility of their marriage. During the fishing season that year, John Charles had an opportunity to return from Nova Scotia on two occasions and spent most of his time in Lynx Cove. When 'refit' was due he returned home and they decided to be married.

There was no established tradition for formal engagements or lavish announcements. Every one in the village was expecting their decision, and their behaviour was an obvious announcement of their intentions toward each other. They did make formal announcements of their

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[37] A term meaning that period of time when a fishing vessel is being re-fitted and repaired for a new voyage, usually lasting from October or November to January.

plans to their respective parents and friends, however, and then waited until their banns[38] were announced.

I asked each of them about their decisions to marry, specifically what characteristics attracted them and guided their decision-making processes. Of John Charles, Naomi said, "Well, he was 'quiet',[39] serious and a good worker, and the God knows there was some work to be done in them days! I suppose I loved 'im too!"[40] John Charles, when answering my inquiry took a more jovial vein. It was difficult for men to discuss these matters, and even more difficult for them to be serious while discussing them. He said, "She was a good worker, knowed her way around chil'n and the kitchen. She was a 'clean woman'".[41] This was important, he explained, because both he and his father were alone and badly needed a woman to attend to the house, the animals and the garden. After joking with him about the situation he finally said

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[38]A proclamation of the intention to marry, usually announced in a church on three occasions before the chosen wedding date.

[39]By 'quiet', people mean, a man who avoids getting into fights, does not drink to excess (except for Christmas) and is not boisterous or prankish.

[40]People often insert the phrase, 'I suppose', in a statement in which they feel ill at ease.

[41]In this instance, 'clean' does not mean modest or virtuous in a strict moral sense, rather, it means a woman who has a reputation for being a meticulous housekeeper, one who has clean children and a clean house.

seriously, "I wouldn'ta married her if I din't love 'er, sure!"

I asked them about the degree of parental involvement in their respective decisions to marry. Both stated that much of their relationship was not brought to their parents' attention, "'til there weren't hardly nothin' they (parents) could do 'bout it". In the winter of 1901, they set a wedding date. Up until that time, however, John Charles would only walk Naomi to a point some distance from her parents' house and she would enter her garden alone. When they became 'serious', however, he would walk her all the way to her door and on a few occasions he would come in for a minute or two.

On the twenty-fourth of May, Victoria Day, they went in a small schooner accompanied by family and friends to Harbour Breton to be married.[42] Then they returned to Shepherd's Harbour for the 'wedding'[43] and made their home in the house of John Charles' father, where they still live.

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[42]There was only one priest in all of Fortune Bay. He would visit each of the villages annually, marrying, baptizing and administering the other sacraments. If a couple desired to be married at any other time of the year they had to travel to Harbour Breton, the parish seat.

[43]According to the local usage, 'marriages' are the legal/religious solemnization of the marital union; 'weddings' are the social get-togethers afterwards.

CASE 2: ANGUS LOGAN-73 AND GRACE COUGHLIN-70

In this case I examine an interdenominational marriage in a traditional setting. The form tends to be representative of most interdenominational marriages that have occurred between Anglican males and Roman Catholic females for Shepherd's Harbour. Parental influence is significant and functions on two levels: (1) the threat of direct veto of a marriage, and (2) on the level of subtle influence over an offspring's decisions. The ultimate persuasiveness of parental opinion stems not from fear of punitive consequences but from the feeling that such a marriage will hurt one's parents deeply. In only one instance was direct parental intervention reported to me in Shepherd's Harbour. This, however, was set in motion to impede the progress of one marriage only to initiate another.

While interdenominational differences are seen as factors in the selection of a spouse this importance seems to diminish once the selection has been made or if the girl is already pregnant. Parents feel they have a responsibility to warn their children of the drawbacks of intermarriage but do not actively impose their control over their children's lives by vetoing the union, despite the fact that they frequently employ threat of veto as a detering device.

Efforts to subliminate their disapproval of such

marriages and to accept their children's decisions are stoically made on the part of parents. Only at periods of "ritual license" such as the 'twelve days of Christmas', when much alcohol is used, will one hear the topic raised again.

Grace and Angus were married in 1925 at ages twenty and twenty-three respectively. Both were born and raised in Shepherd's Harbour. Grace is Roman Catholic and Angus, Anglican. While the village was relatively small in the 1920s, according to the 1921 census of Newfoundland, there were twenty households and 138 persons comprised the total population. Nonetheless, the two religious groups maintained their insularity, the Roman Catholics living on the meadow's edge, and the point, and the Anglicans in the cove and on the beach.[44]

Religious differences between the two groups

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[44] During the 1960s the provincial government of Newfoundland attempted to resettle Shepherd's Harbour because it had no road and depended heavily on the sea for transportation and communication. At the time there was no indication that a road would be built and the villagers had to decide among themselves whether to stay or relocate. The majority sect, the Roman Catholics, lived on the western side where all the amenities, i.e., post, school, grocery, and government wharf were located. The eastern beach where the Anglicans lived lacked these services. At that time not even a connecting footbridge existed. All these factors, along with the fact that they were a declining minority, eventually led to many leaving for Grand Bank, Bra D'or and Harbour Breton, where there were large Anglican populations.

were heightened and maintained by the establishment of and active participation in the respective churches and school systems. Social separation was considered an important principle for both groups to uphold, and was expressed through the disapproval of fraternization and intermarriage. It is not surprising then, that both Angus and Grace encountered difficulty in their courtship and eventual marriage.

Angus, the youngest son of Philip and Bessie Logan, was employed as a fisherman aboard a Lunenberg (Nova Scotia) schooner. Grace, the eldest daughter of Daniel and Francis Coughlin, lived in her parents' household and shared, in a large way, its management.

During the 'refit' of 1923, Angus and Grace met. One night while Grace was taking a walk with some of her girl friends she first encountered Angus, who was also 'out over the road' with his friends. After several evenings of 'saying good night', Angus approached Grace when she was accompanied by only one of her female cousins and asked her to go walking with him. Of their first encounter, Grace says, "he was some brazen (bold), after all, he knowed I was R.C.,[45] but he asked me just the same. I suppose I knowed it was wrong but I wanted to have a bit o' fun...t'was no harm to be done, ya see."

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[45] It is a common practice to refer in speech to Roman Catholics by the abbreviations, R.C., members of the United Church as U.C. and Anglicans as Church of England.

While most young couples normally keep their affairs quiet, Angus and Grace had to be particularly cautious about theirs. For no matter how skillfully an affair is hidden most villagers eventually learn of its existence. While observers may discuss it among themselves, it is customary to refrain from talking about an affair with the couple directly or with others openly.[46] Couples, conversely, will be discreet about their activities, especially keeping information from their parents. When I asked Grace why young people have to keep their affairs shrouded in secrecy, she said, "Because they'd (parents) be after gettin' some mad, if they was to know you was gettin' out wid a fella (or a girl)...'specially if you was too young."[47]

During the three month 'refit' Angus and Grace would go out walking with friends at night, meeting each other "accidentially". Some times they would walk together and other times they would be with friends. Grace said, "I had to do that so's others wouldn't catch

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[46]By openly, I mean that couples do not discuss in matter of fact terms their affair with others. The only persons with whom they might discuss an affair are their siblings or age mates, but only in confidence. This situation is amplified to a greater extent in Chapter III and the Conclusion.

[47]Being "too young" could be defined during this period in several different ways, depending on each individual case. Generally, below the age of sixteen for girls and below eighteen or nineteen for boys, is considered young.

on to us." In January Angus left for the fishery and neither saw each other again until the fall. Neither of them corresponded during the nine months separation nor did most couples for that matter.[48] When the fishery ended for the season, Angus returned and their relationship resumed. They were now seeing each other more often and by January, exclusively. Grace would usually have one of her cousins walk with her to a small 'shop'[49] on the Anglican side of the village and then by pre-arrangement would rendezvous with Angus. Strolling was not always possible, particularly because Angus was usually home in the winter months when weather was bad. Sometimes they would go to Angus' uncle's 'store', but they couldn't make a fire in the stove because its smoke would draw attention to their presence there.

During the Christmas festivities there were numerous dances in and around Shepherd's Harbour, and as they became better acquainted Angus and Grace would attend them in groups of young men or women but not arriving in each other's company, making sure that they did 'get off on a few dances' together. In any event, time

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[48] In 1921, eight males and ten females were able to read and seven males and six females could write (Census of Newfoundland: 1921).

[49] A 'shop' is a small store that sells food, supplies and small items.

spent together was usually short due to the fact that (1) Angus was home for only three months out of twelve, (2) they were only able to meet at night, (3) their rendezvous points were subject to weather conditions or other logistic factors, and (4) since it was the custom to retire early, they were compelled to return home before 'lunch'.[50]

By January of the second year Angus and Grace were taking fewer precautions in keeping their relationship a secret, an act which in essence was a public statement of their increased commitment to each other. Their situation was rather precarious at this point because their religious differences were sure to draw the disapproval of their families and gossip from other villagers. Neither Angus nor Grace discussed any part of the affair with their parents until they were confronted by them. Grace's parents officially learned of the affair via Mrs. Coughlin's sister-in-law who felt that it was her duty to inform them. It appeared that they had no prior knowledge of the 'seriousness' of the relationship. "People", Mrs. Coughlin was warned, "had seen Grace with Angus Logan, and had been talking."

While Grace's parents reacted with shock at the

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[50] 'Lunch' is a small meal consisting of tea, homemade bread, butter, preserves, and occasionally cheese or meat, served late at night (approximately 11:00 p.m. or just before retiring).

news, Grace stated that at the time of the incident she felt that they were well aware of the relationship long before the confrontation.[51] One night she arrived home just before 'lunch' and found her mother crying along with her younger sisters and brother; her father was waiting grimly by the kitchen table. Grace's mother asked her about her sister-in-law's allegations. Grace confirmed them and a bitter argument followed. Finally, she was forbidden by her parents to see Angus again. In the months that followed she was continually reminded that her marriage to him would place her in spiritual jeopardy and also seriously hamper her chances for a peaceful marriage because of possible tension arising over their denominational differences and Angus' alleged drinking habits.[52] They also suggested that she would be forced to withstand the efforts of Angus' family to convert her to Anglicanism once she became part of their household.

Angus, however, was not prepared to convert to Catholicism. In fact, until 1956 no Anglican male from Shepherd's Harbour had converted to Catholicism and no

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[51]This observation on Grace's part reaffirms my belief that people maintain a veneer of secrecy through the co-operation of both the couple and other villagers.

[52]This alleged drinking was considered so seriously because sobriety is an intrinsic part of the concept of the ideal spouse. A future discussion of this appears in the Conclusion.

Roman Catholic man to date has converted to Protestantism. At one point Grace was threatened by her parents to be 'shipped out'[53] to another community far away from Angus. As Grace's case illustrates, parental veto in the form of empty threats was not an uncommon reaction. They were essentially helpless in that they could not ultimately stop their children, but at least they had an avenue through which they could express their discontent. During the following fishing season Angus managed to return to Shepherd's Harbour twice, once in May and again in August. Both continued to see each other and the angry protests of their parents finally subsided. No direct confrontation ever occurred between the two families. However in the confrontations that erupted between these young people and their parents the negative personality traits (whether factual or alleged) of either Angus or Grace were pointed out. Grace, being a Catholic, was considered by her future parents-in-law as being lazy and dirty. Angus was considered by Grace's parents to be a poor selection because of the very brashness that brought him and Grace together, and his alleged drinking habits. Despite these claims, Angus and Grace were married in January of 1925.

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[53] 'Shipping out' is a term used when a young woman goes out of the village to a job in another village or larger centre where she will be employed as a domestic or servant girl. Also referred to as 'going or working in service' or 'serving'. These terms are still used presently.

A compromise was finally reached. Neither Angus nor Grace converted to the other's religion. Angus, however, agreed to permit his children, both male and female, to be baptized in the Catholic church. Both Angus and Grace were still able to joke about the whole incident some fifty years later when I interviewed them. Grace said, "t'was some glad I didn't say I'd rear up me boys by him and me girls by me...'cause the God give me seven sons!"[54]

CASE 3: TOBIAS KEOUGH-55 AND SALLY DELANEY-55

In case 3 the effect of intragenerational solidarity on marriage choice is examined. In contrast to Case 2 where parental veto is examined, Case 3 shows how solidarity between members of the same generation can initiate and foster romances and actively contribute to their eventual establishment as marriages. Another important

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[54] In some interdenomination marriages, the boys would be reared according to the father's religion and the girls reared according to the mother's. This practice is related to the patrilineal transmission of inheritance rights favouring males, viri-patrilocal residence and the fact that women tend to forsake their rights and obligations to their natal families after marriage, amalgamating with their husband's families. Also occupational opportunities for men follow closely along the kin and denominational lines which makes it almost a prerequisite for a man to be of the same faith as his father's kinsmen. This is generally a serious drawback but all of her sons did manage to find sound employment, though not in the fishery. For further discussion see p. 99.

configuration dealt with in this case concerns fishing and separation. Tobias' opportunity to fish in Newfoundland, rather than Nova Scotia had a significant effect upon the way he managed his courtship of Sally. This opportunity presented him with a different type of situation in comparison to Angus and John Charles who were compelled to stay away from home for nine months out of the year due to the fishery.

Tobias is a native of Shepherd's Harbour and his wife Sally is originally from Schooner's Cove. Tobias and Sally first met in 1936 when they were sixteen. At that time Tobias' sister, Evelyn, had recently moved to Schooner's Cover after marrying a man from that village, Frazer O'Day. Tobias visited with his sister whenever he would be doing errands for his father with the merchant there. Unlike most young men from Shepherd's Harbour Tobias had begun fishing aboard a Grand Bank based schooner which permitted him to make more frequent trips home for roughly two days[55] at a time. Sally and Tobias were brought together by relatives and mutual friends. Sally and her two sisters, Ethel and Cecilia were the friends of Bride O'Day, Evelyn's sister-in-law. They were all roughly the same age and spent a good deal of time in each other's

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[55]Small schooners would carry fishermen back to centrally located villages and the rest of the way was made via motor dories, usually a distance of not more than a few miles.

company, often visiting at Evelyn's house, helping with her baby or just sharing each other's company. Sally was the more introverted of the group and was shy with most people outside of her immediate family and friends. She was especially shy with young men. Whenever Tobias visited his sister the girls would go purposefully to Evelyn's house to 'have a bit o'fun, teasing and flurting, bein' right black'.[56] Sally, however, avoided Evelyn's house whenever Tobias visited. The girls noting this would taunt her and devised ways of getting her to meet Tobias. Bridie, Sally's best friend, would often go to Evelyn's to visit especially when Tobias was in Schooner's Cove, extoling to Evelyn (in Tobias' presence, of course), the virtues of Sally. Likewise, Bridie and Evelyn would speak in the same manner of Tobias to Sally.

Sally's girl friends finally arranged for the two to "accidentally" meet on the road one night. The couple went for a short and practically silent walk over the Schooner's Cove road. Because of her timidity, Tobias had to be particularly creative in convincing Sally to see him again. He enlisted the help of his sister's friends to 'get around Sally'.[57] Either impressed by his

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[56]To behave in a 'black' way, is to be naughty or mischevious, but not sinister, cruel, or immoral.

[57]Solidarity between age mates during the courtship period is very intense. Bonds develop not only between persons of the same sex but transcend sexual lines that were so strongly defended during adolescence. The realm of courtship is most exclusively the domain of young unmarried participants. The only exceptions being those who have only recently married.

persistance or weary of her friends' constant prodding, she finally relented. For the first three years of their relationship they rarely saw each other except when Tobias could get the motor dory for a few days to run errands for his father.[58] Their relationship remained rather casual in nature. Whenever Tobias came to Schooner's Cove, he would spend time with Sally and when they were separated, each would see other people.

When Sally was eighteen, she learned of an opportunity to work 'in service'[59] in Mose Ambrose. She worked there for only two months but she said it gave her a chance to see something other than Schooner's Cove. She admitted, however, that she returned to Schooner's Cove because she missed Tobias. When Sally returned they resumed their relationship and after a time they became 'serious' enough to consider marriage. Unlike the case of Angus and Grace, there was little secrecy or parental disagreement surrounding Tobias' and Sally's romance. While Tobias' family did not know the "ulterior motives" behind his frequent trips to Schooner's Cove, they did surmise that it must involve a young woman. They later

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[58]Dory travel was improved by the introduction of motors at this period, making fast and more frequent trips between villages a possibility.

[59]The term 'in service' means any domestic or fish processing work done either outside a woman's household or village.

learned her identity through their daughter, Evelyn. Tobias' parents did not object to his choice and seemed to take Evelyn's glowing reports of Sally as an accurate appraisal of her abilities as a potential wife and mother. Sally's family seemed to know of the affair almost from the outset, due to her sister's overt involvement in getting the two together. The marriage was envisioned by most as an eventuality and few were surprised when they set the wedding date. At the time of their marriage, Sally was four months pregnant. The marriage ceremony was held in Schooner's Cove and the bridal party and guests sailed to Shepherd's Harbour via motor dories and two schooners. A 'wedding' was held in the home of Tobias' parents, which was to be the couple's new residence.

CASE 4: SEAMUS WATT-69 AND MAISIE BURDETT-67

This case deals with the problems of widowerhood and remarriage (there were no records of widows remarrying). The presence of small children, rather than solely emotional reasons, seems to be the accepted basis for remarriage after the death of a wife. Men who remarried expressed an overall embarrassment about it and a desire to be absorbed into the mainstream of village life as quickly as possible.

In 1927, at age twenty-two, Seamus Watt married Liona Powers of Schooner's Cove. Over the course of their

five years of marriage, they had three children; during the delivery of their third child, Liona and the infant died, leaving Seamus with the care of two small children.

Because he was away for most of the year working aboard a Lunenburg schooner, his sister, Olivia, offered to care for his two remaining children in his absence. A year after Liona's death, he secured a job aboard a Grand Bank schooner returning home more frequently. While Liona was alive, they had been living with his parents, trying to save enough to build their own home. After her death, Seamus began building a house with the hope that he might re-marry and be able to raise his children.

While fishing from Grand Bank he met Maisie Burdett, the youngest daughter of an elderly couple who were both in failing health. Maisie lived with her parents and a younger brother maintaining the household and caring for their needs.

By local standards, she was considered a spinster when she met Seamus at twenty-six, but due to the poor health of her parents her single status was understandable and justified.[60] Maisie understood the particular need that Seamus was faced with, for she said without bitterness,

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[60] An essential part of adult identity entails marriage and parenthood. Spinsterhood and bachelorhood are, therefore, a deviation from the norm though bachelorhood has fewer negative connotations associated with it.

"When I met up with Seamus, I knowed he was lookin' for a woman to care for his chil'n, a woman who could work hard." Seamus, nevertheless, felt embarrassed, "right foolish",[61] about courting and marrying again. But as people said, "he knowed what he had to do by his chil'n, that's all!"

The need to resume the care of his children became an even more pressing problem when his sister became ill. At about the same time, Maisie's younger brother married, bringing his bride to live in his parent's house, thus relieving Maisie from her responsibilities to her parents. Six months later Maisie and Seamus were married and moved into their house in Shepherd's Harbour and the children returned to their father and step-mother. Little attention is given to remarriages. In Maisie and Seamus' case a small tea was held in their home when they returned from the church.

During his widower days Seamus experienced inner turmoil concerning his responsibility to his children as well as the personal pressure of finding a wife. He also experienced external pressure from his fellow villagers, expressed in terms of shared notions (shared by Seamus

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[61] The word 'foolish' holds negative connotations of blundering immaturity or juvenile frivolous behaviour; being an embarrassment to oneself and others; being conspicuously deviant from adult demeanor. The latter is characterized by reticence and the avoidance of self-disclosure.

as well), regarding their view of what proper or accepted adult conduct should be. It is a commonly held ideal that all adults ought to be married and have a family. This casts bachelors, spinsters, widowers and childless married couples into an anomalous category, impeding their integration into adult spheres of village life. Two brief examples illustrate.

In Shepherd's Harbour the only men who do not attend the evening 'yarns' (nightly gatherings of adult men at the house of an elder and respected fisherman) are the bachelors, childless married men, one man who lives in common law union and two men who married into the village.

I observed that women who were married but childless were viewed differently than women with children and were not as fully integrated into village life. It should be noted that there were no spinsters in Shepherd's Harbour at the time of my research and none recollected by informants in the immediate past. The widows, who were all mothers and who lost their husbands late in their lives, remained unmarried with social sanction.

If Seamus had not 'done right' by his children, and himself, by remarrying and if Maisie had remained a spinster after her obligations to her parents were lifted, then in all probability they would have experienced less than full participation, satisfaction, and integration in village life.

CASE 5: JOSHUA MAYO-43 AND KATHERINE RYAN-38

In 1954, at age sixteen, Katherine Ryan came to Shepherd's Harbour from Schooner's Cove in the capacity of a 'maid in service' to one other kinswoman, Clara, who was recuperating from a difficult pregnancy and needed help in and around the house. Despite a physical handicap (caused by a form of palsy which affected one of her legs) she was known as a strong and hard worker. As people would say, "maybe Kate can't walk so good, but she got a good arm on her (for working)!" But because of her handicap, Kate was unable to attend dances like the other young girls. She didn't go 'out over the road' with the other girls at night either, since walking was a painful enough task when it was necessary, and she was also self-conscious of her limp.

Joshua Mayo was the only living child of Annie and Henry Mayo's seven children. Both were advanced in years and poor in health, factors which meant that Joshua bore the weight of their care and support. When he was twenty-three he met Kate who at the time was eighteen. When he had come home on 'refit', he had noticed her at the 'shop' and saw her working in Clara's garden next door. They had never spoken to each other except in passing the time of day.

One night they had both attended a soup supper and Joshua asked if he could escort her home. They began to see each other more frequently but did not go out

for walks as most couples did. Joshua would always escort her to 'times'. In June, when Joshua returned to plant the family garden plot and make repairs on the house and out-buildings, he decided to take a 'trip off', staying in the village until September. During the course of the summer, the two became better acquainted, often working together in their respective gardens across the harbour or berrying on the muskeg. By summer's end people began to speculate about their marriage. When Joshua returned from his next voyage they decided to marry.

There were little or no obstacles that stood in their way, except for the fact that Kate was Roman Catholic and Joshua Anglican. Joshua's parents, who had gotten to know Kate, were not at all opposed to the marriage, especially because of her reputation as a good worker and a meticulous housekeeper. Kate's parents approved of her decision provided that Joshua did not force their daughter to convert to Anglicanism. Despite a physical handicap Kate was nonetheless seen as being desirable as a wife and partner. She was not made to feel indebted to her husband for marrying her. In fact, when it came to their religious differences, it was Joshua rather than Kate who converted.[62]

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[62] The pattern in most interdenominational marriages is for the wife to convert to her husband's religion. This incident is significant because by converting to Catholicism in a predominantly Roman Catholic village, Joshua experienced a boost in his prestige. He received this prestige because he displayed unrequired loyalty to his wife. His conversion is seen as an effort toward the creation of marital harmony, a highly desired state and a state which many villagers feel is endangered by interdenominational marriages.

Evident in the case of Josh and Kate are the ways in which established patterns and ideals surrounding courtship and marriage can be modified to accommodate the limitations of the persons involved. Since Kate was unable to walk with ease, she had restricted access to the major avenue in the courtship process, i.e., evening walks over the road. Joshua on the other hand, being the only son of an ailing elderly couple, lacked the personal freedom that other young courting men enjoyed, and instead devoted most of his time toward his responsibilities to his parents; not unlike the way a married man would care for the welfare of his wife and children. Despite the fact that these circumstances put Kate and Joshua at the periphery of the courtship process it ultimately drew them together.

Kate's handicap and Joshua's pressing family responsibilities could be viewed as features leading to a marriage of expediency, similar to that of Seamus and Maisie described in Case 4. It could also be said that due to the responsibility they showed in the performance of adult tasks they displayed a readiness for marriage and an ability to find suitable, responsible and compatable spouses in each other. It remains difficult, however, to say whether or not factors of expedience entered into their minds when contemplating marriage. But at least in the course of my observations, it seems that even if expediency was a factor in their decisions

it did not cause resentment later in their life.

CASE 6: WILLIAM KEOUGH-32 AND FIONA SHANNON-

Wil Keough had been fishing aboard Marystown and Fortune vessels for a few years when he decided to try his hand at the inshore fishery. A fellow trawlerman, Gerald Shannon from Beau Bois, who had his own 'outfit' (i.e., gear, boat, etc.) invited him to be his dory mate. At the time, Wil was nineteen years old.

When the fishery opened, he moved in with his partner's family as a boarder (as is the common practice). Being a quiet person Wil kept to himself much of the time preferring to fish with Gerry Shannon or spending his spare time mending gear and working around the house and garden. Wil's serious manner and quiet nature impressed and endeared him to his partner and his wife, who had no older sons. In the course of living with the Shannons and spending a good deal of time around their house, Wil became acquainted with their eldest daughter, Fiona, aged sixteen. Fiona shared many of Wil's mannerisms, particularly his exceedingly quiet nature. Having left school, she spent her time working along side her mother, caring for the household and looking after her younger brothers and sisters.

Being in a family setting rather than the more tense artifical circumstances of courtship, the two were

better able to become acquainted with their relaxed rather than presented selves. Wil was able to witness at close range Fiona's abilities at household management and her care for children. Fiona was able to evaluate Wil's ability to provide for a family through his performance as her father's 'shareman'.

Fiona and Wil did not go 'walking over the road' as much as the other couples, but rather visited at the homes of newly married kin. Once a couple became a 'serious couple' they begin to enter the adult married world, visiting married kin and friends as a pair. This visiting heralds their marital intentions and is one of the ways couples informally announce their intent.[63] The conditions under which they courted were very congenial despite the fact that Fiona was considered a little young[64] to be entertaining the notion of marriage. Since both displayed good sense, maturity and responsibility toward each other and their roles, the marriage met with little obstruction.

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[63]Also, one of the purposes for taking evening walks is to keep the relationship a secret from parents. In this case concealment was unnecessary.

[64]Despite the fact that the average age of marriage has dropped by about two years, sixteen is still considered to be too young for marriage in present day Shepherd's Harbour. The usual age for females is around eighteen or nineteen and for males around twenty-one or twenty-two.

While Wil was not from Beau Bois, or any of its visiting villages, he was not feared or treated like a stranger. This is due to the redefined role he acquired by hiring on as a 'shareman' with Gerald Shannon. As was mentioned above, a 'shareman' usually boards with the family of the fisherman with whom he hires on. The relationship between the 'shareman', his 'skipper' and his 'skipper's' family is usually close and often congenial. The 'shareman' is just not an employee. The two men work jointly in the fishing venture and have vested interests in having as profitable a season as possible. To have a successful season it is vital that they not only be experienced fishermen but be able to work well together, in other words, they must work as a team. This trust and comradeship developed in the course of fishing together is transmitted to the family context. Just as the 'shareman' has responsibilities toward the upkeep of the boat and gear his responsibilities are extended to the family and home. From this stems his rights to participate in the home more in the capacity of a household member than just a mere boarder. It is under these special circumstances that Wil, as a non-resident of the village of Beau Bois, became so well acquainted and accepted by the Shannons. While the family had little knowledge about Wil, since he did not grow up in the village or its vicinity, the year he spent in their home gave them

an opportunity to know him. The year provided Wil and Fiona with an opportunity to become acquainted with each other as well. In fact, Fiona stated that her parents probably knew Wil better than any of the young men from her village. Under the circumstances then, although they were from different villages, the distance was bridged by intense personal contact and commitment created between the 'shareman' and the 'skipper' and his family. The significance of this contact and commitment is explored and expanded in the Conclusion's discussion of socio-spatial hemispheres and the variable expression of responsibility.

CASE 7: BEN RYAN-27 AND ROSE HOPKINS-25; MICHAEL RYAN AND JANE HOPKINS

Urban courtship practices and the persistance of traditional forms is described in the two marriages dealt with below. The role of parental opinion and veto, and post-marital residence are also examined in light of urban life styles.

In 1964 Ben Ryan signed on to a St. John's based trawler that fished on the Grand Banks. His father was in the process of 'giving up' (i.e., retiring from) the Nova Scotia fishery and Ben's younger brother, Michael, was just beginning to fish after leaving trade school. Ben's shift to St. John's was advantageous because being based on the island, the brothers could get home more

often then when fishing from Nova Scotia. Furthermore, Ben and Mike could stay at their sister's house in St. John's where she was living with her husband (a St. John's man) and children.

Like many of the other people from 'around the bay',[65] Rose Hopkins created a strong network of friendships in St. John's, especially with people from the neighbouring bays and villages back home. While aboard the coastal steamer headed for St. John's, Rose struck up a friendship with another 'in service' girl, Margie Mifflin, from Fortune Bay. After arriving in St. John's Margie invited Rose to a party, where young people from other south coast villages, particularly those from Fortune and Placentia Bay had been invited. Rose brought along her cousin Jane who was also working in a St. John's hospital.

During the course of this party, Ben and Rose were introduced and spent a good deal of the time joking, teasing and dancing. At the end of the evening, Ben asked for her telephone number and address. When Ben returned to St. John's on shore leave two weeks later

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[65] In St. John's, any person who is not from the city may be referred to as a 'bayman' or in the more prejorative sense, a 'baywop'. Conversely, they came from 'around the bay'.

he called her and they went out for a date.[66] Thereafter, Ben would call Rose whenever he was in port.

Both Ben and Rose incorporated the urban dating styles (going to movies, parties, pubs, taking rides in the country, and so on) into their own routines. Frequently, Ben would take Rose to his sister Mary's home for supper and the two women became close friends as a result. Through Ben and Rose, Mike was introduced to Rose's cousin, Jane. And soon both couples were double dating.

During holidays and occasionally at other periods of the year, they were able to return home to their respective villages of Shepherd's Harbour and Meresheen but they never brought home their girl or boy friends as did their urban counterparts in St. John's. Siblings and other young friends were aware of their affairs but they were still purposefully concealed from their parents eyes. This could easily be done since most older people could not read and the letters that were sent home by working children had to be read by younger brothers and sisters who would censor the information read to their parents.

After a year and a half of dating, Ben gave Rose

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[66] The only time people apply the term 'date' is when they are referring to courtship activities in the city; i.e., St. John's and elsewhere. I never heard it used in the village context.

a diamond engagement ring[67] and they announced a November wedding date. In September, Ben 'took a trip off' to bring Rose home to introduce her to his parents and the rest of the village who were anxious to meet Ben's girlfriend. Ben, however, did not meet Rose's family until the day of the wedding. A week before the wedding, Rose and Jane returned to Shepherd's Harbour to help prepare for the festivities. Ben and Mike were still aboard ship, arriving the day before the ceremony.[68]

At 4:00 p.m., on the day of the ceremony, the families, along with practically the entire village, arrived at the tiny clapboard church overlooking the harbour. After the mass and the exchange of vows and rings everyone followed the wedding party into the Ryan household. Guests brought wedding gifts (handmade 'fancy' [needlework] work, blankets or small practical household

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[67]Like the introduction of white wedding gowns in the early 1960s, engagement rings were not part of village traditions in most South Coast areas. In fact, Ben was one of the first men to give an engagement ring to his betrothed. In the instances of the wedding dresses and engagement rings their introduction was made via individuals who had lived in urban areas like St. John's or Halifax, and reflects increased contact with and acceptance of more urban customs.

[68]Trawler men do not receive vacations. Their lives are ostensibly ruled by the conditions at sea, the peculiarities of the vessels and equipment and the resources they pursue. When they require time to return home, they leave the boat for the length of one trip (usually two weeks) and rejoin the crew when she returns to port, ususally without loss of rank or standing. The two weeks, however, are wageless.

items) when they came to pay a visit to the new couple and attend the traditional 'kitchen wedding'. The kitchen and sitting room (cleared of chairs and other furniture) were used for eating and dancing respectively.

When guests arrived, they congratulated Ben and Rose and presented them with wedding gifts. Following this, they were served a cold plate of meats, rolls, salads, and pickled beets along with tea, homemade breads and pastries prepared and served by Ben's kinswomen. Those interested in staying to visit or dance would retire to the sitting room where a few men played accordians and fiddles while others drank, talked or danced.

Young married people with small children and the elderly were the first guests served. As the night wore on, the young single people began to arrive for dancing, courting, and merrymaking which boisterously lasted well into the early morning hours.

Mike and Jane continued to see each other while working in St. John's. About a year and a half later, they married and settled in Shepherd's Harbour living along with Ben and Rose in the Ryan household. A year later Mike and Jane bought a mobile home and settled on a hilly meadow just above Ben and Rose's partially completed house. A year later Ben and Rose moved into their home with their infant child.

CASE 8: PATRICK FINCH-20 AND SHEILA McGRATH-27

Sheila McGrath, a native of Bras D'or, came to Shepherd's Harbour at twenty-three. She spent two years studying at a Roman Catholic college in St. John's and left to teach on the Southwest Coast where she taught for three years. When she came to Shepherd's Harbour she boarded with a family and usually kept to herself.

Patrick, who was nineteen at the time, had just finished grade eleven at the local school and was going to the Fisheries College in St. John's to study for a mate's classification. Patrick was also one of three eligible young males in the harbour and as such, his company was much sought after by the young women. He was not, however, particularly concerned with marriage at the time and hadn't developed a serious relationship with any girl in particular.

Sheila said that the first time Patrick asked her to go for a walk with him was after a 'soup supper' at the school. Both had come unaccompanied but Patrick had spent the better part of the night on the dance floor with Sheila. Toward the evening's end he asked if he could walk her home. After the 'soup supper', Sheila, who usually kept to herself began to frequent a small 'restaurant'[69]

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[69] A 'restaurant' is a small establishment where take-out food is served, soft drinks are sold and where frequently a jute box and pool table are situated. It is a hangout for the young.

in the evenings, buying, like the young girls, a plate of french fries and watching the boys (including Patrick) play pool.

Sheila's nightly visits to the 'restaurant', however, fell under attack by some of the villagers. Her most vocal critics being young girls who stood as her immediate juniors. In the girls' view, Sheila was usurping their chances with regard to the attentions of Patrick. They saw her as an unwelcomed competitor where there existed a high proportion of females to males. The village also looked disapprovingly upon her behaviour because they considered it unbecoming for a twenty-three year old woman, holding the position of teacher,[70] to be spending her evenings at the 'restaurant'. Rather, she was expected to behave in a quiet modest and serious manner, an example to the school children. The fact that she was four years older than Patrick made her seem 'right foolish' in the eyes of villagers. As a consequence her activities became a favourite topic of gossip, the longer her involvement continued with Patrick. Criticism of the affair peaked in March of the following year when Patrick gave her an engagement ring and they announced plans for a May wedding.

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[70] Teachers, nurses and any other women (including the anthropologist) from outside the village who hold positions of respect are referred to as 'Miss'.

While Sheila did not tell anyone outside of Patrick that she was pregnant, the rumour began to spread and malicious gossip continued after the wedding.. One man said he heard Patrick say, "I'd only marry Sheila if I had to (i.e., if she were pregnant)". While it is not uncommon for girls to be pregnant before marriage, few are subject to such sharp criticism as Sheila. As with any other romance rumours spread quickly but in this case it took a different tack. Instead of simply deducing that since they announced a May wedding in March, a baby must be expected, villagers thought that she might have made up the pregnancy to "cheat" Patrick into marrying her. This attitude was directly related to the difference in their years and the inappropriateness people interpreted in her behaviour. Her 'quietness' was interpreted as being anti-social, and her disregard for village opinion strengthened their distrust and disapproval of her behaviour.

In the village context pre-marital pregnancy is seen as an outcome of a couple's mutual and long lasting commitment to each other and to the child that they are bringing into the world. As a rule couples usually do not engage in sexual intercourse until they have become a 'serious couple'. As far as villagers are concerned they couldn't see any evidence of commitment or love between Patrick and Sheila. While they were powerless to put a hault to the union they could and did express their disapproval in subtle and indirect ways which is the

village fashion. The couple did marry in May despite bad feelings and gossip that continued to persist even after their child was born in September. After staying with Patrick's parents for three months, the couple moved into a mobile home which they situated further down the harbour, away from most social involvement with other villagers.

CHAPTER III

SOCIO-SPATIAL CONFIGURATIONS OF COURTSHIP: THE RENDEZVOUS AND VENUE

While courtship patterns have undergone recent modifications, they have remained fundamentally the same over time. The rendezvous (the 'restaurant' [or the 'shop' in earlier times]) still plays a crucial role in the drama of courtship. While each of these loci are characterized by different functions and the behaviour appropriate to them distinct, the venue and the rendezvous are still complimentary segments of the process of courtship and marriage. (See diagram of the 'restaurant' in Figure 2, page 75).

The 'Restaurant': As Rendezvous

In the evening after supper chores are done, the young (unmarried) people of the village congregate at the 'restaurant' to play a few games of pool, listen to the jute box or watch the other young people. While the 'restaurant' is almost exclusively the domain of the young people, children and adults (to a lesser extent) frequent it during the early evening hours. Between 8:00 and 9:00 p.m. (after the children's bedtime), however, the 'restaurant' begins to fill up with young

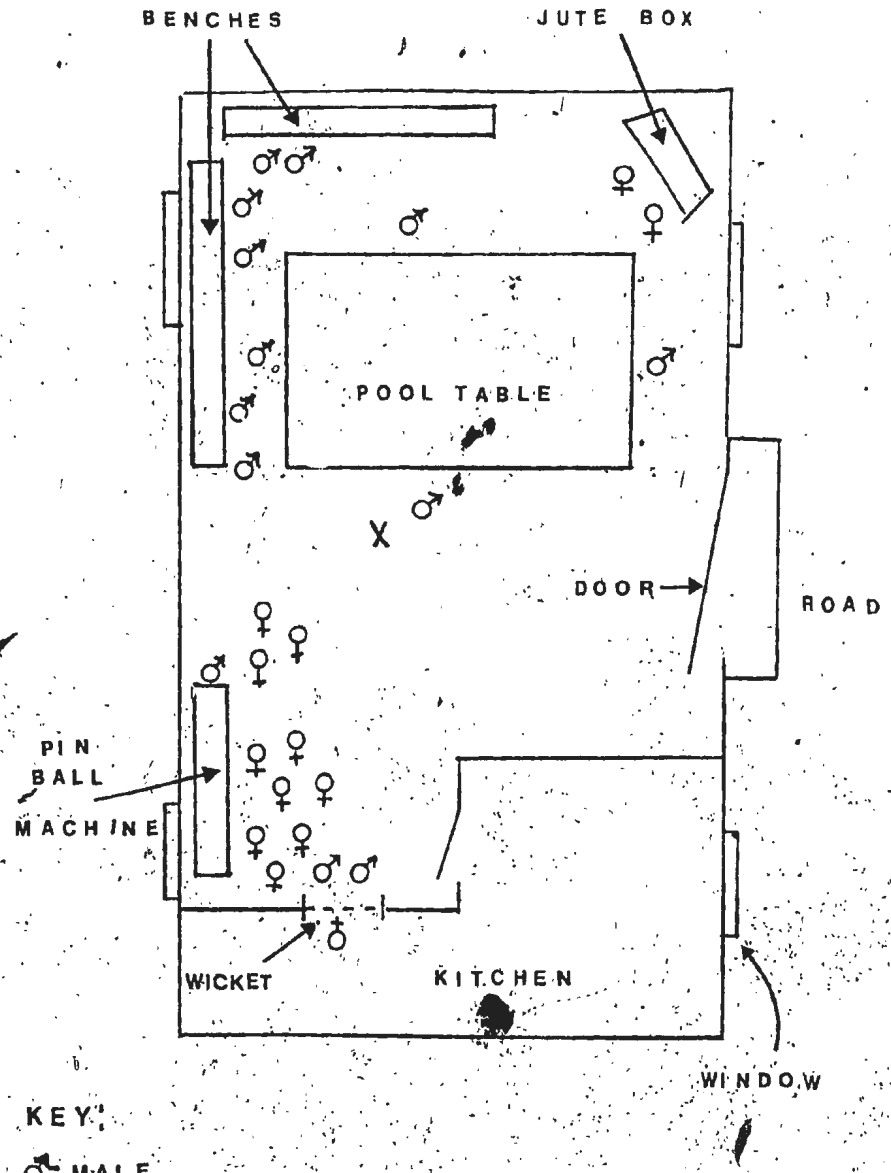

Figure 2: Proxemic Positions of Males and Females at the 'Restaurant'

people.[71] The atmosphere of the tiny (20 x 15 foot) building takes on an electrifying air; a counterpoint of silent proxemics double ententés and throbbing country western and rock music.[72] Figure 2 provides a diagram of the 'restaurant', relative to the proxemic positions held by young males and females. The symbols indicate the positions held by females ♀ and males ♂ . Girls tend to cluster at the 'front'[73] of the 'restaurant' by the kitchen. The area is literally blocked with girls, often so tight that customers have difficulty getting close enough to the wicket[74] to give an order. Girls stand around giggling and chatting nervously, sharing snacks and cigarettes along with intimacies and silent gestures, as they watch the boys. The boys uphold a cool aloofness from the girls. They are intent

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[71] Children in the capacity of "non-persons" fill the role of information carriers. Children will often come into a house, shop, or any other place, sit down for awhile or stand by the door without saying anything and then leave. When they return home, they will be asked, "who was that at Aunt Winnie's, or what was going on over to the restaurant, Dear?".

[72] Traditional Newfoundland music has been supplanted by Country Western music of Newfoundland, Canadian, and American artists. "Top twenty" songs are also popular.

[73] Technically, the front of the restaurant would be considered the right hand side of the diagram, the part facing the road. This particular spatial orientation is suggestive of the orientation of the village hall and the church.

[74] A window through which business is transacted.

on the game of pool they're playing or watching, while they display mock annoyance with the girl's disruptive chatter. Strutting around the billiard table a boy will address the ball, take a few trial strokes and finally punctuate the air with the sound of rickochetting billiard balls, which for a moment, command all eyes on himself and the table. One of the more popular positions for shooting is the one marked (X) on the diagram. Boys in mock innocence will frequently poke back their cues into the crowd of "unsuspecting" girls. One of the girls, usually a girl who likes the player, will take hold of the cue while making an accompanying saucy remark. Girls instigate their share of the teasing as well. While walking over to the jute box, for instance, a girl might "accidentally" bump into a player who is about to make a shot, passing along with only a glance over her shoulder and a coquettish, "Sorry 'bout that, my dear...!"

The 'restaurant' serves two other important purposes besides providing an arena for these double ententes between the sexes. In the course of an evening young people will continually be coming in and out of the 'restaurant'. Some will go out for a walk or ride and return to see what is going on, who has left or has arrived, keeping a mental tally of the evening's activities.

The 'restaurant' serves as a rendezvous[75] for young couples. The following two examples illustrate.

On one occasion a young girl came into the 'restaurant' and went over to the cluster of girls who were chatting and joking by the wicket. She said hardly a word and stood smoking one cigarette after another as she expectantly watched the door. Shortly, a young man came in and her expression changed considerably as she began nervously talking to her girl friends; keeping one eye on the young man who was but only a few feet away from her, at the wicket. He left after exchanging a few pleasantries with the proprietor, another young person. About a minute later, the girl snuffed out a half smoked cigarette and left. As I turned back to the cluster of girls after noticing the exit of the girl, I caught the eye of a friend who flashed me a knowing glance.

In the course of another evening, Gertie had agreed to go for a ride with a young man, who she had met at a dance in Schooner's Cove the week before. When the young man entered the 'restaurant' neither he nor Gertie acknowledged the other's presence and had I

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[75] Before the 'restaurant' was started in 1970, the 'shop' or general store was somewhat of a "hang-out" for the young and was the best possible rendezvous for young couples at the time. The 'shop', however, was not ideal because customers came in and out, the men tended to congregate there and business hours were restrictive.

not learned from Gertie and the other girls that she liked him, I would have never known they were acquainted. After continuing to ignore the young man Gertie quite audiably announced to one of her friends, "Well, Daisy, my dear, I suppose I should be goin' down (meaning home), 'am some tired tonight!" With that, Daisy took her cue and put out her cigarette and the two girls meandered out. Ten minutes later, 'buddy'[76] from Schooner's Cove left the 'restaurant', picking up Gertie and Daisy who were walking along the road. They drove the length of the harbour, dropped off Daisy at her house and proceeded to take their drive alone.

The modes of communication in the 'restaurant' are of two types, verbal and non-verbal. While there may be little private or serious communication between the sexes while at the 'restaurant', there is still a great deal of communication within the male and female clusters, respectively. Both groups are aware of ongoing romances and discuss their own romantic interests or the affairs of their friends. The mood of the 'restaurant' is alive with an abundance of cues, gestures, looks and double ententres that fly back and forth across the room. While the style of interaction might appear super-

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[76] 'Buddy' is a term used when referring to, or talking to, a male person and is synonymous with words like guy, fellow or chap. It is also used when the name of the person is not known.

ficial it provides young people with a rich and effective mode for self expression without revealing the private self. While the 'restaurant' is predominantly a domain of the young, it is still a public place and thus subject to the scrutiny of others, especially adults or children who often serve as carriers of information. The concealment of romantic affairs is continued even by 'serious couples'. When a couple are present at the 'restaurant', they will arrive separately, leave separately and during the course of the evening, will stay in the male or female clusters. This too, is a pattern similar to the visiting patterns of married couples, where women cluster in the kitchen and the men sing and drink in the sitting room.

The Road: As Venue

The 'high road' into the village had been completed for only two years when I began field work, yet, as a consequence the traditional pattern of 'saying good night' underwent a radical metamorphosis. Young people still spend their evenings on the road but now courting has moved into automobiles and the route of travel has become the 'high road'. The ownership or access to an automobile is now a prerequisite for a young man approaching courtship age.

Once young people leave the 'restaurant' they usually go for a ride in an automobile over the 'high

road', but they do not leave the 'restaurant' together. Like Gertie, a girl may say audibly to a few of her friends, "hey, let's go for a walk".[77] If a young man in the 'restaurant' likes one of the girls, he may after a short while, leave with a male friend, get into his car and drive down the road after the girls. When they come upon the girls, they usually overtake them at high speed, leaving a great spray of pebbles and dust (or mud and snow, depending on the season) in their wake. Once they get to the government wharf (the road is a dead end), they turn around, heading back through the village. Upon sighting the girls they trawl[78] (ride) alongside the walking girls 'tormenting' (teasing) back and forth, until the driver asks all the girls if they want a ride up the hill. The driver will usually tease one girl, the girl he is interested in and very likely the one who announced that she wanted to go for a walk, she waits until all the girls pile into the back and she slips into the front. When they reach the top of the hill (after about a two minute ride) everyone piles out,

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[77] If a young man does not have a car or is too young to drive he and a girl might join another couple in a car or go off by themselves along the many secluded paths above the village.

[78] Nautical terms are frequently used when referring to cars, i.e., one might 'steam' over to St. Charles'. Instead of saying "who has Ned got in his car?", it is "Who's he got aboard her?".

except the driver and the girl.

Most drives consist of going to St. Charles' or Schooner's Cove and then back to Shepherd's Harbour. If it is the first time two young people have gone for a drive together they will probably come home early. If they have gone out before they may stop along the way to listen to the car radio, talk, and kiss. Most couples are off the road before eleven or twelve at the latest, usually making it home for 'lunch' (see footnote 50).

These drives, however, are never referred to as dates. People, as it was explained to me, only go out on dates in St. John's and not 'around the bay' (see cases 8 and 9). One girl who was attending high school in St. John's and who had dated there explained that

> There's no place to go on a date in the harbour, nothing's that's different...all there is is the 'restaurant' and you don't need no fellah to bring you dere, it just not the same like Sin Jahn's...everybody knows ya here, sure.

Another said, "can you imagine some fellah comin' right into the kitchen, likes they does in the movies, askin' Mom if I's ready to go out on our date (nervous Laughter)'? "Oh my, God, She'd be after skreaching'"! "Oh my, I'd die first!"

The more traditional patterns and notions about courtship still prevail. Reticence and concealment surround marital choices, and romantic affairs are still discretely conducted. While some modern innovations

like the automobile, the 'high road', and 'restaurant' have been introduced into the village scene, drastic structural changes have not been a consequence for courtship. By and large, the traditional patterns have incorporated these new innovations. The 'shop', the popular rendezvous of the past (cases 2 and 5) have given way to the 'restaurant'. But the need for the rendezvous remains and with it a propensity for reticence and discretion. While the automobile has supplanted the nightly custom of 'saying goodnight' (see cases 1, 2, 3 and 6) young people still use the road as a venue for courtship activities.

CONCLUSION

INTRODUCTION

Like other transitions of life through which the individual passes, marriage carries broad implications for not only the individual but for the family and community. Marriage brings family members not only into new statuses, but with the birth of offspring brings forth new stages in the growth, expansion and perpetuity of a family. Marriage in a broader social context creates for the larger community a guaranttee of the continuation of members who will maintain the community as a viable and meaningful social unit.

This chapter addresses itself to the relationship between the courtship and marriage process and the maintenance of the village as a viable social unit. This will be done through the examination of a number of significant features. These include the concepts of (1) the ideal spouse, (2) notions concerning premarital pregnancy, (3) reticence in social interaction, and (4) the relationship between socio-spatial hemispheres and marriage selection. The multivocal (Turner 1967:50) aspects of the concepts of 'belonging', 'crowd' and 'garden' are also included in this discussion. These areas are analyzed in an effort to explore and expand

our knowledge of not only courtship and marriage but to understand how this process reflects the local ethos, and to understand the meaning that family and village have for the people of Shepherd's Harbour.

THE CONCEPT OF THE IDEAL SPOUSE AS AN EXPRESSION OF ETHOS

The concept of the ideal spouse provides us with an insight into understanding the ethos of these coastal villagers. Geertz states that, "a people's ethos is the tone, character and quality of their life, its moral and aesthetic style and mind; it is the underlying attitude toward themselves and their world that life reflects" [underlining mine] (1973:127). This ethos is the "apparent style of life" and is maintained through a constant evaluative process which assesses cultural phenomena, both ideational and behavioural in terms of standards or values. With reference to these evaluative elements, Firth holds that,

> to speak of values implies recognition of preference qualities of relationships between means and ends in social contexts. Values involve a grading of things and actions in terms of their relative desirability. The emphasis is positive. It also implies systematic behaviour, not simply random choice. Values have a cognitive aspect, they may be conceptualized, have a shape in ideas. They have also an emotional charge (Firth 1964:221).

The concept of the ideal spouse possesses qualities of cognitive and emotive charge. It involves the grading

of prospective mates in terms of their desirability and acceptability as responsible adult members of the community and compatible individuals.

The selection of such candidates is influenced directly by a set of well established standards. These standards serve as the basis for the evaluation of an individual's personality, reputation and maturity. The embodiment of such qualities is found in the concept of the ideal husband.

The Ideal Husband: 'The Quiet Man

The ideal husband should be a 'quiet man', that is, he should be a serious minded man who rarely[79] gets into fights or makes a habit of drinking in excess. He should be able to display his capacity to act in a responsible fashion toward his family and exhibit his ability to provide for his family's welfare by maintaining steady employment, preferably as a fisherman.

The restraint and quiescence embodied in the concept of the 'quiet man' reveals, to a potential wife and her parents, a system of values and a mode of conduct that show he is a worthwhile risk.

The concept of the ideal spouse reflects two

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[79] For a number of excellent discussions of ritual license during the twelve days of Christmas period, see Halpert and Story (1969).

different contextual loci in which specific forms of attitude and behaviour are appropriate. Reticence, in interactions with most other adult persons in the village, is a demeanor apropos to the public domain. Other contexts, however, especially those involving family and loved ones, require familiarity and genuineness, emotions otherwise concealed from the public eye.[80] Shifts in mood and style are required with each shift in social context.

When young people, for example, are in the presence of adults romantic liasons, or the display of romantic interest in members of the opposite sex are concealed from public and parental scrutiny. But in the context of the road (the venue), the 'restaurant' and 'the time' (the rendezvous), or any other occasions when couples can be together, the mood and personal style of conduct shift from reticence to familiarity and self disclosure. If a young man is to be considered attractive to a courtable young woman he must display not only his feelings for her but exhibit an ability to perform male tasks like fishing, navigation, lumbering, carpentry, etc., with skill and responsibility. But to excel in these skills he must possess a personal demeanor appropriate to the male work world. Thus, this pattern of public reticence and private familiarity sets the tone and quality of his

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[80] A condition which initially struck the investigator as coldness.

life and serves as the cornerstone of his integration with his family, fellow villagers and outsiders.

The Ideal Wife: 'The Clean Woman

Being a 'clean woman' is synonymous with being married and having children. Embodied in the concept of the 'clean woman' are values and qualities which pervade not only what is ideal about a wife but what is ideal about women in general. The expression 'clean woman' goes beyond the idea of the finically meticulous housewife, yet it is not synonymous with chastity since married women are referred to by this term. The term, however, does imply modest and reticent conduct on the part of a woman. Perhaps most important of all, the expression refers to the love, nurturence and support women give through their care and involvement with the family, home, and village. While this "cleanliness" is associated with being a good housewife, the concept is also associated with the atmosphere a wife and mother creates in a home that is well cared for. A woman cleans, cooks, and maintains her home not so much to create a showplace but rather to express her love for her family.[81]

Women are the bearers of children. They care

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[81] It would, however, be an overstatement to suggest an association between this concept of womanly cleanliness and the purity/pollution dicotomy advanced by Douglas (1966).

for their needs, provide them with love, guide them through their spiritual instruction and figure prominently in their socialization. Women are wives: They provide love and care as well as companionship and partnership to their husbands. While marital discord is not unknown, the relationship between husbands and wives is generally close.[82] Besides providing for the emotional needs of her family, a woman must be able to cook, bake, sew, knit, and wash for them as well.[83] Wives and mothers also maintain the house itself, painting and performing light repairs both inside and out. Outside the home, women tend the family's vegetable gardens, and livestock barns.

Beyond the home women continue to be a cohesive force especially in organizing annual fund raising efforts for the village church and school. Women in either church based or friendship based groups also initiate and organize Christmas and Easter festivities, weddings, dances, soup-suppers and the like, providing a backdrop for social events which bring together the entire village.

Young girls learn early about the ideals and expectations surrounding women. Even before little girls

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[82] See Chiaramonte 1969:78, for a discussion of marital harmony in another South Coast village.

[83] Muir (1978) offers an insightful and detailed analysis of household skills and the values and views surrounding them in similar fishing villages on Isles-de-la-Madeleine.

enter school (at age five), they are actively involved with the care of infant siblings and other children younger than themselves. In fact, in comparison to boys, girls are initiated into the women's work world far earlier. By the time young females reach courtship age they are adept at household skills and have been sharing with their mothers and sisters the responsibilities of home management. Like young men, they too have developed the skills and qualities which will prepare them for married life.

PRE-MARITAL PREGNANCY

With an understanding of an ethos that places the family and the village at the axis of social life, and which places a high premium on individual reticence and tolerance, the attitudes towards, and actions concerning pre-marital pregnancy take on new light. While young people are encouraged during their socialization to aspire towards the ideals outlined above, it is realized and accepted that courtship is still a period characterized by experimentation, frivolity, indecision and youthful ineptitude. Consequently, there exists the potential for discrepancies to arise between what is ideally hoped for in an individual's behaviour and what occurs in actuality. On the face of it, the high incidence of pre-marital pregnancy might suggest that young people

are not living up to the ideals that are expected of them. Thirty out of sixty-four marriages or approximately half of the contemporary marriages have been established with the bride being pregnant or having already given birth. A closer look, however, reveals that this is not the case. While village attitudes indicate that promiscuity is indeed frowned upon, sexual intimacy when based upon sincere affection between a young man and woman who intend to marry, is considered normal and acceptable. This intimacy in many cases, results in pregnancy before marriage, a condition which heralds the announcement of the wedding date. This pattern, however, is not recent in its origin. Informants freely stated that they were aware of its incidence on parental and grandparental generations. Archival documentaiton reveals that a pattern began to form during the late 1800s. Explanations provided by informants, and supported by parish records, hold that the reason why there tends to be a rather high rate of pre-marital pregnancy, especially on the earlier generations, has to do with the fact that clerics were a scarce commodity in Fortune Bay. Priests and ministers would try to visit each hamlet, cove and village at least once a year, but more often than not their visits were spaced by two or three years. Birth records indicate that children were either born before or less than nine months after the marriage of their parents.

The historical background of the courtship and

marriage process and the general reluctance on part of most villagers to overtly comment, on or have input into, the acts or behaviour of others is important to our understanding of how pre-marital pregnancy is dealt with. Due to the exigences of that period, these couples were not ostracized. In actuality, they became husband and wife at a 'wedding'. That is, they would have a large celebration where they would marry each other in front of the entire village. When either a minister or priest eventually came to call, they would hold the 'marriage' at the church. In fact, to this day, a dichotomy still exists between the 'wedding' (the public celebration) and the 'marriage' (the religious celebration). Furthermore, the children of these unions were not know as bastards or illegitimate children, since their parents had publicly proclaimed themselves to be married.

In some measure, the tolerance which presently surrounds pre-marital pregnancy can be attributed to the scarcity of clerics during the early period of settlement along the South Coast.[84] This lenient attitude in my view, is also part of a general mood of reticence which pervades village social life. People would be hard pressed to directly interfere in the affairs, be they romantic or

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[84]This relationship between clerical scarcity and attitudes toward pre-marital pregnancy occurred to me only after my leaving the field. A more indepth investigation into archival materials in St. John's and Fortune Bay would have been helpful.

otherwise, of their covillagers. This does not, however, suggest, that they are in some way unaware or disinterested. Far from it. In fact, the favourite pastime of most villagers is the exchange of news and gossip concerning their neighbours. People, however, would consider it far too 'bold' to comment on another person's behaviour directly.[85]

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[85] Ethnographers working in other areas across the island report various forms of reticent behaviour. Firestone (1967) working on the great North Peninsula, contributes almost an entire chapter to reticence in inter-personal relations. Reticence, which he has termed tolerance or impassivity, is more of an ongoing personal style rather than conscious and occasional attempt at emotional supression in isolated social settings. This ongoing personal style, or ethos, of reticence, contributes in Firestone's view, toward the maintenance of social harmony; a state much desired by Savage Cove folk (Firestone 1967:112-113).

Reticence also provides persons with a way of maintaining personal privacy in the face of either (1) having no common knowledge, as in the case with strangers or (2) having too much common knowledge as in daily face to face confrontation of co-villagers (Ibid:111).

Faris notes that the public expression of overt emotion is not encouraged and aggressiveness creates a stress on ideals of egalitarianism in Cat Harbour (Faris 1973:102). Faris quotes Lumsden's (an early churchman on the Northeast Coast) observations of the people in and around Cat Harbour. Lumsden notes that "the strenuous man, if per chance he comes their way, wins no admiration. They cannot understand pushfulness and ambitions" (1906:97).

Chiaramonte (1969 and 1970) indicates that for Deep Harbour people (on the South Coast) "separateness and self containment are characteristic of social interaction and spatial distancing". Self disclosure is reserved for only family and intimate friends. Andersen (1972), Nemec (1972) and Stiles (1972) working with fishing crews from the Southcoast and Avalon Peninsula also provide data on social distancing and "impression management" aboard ship. Szwed, working in the Codroy Valley sums up interpersonal relations as being cautious and observes that one of the greatest concerns of young people is that their parents may intervene in their selection of friends. While in actuality, it rarely occurs, it does provide young people with a self-regulatory device with which to scrutinize their behaviour. While both parents and offspring choose different, though similar, approaches to their conflict avoidance schemes, they do manage to succeed, in most cases, in maintaining familial harmony.

Reticence is displayed even in the home, though its expression varies from family to family and from person to person. Parents generally avoid telling their sons and daughters of courting age what they should or should not be doing. Conversely, young people refrain from disclosing their actions or romantic interests to their parents and, instead, entrust their confidences to other young people. While young people make this active effort to conceal, their parents do learn of their affairs. If parents find the young person with whom their son or daughter is keeping company to be a person of satisfactory character, they will maintain a veil of concealment; thus, preserving their own reticent stance as well as that of their offspring. Even when parents disapprove of the courted person they often avoid confrontation in the hopes that the situation will resolve itself. It is interesting that the self is protected through judicious use of self-disclosure (Szwed 1966:98).

Reticence as a protective mechanism has been recorded and examined in numerous other cultural settings by Basso 1970, Berreman 1962, Goffman 1959, Murphy 1964, and Preston 1975 and 1976. Preston, for example, attempts to extend and modify the notion of secrecy by seeing it in terms of proaction or action that is "positively directed by internal experience" (1976:451).

In light of these studies, a more systematic

analysis of reticent behaviour in the Newfoundland context is warranted and necessary for a more complete understanding of interpresonal relations.

Parents, when discussing the incidence of pre-marital pregnancy among their children, frequently reported that they were (1) totally unaware of the affair's existence, (2) that they were unaware of the extent to which the affair had gone, or (3) that they, themselves, had been in similar situations in their youth and felt to be in no position to judge. While parents are not overjoyed at the prospects of pregnancy on the part of a young couple, they tend to accept it with varying degrees of grace and control. Adoption and abortion are not considered part of a solution. The solution, rather, rests in two young people taking responsibility for their actions. This responsibility is expressed through marriage.

While marriage is almost always the route taken when pregnancy occurs, there are instances when it does not. The greatest number of these cases consist of unions between local women and men from a village other than their natal or visiting villages. In cases such as these, the woman is seen by her co-villagers as being wronged, to have been taken advantage of by an irresponsible stranger. Her pregnancy is seen as an outcome of her trust, love and fidelity for the child's father; attributes which are valid and appropriate for a young woman of courting age

to have, but which she mistakenly entrusted to the wrong individual. Children of these unions are known as 'love children' and are either incorporated into the mother's natal family, or go with her upon her eventual marriage. While the state of a love child's mother is not to be envied it is not overwhelmingly scorned and with no exceptions interferes with her ability to find a husband. In fact, the prestige of men who marry these women is bolstered due to their acceptance of them. The next category consists of unions between local women and men from visiting villages. While the greatest frequency of marriages following pregnancy occurs between co-villagers. This pattern is illustrated by Figure 3.

Like socio-spatial complexes found among groups like the Nuer (Evans-Pritchard 1940:114), Mapuche (Faron 1967:182), and Kaska (McDonnell 1977: personal communication) and among other South Coast Newfoundland settlements (Chiaramonte 1970:1 and Styles 1972:44-45), the six arcs shown in Figure 4 indicate which locations and which people are part of a group's spatial and social universes. These categories, moreover, make explicit through their distance from the central locus (family), which people and which places play a significant role in the lives of villagers. In Figure 4, the decrease in the scale of each arc corresponds to a decrease in interpersonal intensity as one moves out from the locus. The

three central arcs in this socio-spacial hemisphere depict the most significant categories in the everyday life of villagers. The melding of three social units; the nuclear family, the extended family, and the village occurs through the concepts of 'belonging', 'gardens' and 'crowds'. In Shepherd's Harbour, for example, children can belong to their parents, that is, a mother might say, "those children belong to me", or likewise, children say, "I belong to my mom". Individuals say that they belong to their families, both nuclear and extended, as in, "I belong to the Smith crowd". Residents say that they belong to the community of Shepherd's Harbour and even to the province of Newfoundland. In similar degrees, the term 'crowd' is applied. It can be used to mean one's nuclear family, e.g., father, mother and children while it can also mean one's extended family and finally can be expanded to mean the entire village. Likewise, the term 'garden', takes on a similar gradation in that it can denote the land immediately surrounding the house of a nuclear family, or it can mean a cluster of several kinsmen's houses or it can mean the whole village itself.[86]

On other occasions, especially economic, people must venture away from the village to visiting villages

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[86]For further descriptions of 'crowds' and 'gardens' in other regions of Newfoundland, see Faris (1972:88-97) and Schwartz (1974:71-92).

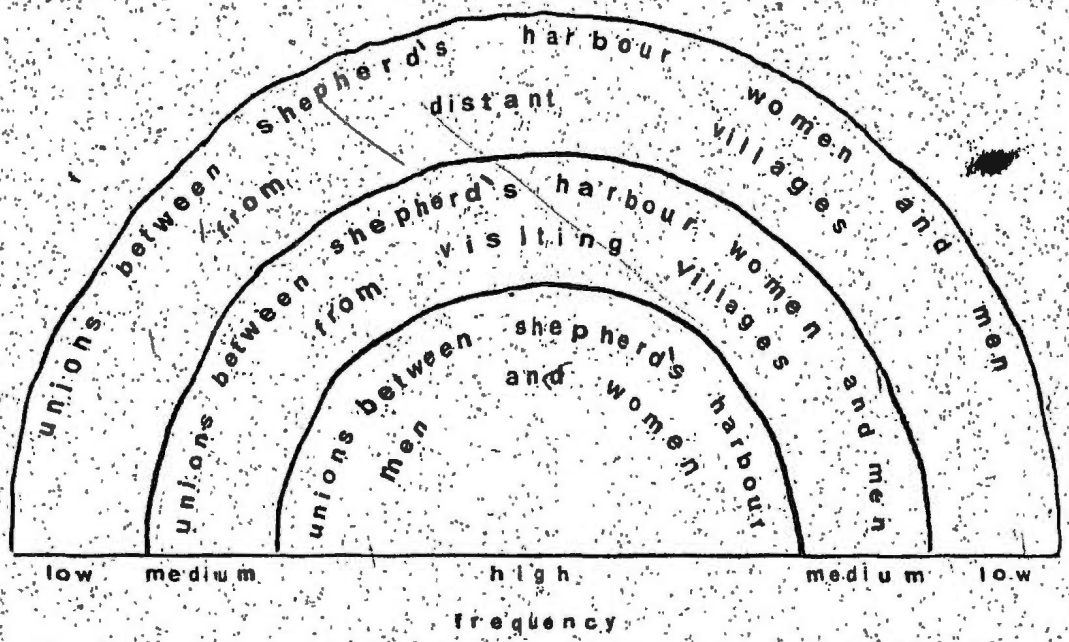

Figure 3: The Frequency of Marriage Involving Pre-Marital Pregnancy

and other regions outside of Fortune Bay, the South Coast and Newfoundland. Despite these forays, the family and village remain central. As one fisherman said when I asked why he continued to live in Shepherd's Harbour (when he could have moved to another area and made more money), "I stay because of my family, I knows their safe and happy here, ther's family and friends to help you--it's yer home, ya see? Outside it's just strangers, but here, it's different."

The sentiments expressed above, along with the parameters of the socio-spatial hemispheres are of vital importance to our understanding of the courtship and marriage process because it is by people's movement through and interaction in spatial and social spheres, that they eventually choose a spouse.

On the village level, for example, spatial proximity gives co-residents the greatest potential for maintaining among themselves long standing religious, kinship and friendship bonds as well as a deep emotional attachment to the village itself. Along these more emotive lines, female informants express a preference for marrying men from either their natal or visiting villages. This preference is related to a pattern for viri-patrilocal residence and a tendency to incorporate a wife into her husband's kin network.[87] Marriage to a man from a more distant

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[87] See footnote 54.

village usually means forfeiture of most of a woman's familiar and friendship ties. By staying in her own village, she can rely on the support (or at least a belief of support) of family and friends when she becomes the 'new woman' in her parents-in-law's household.

On the evaluative side of things, co-residents, due again to spatial proximity, are better able to assess potential mates according to qualities of industriousness, fidelity and responsibility, qualities embodied in the ideal spouse.

As Figure 3 shows, the degree of responsibility existing in unions involving pre-marital pregnancy decreases in response to the social and spatial distance of the couple. Furthermore, there appears to be less reliability in the evaluative process with increasing social and spatial distance. This question, however, of evaluative reliability is also a factor in marriages uninvolved with pregnancy. For such marriages, there exists a corresponding pattern along the lines depicted in both Figures 3 and 4, in that the frequency of marriage decreases with the corresponding distance from the natal village. A similar gradation is reported by Faris (1972:79-82) for Cat Harbour. Like Shepherd's Harbour, the centre of the marriage universe is the natal village, with decreasing levels of frequency corresponding to spatial distance.

My most important point, however, is still to be made explicit here. My point is this. It appears that

amid all of this social and spatial distancing, and despite all the ideal expectations and behavioural reality, there exists again and again a reverberation back to something more important and meaningful than the mere apportionment of personnel for the purposes of procreation. We see not just how people court and marry, but what they think and feel about courtship and marriage. Through courtship and marriage we are provided with a glimpse of the unfolding of an ethos, the tone, character and quality of Shepherd's Harbour life, its moral and aesthetic style and mood, their underlying attitude toward themselves and their world (Geertz 1973:127). We see the "approved style of life" through the concept of the ideal spouse, learning not only what an ideal husband or wife should be but what in general, men and women should ideally be. With each marriage we witness the life of the village unfolding through their transition from being children into being the bearers of children. In this metamorphosis the young actively accept new and mature roles, attitudes, values and personal styles for old. They are reaffirming their acceptance of their own values as individuals and, by extension, the value and meaning of the village and its style of life.

Through the aegis of village and family the individual is provided with a way of conceptualizing the world around him/her. It provides a point of orientation for the social life of every member whether in the context

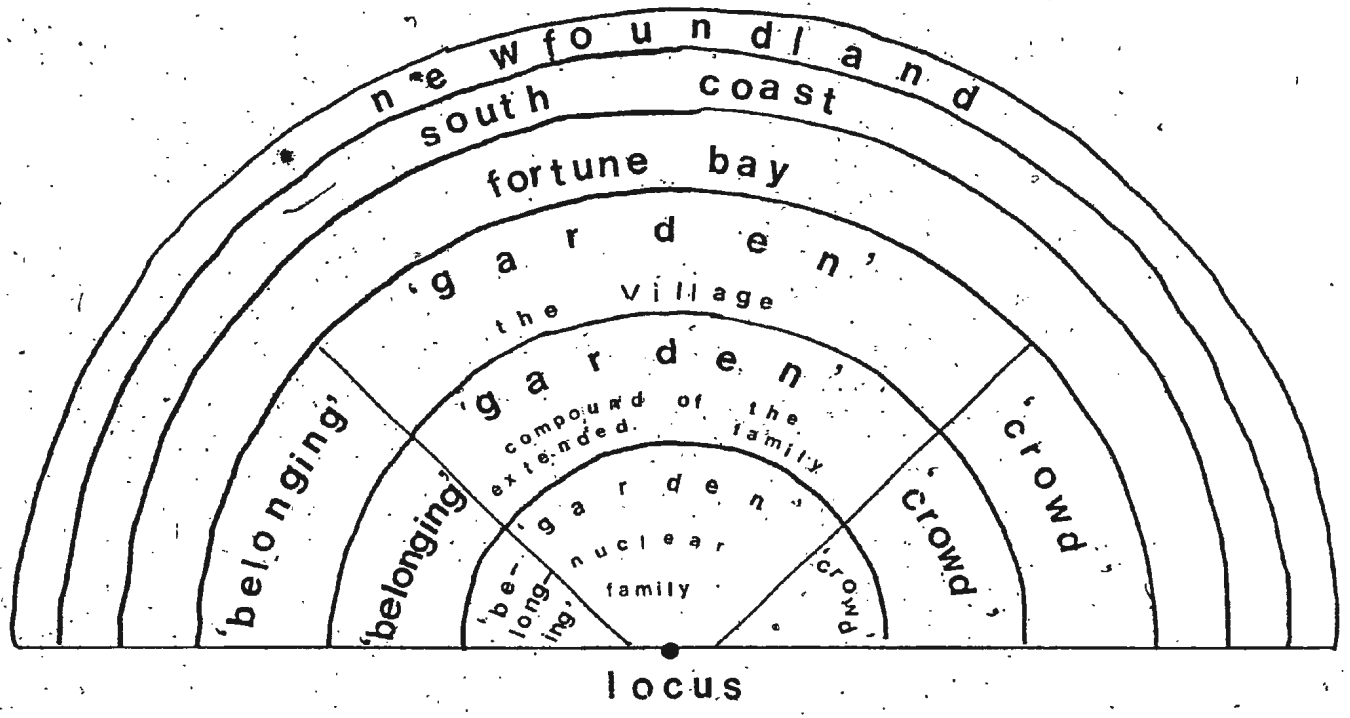

Figure 4: Socio-spatial Hemispheres of the Shepherd's Harbour Interactional Universe

of the family, the village, or the outside. Finally, the courtship-marriage complex provides an avenue for the discovery of the meaning that family and the village have for the people of Shepherd's Harbour--meaning that reverberates on all levels of social life and runs deep and reticulate in the hearts of the people.

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