MAKING THE NEWFOUNDLAND OUTPORT

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Abstract

The outport, a term that describes all of Newfoundland's coastal communities, is an important touchstone in terms of Newfoundland cultural identity. There is a perception by many that the 1992 Moratorium on Northern Cod marked the end of a traditional way of outport life largely centred on the family-based inshore cod fishery. This thesis explores various texts – literary, archival, and scholarly – which reveal that the outport has always been a dynamic, evolving place that is "made" on many different levels and at various locations. It also surveys some of the literature on place making, particularly as it relates to rural locations, considering such concepts as rurality, gentrification, the shift from places of production to places of consumption and "the commons." Access to the commons -- which is considered here not only as shared physical space but also as social space in which residents come together to produce community -- is seen as an important characteristic of outport communities.

The community of Freshwater, Conception Bay, is used as a case study to examine place making in a contemporary Newfoundland outport, and to document the transformation that it, like many rural Newfoundland communities, has undergone. This thesis concludes with a discussion about various strategies for maintaining those key characteristics that define outport communities and for managing change.

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Foreword

From my visits to rural places in various parts of the world -- particularly coastal regions -- a clear trend emerges. What were formerly farming and fishing communities – places of production – are shifting to places of consumption: increasingly expensive coastal vacation properties with an ocean view providing an escape from the city; a tourism destination offering "authentic" cultural experiences in quaint coastal communities.

A conversation with a young waiter in the small coastal Turkish town of Dalyan revealed that an influx of British residents -- in search of affordable seasonal homes -- had pushed housing prices beyond his means. Real estate ads in small coastal towns on the Island of Hawaii showed listings for modest bungalows in the range of a half million dollars and more, well beyond the range of many local residents whose main source of employment was displaced by the crash of the local sugar industry in recent years. The Dordogne region of France, filled with bucolic ancient stone villages and farms, has been dubbed "Dordogneshire" due to the fact that British nationals own roughly 20% of all property, attracted by affordable property and more traditional lifestyles (Rawston *Daily Mail Online*, 2008), not to mention the Dutch and Belgians who have bought up old farms and village properties for use as seasonal vacation homes. Significant swaths of Nova Scotia's South Shore have been bought up by wealthy outside residents – Germans

and Americans -- resulting in conflicts with long-established residents, often over the privatization of shoreline.

Closer to home in Newfoundland and Labrador, there are examples of significant tracts of shoreline being bought up by developers or private individuals.[1] A prominent example is a parcel of several acres purchased by a wealthy individual from outside of the province for the construction of a multi-million dollar home near Logy Bay outside of St. John's. The owner of this residence – known locally as "the castle" – has refused access to a traditional coastal trail that extended through his property. This has resulted in the East Coast Trail having to be routed away from the coast for a stretch due to threats of legal action by the owner. In spite of coastal rights of access being protected in law, the East Coast Trail Association cannot afford to take this individual to court. (Tanner, telephone interview).

In virtually every coastal Newfoundland community old "saltboxes" are being purchased by people from outside of the community – often urbanites -- for use as summer homes. In some communities the majority of all houses are owned by "outsiders." For me, this raises a number of questions: is Newfoundland destined to follow trends in other parts of the world where locals become priced out of the local housing market or cut off from places of traditional access? Is rural Newfoundland

[1] Two Trinity Bay South communities come to mind: St. John's developer, Nolan and Hall, has acquired coastal property in the small community of Hopeall with plans to develop a "world class" spa and condominium resort; a private individual (with a background in the hotel industry) has purchased a significant section of shoreline property in New Chelsea raising questions as to his ultimate plans. While shorelines are protected in law in Newfoundland and Labrador, the rugged nature of the coastline means that access is not always possible when the adjacent land is privately owned.

destined to become a playground for wealthy urbanites and visiting tourists who spend a few days or weeks in a community? What are the impacts of these new people whose perceptions and understanding of landscape may be at odds with native outport residents? And does any of this matter?

As I began to delve into this issue, driven in no small way by my own professional preoccupations, as Director of Heritage with the Newfoundland and Labrador Department of Tourism, Culture and Recreation, with the preservation and development of rural Newfoundland communities, many complexities and contradictions began to emerge that warranted deeper consideration. My research caused me to reflect more critically on the work I do generally, and on issues around rural change more specifically. The making, evolution and meanings of place -- in this case, the Newfoundland outport, -- became an avenue for investigation. 'Heritage values,' which I had largely accepted as an indisputable good, proved to be more complex and sometimes problematic than I had previously thought. The process of gentrification, linked as it often is to heritage preservation, for a long time a complicated and troubling issue for me, proved to be more nuanced than I had originally assumed. Tourism development, which is often sought by rural communities as an economic alternative to the declining inshore fishery and is often used as a rationale for heritage preservation, offers its own contradictions as Newfoundland and Labrador seeks to market an "authentic sense of place" based on traditional ways of life that are

themselves being changed by modern economic forces that include tourism (Johnson 1996: 551).

A basic assumption of mine in all of this was that the outports were places in need of 'saving' both in an economic and cultural sense. In order to reverse the outflow of young people to larger centres or of unemployed workers to places like Alberta, it was necessary to work with communities to find ways to diversify the local economy. To maintain what I viewed as unique kinds of places it was useful to focus on ways to preserve their 'heritage,' in particular the older buildings and cultural landscapes. Further, I believed that heritage preservation could be a key to community renewal: a way to restore community pride and confidence impacted by rural economic decline and out-migration; and a way to make these communities more attractive to both residents and tourists, thereby creating new jobs. Initially, I was frustrated by what I saw as a lack of interest by many Newfoundlanders in preserving their material culture. Old buildings kept getting torn down, development continued along the highway strip, and new buildings were constructed that, in my mind, had none of the character or quality of those built generations earlier.

An important work that influenced my understanding of outport places was Gerald Pocius's *A Place to Belong,* a study of the community of Calvert on the Avalon Peninsula's Southern Shore. His work argues that for rural Newfoundlanders, sense of place is less about material culture than about the intimate connection of people to the

landscape and to each other; that it was how places were constructed socially and through memory that mattered more than whether one lived in a traditionally-styled house or continued to use the old furniture and hand-made items passed down from earlier generations. Also, through my interactions with Pocius, I became familiar with the concept of 'Intangible Cultural Heritage' or ICH, a basic tenet of which is that for many people, it is the non-material aspects of culture – language, skills, traditional knowledge, cultural practices, and world view – that principally define them. For example, the knowledge of how to build a boat – often passed down from father to son -- is more significant than old boats as artifacts and speaks of a living culture in which the past is meaningful in the present.

The idea of undertaking an M.A. was, in a significant way, about helping me to develop a more critical understanding of place, particularly in the context of Newfoundland and Labrador and of my own work as a person engaged in heritage preservation. While I had no background in geography per se, it seemed to me that the field of cultural geography would provide a broad set of tools and ways of considering place. This study represents my own, often personal, exploration of the Newfoundland outport, undertaken to provide me with a better understanding of a place that is, in many ways, a central concern of my professional life and interest. In particular, I sought to develop a better appreciation of the impacts of current trends that are transforming rural Newfoundland and the province as a whole in profound ways. I was also

interested in exploring ways that rural communities could manage change and safeguard aspects of their character and traditions that were important to them.

Chapter 1 - Introduction

This thesis examines the processes that are at work in the making of the Newfoundland outport as a key place of meaning for outport residents and for the larger Newfoundland and Labrador society which is shaped and impacted by the outport. The particular focus will be on the period since the Moratorium on Northern Cod in 1992, however, it considers various ways in which the outport has been made and represented over its history. While it will be shown through a discussion of various historical and literary texts and other sources that the outport is the product of continuous and often very dynamic change, it is my contention that the outport in the last 20 years is becoming a very different place than it was for most of its history. Formerly the outport was a landscape of production: a place where fish were caught and processed for export and where various subsistence activities (gardening, hunting, berry picking) were undertaken. Today, the Newfoundland outport is rapidly becoming a landscape of consumption: a commodity to be enjoyed by tourists and by urban professionals using the outport as a vacation home. The material and cultural impacts of these changes have significant implications for the people who live in outport communities and, I would argue, for Newfoundlanders everywhere for whom the outport is part of their identity and "a critical and inextricable component of the province's way of life" (Storey 2004: 15).

This shift in the landscape is the result of diverse factors that operate on different scales and at different locations, some local, but many national and international. It has been said that "no landscape is local" (Mitchell 2008: 38). Capital flows and technology, for example, have huge impacts on communities around the world, often advancing through a sort of "creative destruction" (Shumpeter in Mitchell 2008: 42). The fishery, on which many outport communities are still dependent, is greatly affected by such things as the state of the U.S. economy, fisheries policies set in Ottawa, European fisheries practices, and by regional and world-scale environmental change. Canada's booming oil industry is influencing many outports in complex ways. The Alberta tar sands are siphoning off young professionals and trades persons from many rural Newfoundland communities at the same time that they provide employment for commuting outport residents. The high wages that these individuals bring back both from Alberta and the Newfoundland offshore are having an impact on everything from rising property values, the scale of new houses being built, to the prevalence of recreational drugs in outport communities.[2] And the growing numbers of urban professionals, seeking an ocean-side investment property or a seasonable rural escape in an outport, are bringing different values about landscape and community that often differ from those of long-term residents.

[2] This latter point was driven home to me a couple of years ago when I attended a wedding on the Burin Peninsula. A young male family member who was home from Alberta started a fight, reportedly after using cocaine in the bathroom. It was suggested to me that significant amounts of recreational drugs, fuelled in part by high wages, were finding their way to the local area via commuting workers from the Alberta oil industry.

The outport has, in many ways, been central to the culture and politics of Newfoundland and Labrador and a potent symbol of identity. As stated by Rosemary Ommer, "It [the outport] is the imprint on the landscape of a culture, a history, a way of 'living the fishing'" (Ommer 1999: 18). According to Mark Callanan, "Until fairly recently, this province's sense of identity was solidly built on the salt fish flakes and small craft of the inshore cod fishery" (Callanan 2010: 7). The Newfoundland outport features prominently in the province's tourism ads, its literature and its political discourse. An entire magazine, *Downhome*, is devoted largely to rural life in Newfoundland and is principally targeted to an expatriate Newfoundland readership. The magazine, which promotes its "desire to share with the world the best of everything the down home lifestyle has to offer," claims to have to have the largest paid circulation of any magazine in Atlantic Canada with 50,000 paid subscribers and 225,000 monthly readers (downhome magazine: 2009).

One has only to pick up any copy of a local or even national newspaper or listen to the radio, to become aware of stories about the battles of outport communities to maintain government services, gain access to threatened fishing resources, or diversify local economies and stop rural decline.[3] Both provincial and federal government departments and agencies such as the Provincial Department of Innovation, Trade and Rural Development (Regional/Sectoral Diversification Fund) (Department of Innovation Trade and Rural Development: 2011) and the Rural Secretariat and, on the federal side,

[3] See "Dark clouds roll in over Black Tickle" in *The Globe and Mail*, Saturday, November 13, 2010.

the Atlantic Canada Opportunities Agency (ACOA) (Communities Adjustment Fund and Innovative Communities Fund) (Atlantic Canada Opportunities Agency: 2011) have programs devoted in no small way to addressing the challenges being experienced by rural communities.

The outport also plays prominently in the province's arts scene as the subject and setting for many of the most important works of Newfoundland fiction, theatre and visual arts over the last several decades. Theatre Newfoundland and Labrador and Rising Tide Theatre are two of Newfoundland's leading theatre companies, both situated in small outport communities. Their annual rosters of plays prominently feature stories from rural Newfoundland.

Nevertheless, rural populations in the province are declining rapidly at the same time that they are aging. For example, the population of Conception Bay's North Shore, which encompasses the region just north of Carbonear on the Avalon Peninsula and comprises several small outport communities, has declined nearly one-third in the 20 year period leading up to 2006 (Community Accounts: 2011). As Newfoundland's rural population declines, it is being replaced in many communities with urban professionals who have purchased summer homes. This has prevented many traditional Newfoundland outport houses from literally rotting into the ground. As seasonal residents fix up their outport properties, they often provide local employment opportunities for year-round residents. But the life they bring to communities is

generally restricted to a few weeks or months in the summer. Many outports become virtual ghost towns the rest of the year with a small core of remaining permanent, year-round residents.

In order to explore how contemporary Newfoundland outport residents may be constructing place, I have focused in this thesis on a particular outport community, Freshwater, Conception Bay. This is a community with which I am well acquainted, having lived there in the late 1980s to mid-1990s. The community and my reasons for selecting it as a case study are described later in this thesis. The remainder of this chapter explores the different methods used to examine the making of place in Freshwater.

Study Methodology

In undertaking an investigation into the outport as a cultural landscape I was drawn to the humanistic tradition in geography which advocates a multi-disciplinary approach to understanding place. Scientific or empiricist approaches to geography, which focus on prediction and description, need to be complemented by a wide variety of textual sources and research methodologies if one is to develop a holistic sense of place. The humanistic school of cultural geography advocates an eclectic approach that relies on sources as diverse as the archive, participant observation, and works of fiction, among others. It is also immersive and interested in understanding the context of any investigation of place (Ley, 1978: 13 – 14). Context includes an understanding of the

relationships that a place has with the wider world as well as a broad historical view that examines the forces that have created a place. Without an understanding of context the geographical researcher risks seeing a place as idiosyncratic and becoming preoccupied with the unique and esoteric (Ley 1978: 15). I have employed a variety of methodologies that include: historical research; the discursive analysis of various historical and literary "texts" on the subject of the outport; ethnographic field work; and, to a relatively minor degree, participatory research.

Archival Research

Archival (historic) sources are useful for considering the changes that Newfoundland outport communities have undergone since their beginnings and for the different meanings held by various groups (residents, the state, urban elites). There may be a tendency to see rural communities in Newfoundland as places that, prior to 20th Century technological changes, were relatively static. However, the past only appears stable "from the context of the changing present" (Halseth 1995). While there may be a widespread perception that rural Newfoundland remained relatively unchanged and, somehow more authentic (i.e., untainted by modern mass culture), up until the middle of the 20th century, my own historical investigations into Freshwater make it clear that the community has been a place of dynamic social and economic change throughout most of its history. These earlier changes (i.e., prior to the mid-20th

century), which are described in some detail in the chapters that follow, are useful to provide a context for more recent change in the Newfoundland outport.

In considering archival sources it is important to understand the selective processes and discourses revealed in their production and in the establishment and organization of archival collections. How, out of the vast array of historical materials that could inhabit the archives, is the selection made to determine "which [aspects of] private and mundane everyday life is charged with political significance?" (Kurtz 2001: 28). Kurtz states that these selective processes and procedures are "always political, . . . shaped by the dominant intellectual or political paradigms through which we view it [the archival material]" (Kurtz 2001: 29). Ogborn suggests that state archives can be contextualized back into the process of state formation or state operation that produced them (Ogborn 2003: 14). Perhaps not surprisingly, state archives serve the needs of the state. This aspect is explored when considering census information for Freshwater.

Keeling states the need to "understand the people and practices that grant an object permanence as a historical relic" (Keeling 2000: 1). For example, collections policies for any archive dictate what is of interest to that institution. And these policies may change over time. It may not be evident to the user of the archive, or even the archivist, what the impetus was for collecting certain materials in the past. As an example, genealogical materials collected by some German Mennonite scholars prior to

World War II, served part of a broader purpose of clearly establishing the Aryan origins of European Mennonite families (Lichti: 2008: 75) just as many European ethnographic collections served distinctly nationalistic purposes during the 20th century.

Outside of collections that may be specifically sought out by an archive, donations of archival materials are generally random (i.e., the product of whoever happens to decide to hand over materials for whatever sort of motive). In addition, those who contribute material to an archive may go through a selective process of determining what will and won't be of interest to the public. Potentially controversial or embarrassing materials may be censored thus shaping the view presented by a collection.

Equally important is the need to understand the filters and discourses that produced the materials found in the archive, the purposes for which records were produced, and the personal and social context of their production. Written accounts of the past reflect the subjectivity – class, race, gender, religion -- of their authors. This is not only the case with letters and journals but with what are often thought of as "objective" data like statistics, census materials, or other state-produced records. For example, class has played a major role in the production of written historical works in general and those relating to Newfoundland outports in particular. Due to such factors as literacy rates, education, and leisure time, the working class majority tends to be under-represented in terms of the written record. Documents dealing with outport

locales and peoples largely reflect the views of the middle and upper classes, be they government officials, merchants, travelers, or professionals of various types. Various archival materials relating to Freshwater were examined including census data, business directories, and photographs which will be discussed in the next chapter. No personal accounts of Freshwater such as letters or journals were found in the major archival collections in the province.

Literary Texts

Along with a number of archival texts several literary representations of outport Newfoundland have also been surveyed. These works have helped shape popular conceptions of Newfoundland's outports since Confederation at the same time that they reflect broader social forces at work within Newfoundland culture and society. Humanistic geography, in seeking to "put human experience of place back as the central concern of geography," (Crang 1998: 45) recognizes the role of narrative in shaping how people imagine places and spaces and sees it as a useful source for the geographer (Crang 1998; Pocock 1994). Both the study of literature and geography are concerned with the process of signification or the creation of the social meanings of places and spaces and with the spirit of place or *genius loci*. Bunkse reconciles the perceived dichotomy between art and science by recognizing, in the humanist tradition, the role of imagination in each. As he states, "it is difficult to think of any cultural landscape, . . apart from the role that imagination has played in shaping it." (Bunkse 1996: 361).

Both historical (archival) and literary representations will be considered as "texts" in this thesis which can be read discursively to reveal their often-embedded meanings of class and relationships of power. These will be examined in the next chapter in order to develop a better understanding of how society's notions about the outport have been created. Historians and writers have reflected and, no doubt in some measure, contributed to the shaping of the Newfoundland outport in the popular imagination. Prowse, who played a pivotal role in the early 20th Century in fashioning Newfoundlanders' sense of their past (Leslie Harris in Prowse 2002: ix), along with several academic writers will be discussed. A selection of works by some of Newfoundland's most prominent novelists[4], Harold Horwood, Kenneth Harvey, Bernice Morgan, Michael Crummey, and others, set in a fictional Newfoundland outport will also be examined.

Ethnographic Fieldwork

Ethnographic fieldwork formed a major component of my research methodology. This was critical to developing an understanding of how diverse residents within a Newfoundland outport community are currently constructing place in a period of rapid change. As indicated, I selected the small community of Freshwater, Conception Bay as my study community. While I am not suggesting that Freshwater is a "typical" outport -- each rural community in the province is the product of distinctive

[4] Most of the novelists discussed here, at least those active within the last 10-15 years, have received a national profile through reviews in leading newspapers such as the *Globe and Mail* as well as provincial, national, and even international awards and award nominations.

historical, geographical, environmental, economic and social circumstances -- as will be shown, it does demonstrate a number of the broad trends being experienced by rural communities across the province. These include a rapidly aging population, the loss of local economic (business) activity, local residents who commute to the Alberta oilfields, and a relatively recent influx of outsiders, most of whom are summer residents from away.

As a former resident of Freshwater (1988-1994) myself, I have been observing the community for more than 20 years which has permitted a level of immersion in the community. As well, a certain degree of familiarity with residents made it easier to gain entry to the community for the purposes of conducting key informant interviews. My fieldwork entailed a number of different components. I made field notes and photographs in an effort to observe Freshwater's contemporary landscape and the people in it to reveal patterns and relationships. Such observation served, in part, to identify previously unidentified avenues for exploration. As an example, changes in vegetation since my own residency in Freshwater (it is more treed now) caused me to think more about how the community's landscape has evolved and why.

Figure 1 - Freshwater Sign Entering from Carbonear (Photo - J Dick Summer 2009

A detailed interview (see Appendix A) of key informants was conducted to reveal how people think about Freshwater today and how their views may have changed over the last two decades, in particular since the 1992 Moratorium on Northern Cod. Key informants were not selected in a random fashion. Rather they were chosen to obtain a fairly broad representation of Freshwater residents that included a variety of ages, places of origin, type of residency (year-round vs. seasonal), gender balance, and length of residency in the community. A total of 18 interviews were conducted that involved 25 individuals. About half of the interviews involved couples. Many of the interviewees were known to me; some I met for the first time. Interview questions were designed primarily to determine what features or characteristics of Freshwater were most important to people and to establish a sense of how the community was changing and how people felt about these changes. The impact and acceptance of seasonal residents from away was explored from the perspectives of both long-term residents and seasonal "outside" residents. A full list of questions can be found in Appendix A. Included within the interviewing process was a story gathering component in which informants were asked to share a story about Freshwater. An analysis and comparison of stories was seen as a way to tease out the underlying meanings about place embedded within them and to gauge differing values amongst different groups of residents. Some of these revealed ways in which individuals and groups are attempting to construct personal meaning in place and to actualize themselves within Freshwater's landscape.

Having been an animator in areas such as heritage preservation and community development for most of my working life, the issue of the social relevance of any research is never far from my mind (e.g., value to local community being studied and to policy makers). Social relevance and empowerment appear to me to be critical concerns of humanistic approaches to geography where the freedom of humans to control their destiny and take civil responsibility are recognized (Bunkse 1996: 358). As well, notions of empowerment seem a logical outcome of discursive analysis in which issues of power are considered.

Participatory research, in which subjects are agents in shaping inquiry and using collected data, offers various approaches to socially-relevant research. It can take different forms: action learning which brings people together to learn from each other's experiences (Denzin 2000: 570); soft systems approaches in which a person facilitates a group in examining a particular problem (Denzin 2000: 571); participatory information-gathering tools such as video and oral history collection; and community mapping (including the use of GIS tools) in which "efficient, effective, and equitable information and communication tools can aid participatory research (Jankowski 2003: 9) among others. My research did not include a formal community mapping exercise although key informants were asked questions about places in Freshwater that were significant to them and about the places they had visited within the last 1-2 weeks in an attempt to document how people circulate and use space in the community.

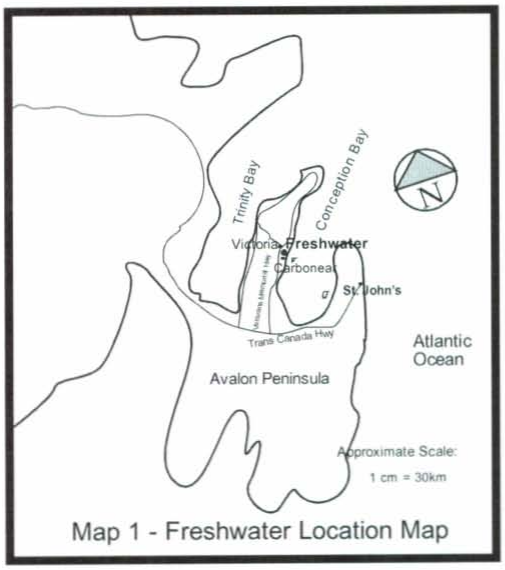
Criticisms of participatory research suggest that it lacks scientific rigor (Denzin 2005: 568). This problem can be addressed, however, by complementing participatory research with other more conventional research methodologies and by sharing findings with research participants in an open way. This allows them to confirm, contest, or question such findings and to be affirmed or challenged by them. It also occurs to me that participatory research methodologies can lead to a more valid historical or geographical narrative in that they provide the opportunity for information to be discussed and debated by a group of people who will bring a variety of perspectives.

In addition to key informant interviews, my attempt to involve the community in my research took the form of a community meeting in Freshwater in May 2010. The purpose of this was to present and validate research findings and to enter into a discussion on change (community power point presentation and transcribed meeting notes appear in Appendix B). It was clear from key informant interviews that many people had concerns about how those things that they valued in the community could be maintained in some way. Some recognized that without municipal government they had limited tools to manage the community. Different

Figure 2 - Freshwater community meeting May 2010 (Photo R. Jarvis)

options for the community to manage change were discussed at the meeting. These, along with other ideas for managing change in Newfoundland outports are discussed in Chapter 5.

In presenting findings, the identities of individual informants have been protected with identifications being restricted to gender, term of residency and sometimes approximate age. Pseudonyms have been assigned to all informants. Memorial University's "Policy on Ethics of Research Involving Human Participants" was adhered to with participants being fully apprised of research objectives and asked to sign written Informed Consent forms. My research methodology received review and approval from ICEHR.



Map 1 - Freshwater Location Map

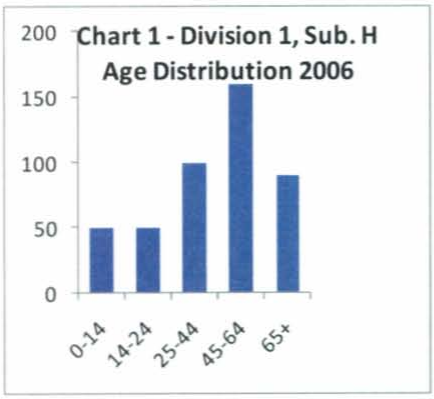
Study Area - Description

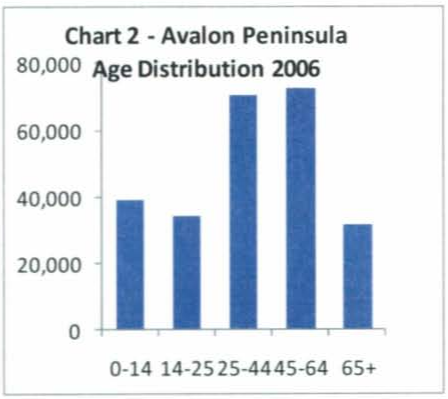
Freshwater is located on Conception Bay's North Shore just over an hour's drive west from St. John's (approximately 100 km), approximately two kilometers north of the regional centre of Carbonear which has a population of 4,723 (2006 Census). One accesses the community either along a shore road that skirts the cliffs between Carbonear and Freshwater or via a road running along the edge of a valley defined by Freshwater Pond that connects with Route 71 just south

of the Town of Victoria, population 1,769 (2006 Census). Freshwater forms a shallow cove separated from the more-defined Clown's Cove to the north by a headland known as Clown's Cove Head. The community is largely surrounded by high barren hills, known locally as tolts. These serve to give the community a dramatic, many would say, picturesque appearance. Another significant geographic feature is a small pond separated from Clown's Cove by a cobbled beach and, until recently, by a wooden breakwater.

Figure 3 – View of Freshwater with United Church in foreground and Clown's Cove Head in the background (Photo J Dick Summer 2009)

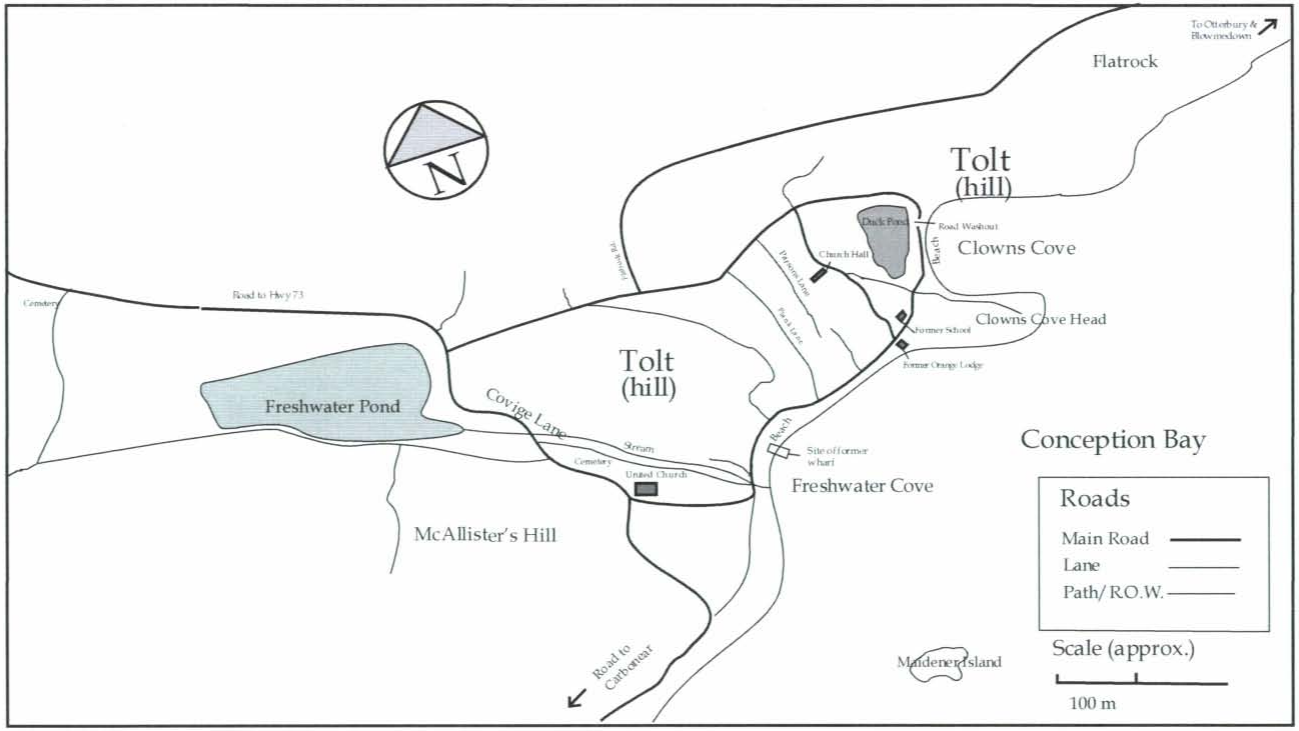
Modern day Freshwater has a permanent, year-round population estimated to be around 200 residents, down from 227 in 2006 and 265 in 2001 (Census of Canada 2001; 2006). The population peak of 560 was reached in the late 19th century. As seen from the chart below the majority of residents in the Div. No. 1, Subd. H census area (population 420) which includes Freshwater, are in a middle-aged cohort of 45 years + which represents a significantly larger percentage than for the Avalon Peninsula (Division 1) as a whole. Freshwater's population is also slightly older than that of Carbonear. It must be noted, however, that for a small sample size such as Div. 1, Subd H, sampling techniques could result in over- or under-representation in certain age categories.





Source: 2006 Census of Canada

Of the 120 houses in Freshwater today, close to twenty percent are inhabited by seasonal residents. As can be seen from Map 3, the heaviest concentration of seasonal residences is on the water side of the community where properties offer scenic views of Conception Bay and where the most of the older "heritage" houses are located. The community consists of what were listed in historical records such as censuses and business directories as two distinct communities, Freshwater and Clown's Cove. I observed no discernable differences or divisions between what were formerly



Map of Freshwater, Newfoundland (Schematic)

Map Credit – J. Dick

considered two separate communities. One resident suggested that the back side of Freshwater (the area extending up the back road to Victoria) today forms almost a separate community from the water side (Fig. 4).

Figure 4 – Freshwater Pond with houses along back road to highway (Photo J. Dick Summer 2009)

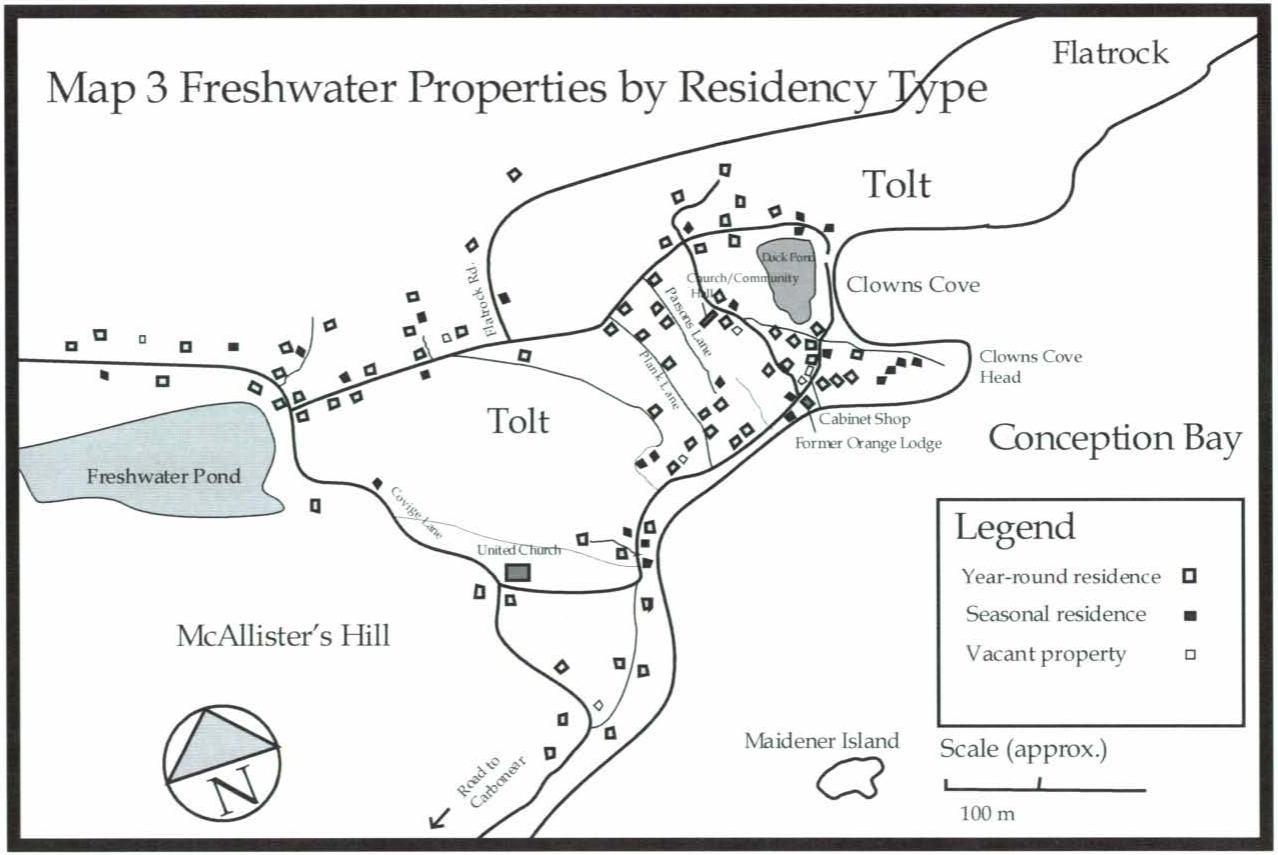
Just north of Freshwater, within view of Clown's Cove Head, are the now-abandoned communities of Flatrock, Otterbury and Blow-me-down that up to around the mid- 20th century formed an almost continuous line of settlement with Freshwater (Fig. 5). They were connected by a footpath along the bottom of the tolt at Clown's Cove and by a gravel road which connects up with Salmon Cove further to the north. While there was a school in these communities, the closest church was the United Church in Freshwater. All were gradually abandoned through the 20th century with the last residents leaving in the 1960s, many of whom moved

Figure 5 - Former community of Flatrock in the background as seen from Clown's Cove Head (Photo J. Dick, Summer 2009)

into Freshwater according to a couple of key informants. With the ban on roaming cattle instituted in Freshwater in 1984 Flatrock, Otterbury and Blowmedown became a community pasture for the region. Gradually many people with family ties to these abandoned communities – and legal rights to land – have repopulated them with cabins and the occasional year-round home. These communities are discussed later in this thesis for they demonstrate an attempt to reclaim formerly abandoned communities by descendants of former residents.[5]

Figure 6 – View of Seasonal Residences - all of the houses in this photo (each with desirable ocean views) are owned by seasonal residents in Freshwater (Photo J. Dick, Summer 2010)

[5] This process of reclaiming abandoned Newfoundland outports can be observed in numerous locations around the province. For example, a number of former islands in Placentia Bay are now populated by cabins. According to local cabin owners on Davis Island (west side of Placentia Bay), there are now more cabins on the island than there were houses prior to resettlement.



Map Credit – J. Dick

Freshwater is, today, a place where people reside but not where they work. There are no remaining retail businesses operating in Freshwater with the only active commercial ventures being a long-established cabinetry shop and two recent-opened dog kennels. An historical overview of Freshwater is provided in the next chapter which draws largely on census data and business directories. It provides a sketch of the community's historical development.

Key Theoretical Concepts Relating to the Newfoundland Outport

A number of key theoretical concepts are useful for the development of an understanding of place making in rural Newfoundland today. These include: a consideration of the ways in which we think about "place" in terms of its meanings for humans and its construction; the preservation of place (heritage); the refashioning of place to meet the needs of the middle and upper classes (gentrification); and the perspective of rural places as seen from urban perspectives (rurality) which are often at odds with how local rural residents view their communities. Other notions such as access to shared resources (the commons) and landscape as narrative are also explored. All of these were useful for me to understand the ways in which place is constructed by various types of people in outport Newfoundland and the possibilities for constructively managing change.

Thinking about "Place"

The cultural landscape tradition, with its consideration of landscapes as biography, text, metaphor, and discourse (Schein 1997: 660-662), makes it clear that an examination of landscapes and "places" is useful to develop an understanding of the societies that produced them and that are continually reproducing them both in terms of their physical realities and their meanings for people. As biography a landscape tells the stories of the individuals and groups of people who have inhabited and built it. A landscape can be read as a text that conveys different types of information and meanings. It can also be seen as metaphor or symbol, representing more than its literal self (i.e., embodying various qualities or aspirations). And landscapes embody different discourses or relationships of power. As stated by Schein, landscapes are "everywhere implicated in the ongoing formulation of social life" (Schein 1997: 662). While Newfoundland outports – like all places -- are material realities situated in geographical space, they are places that are socially constructed and the "results of particular arrangements of power" (Hubbard 2004: 6). As such places are "understood differently by different people, they are multiple, contested, fluid, and uncertain" (Hubbard 2004: 4); they are ideological concepts (Cosgrove 1998: 17). They are the locus of identity and belonging for many; they are places of exclusion and alienation for others.

It is helpful to explore how various thinkers have defined place to inform a discussion on the making of place in outport Newfoundland. Timothy Cresswell

provides an overview of the evolution of thinking about 'place' from early cultural geographers like Sauer, through to the humanistic geographers, to Marxist and postmodernist thinkers who have critiqued earlier notions of place. A number of humanistic geographers, including Relph, Tuan, Seamon and others, define place as a fundamental aspect of being human. Places are the media through which we perceive and experience the world (Tuan in Cresswell 2004: 20) and, "profound centers of human existence" (Relph 1976: 43). Places are where we find connection to the environment and to other people, where we find rootedness or "home" which Cresswell, drawing on Seamon, defines as "an intimate place of rest where a person can withdraw from the hustle of the world outside and have some degree of control over what happens within a limited space. Home is where you can be yourself." (Cresswell 2004: 24).

The equating of place with home is considered by some to provide an idealized sense of place which may be at odds with the realities of many people for whom place/home is anything but a space where one can have connection or control. Feminist geographers in particular, have detailed the inadequacies of humanistic, experiential depictions of place due to their failure to address the fact that place can be a location of resistance or oppression (Rose, hooks, in Cresswell 2004: 25-26). Social norms, religion, class, race, sexual identity and ethnicity in virtually all places can be exclusionary for 'outsiders,' both those who come from away and those who do not.

Some writers call for a solidifying and signifying of place in the face of post-modernity and time-space compression (Harvey 1990: 426) in which places (and people) are under threat from increased mobility of production and capital. The Marxist geographer David Harvey, for example states that place matters in economic terms as places attempt to differentiate themselves in order to create a competitive advantage of some sort (Harvey in Cresswell 2004: 25). Toronto-based urbanist Richard Florida, in his writing about creative cities, emphasizes the role of place in attracting the kinds of people who will generate economic activity (Florida 2002: 219). Others argue that distinctive places matter more than ever due to a growing sense that they are becoming increasingly homogenous and that "the meaning that provides the sense of attachment to place has been radically thinned out" (Harvey in Cresswell 1990: 43). According to Relph where there is a "weakening of the identity of places to the point where they not only look alike and feel alike [they] offer the same bland possibilities for experience (Relph 1976: 90). This has resulted, at least in part, in a significant trend of urbanites moving to places where they can seek the experience of more 'authentic' places. This escape may be from the suburbs to historic neighbourhoods near the centre of the city or to distant small towns, villages or countryside, locales which are perceived to have a unique sense of place and a human scale. It may also consist of a few weeks' respite in the form of a summer home in a rural community. In interviews, some urbanites with seasonal residences in Freshwater described their reasons for locating in Freshwater as offering "a simple life away from chaos and noise of urban living" and a place where,

quoting CBC radio personality Michael Enright, "you have a sense of what's important: it's people over money" (Jeff and Bruce, seasonal residents). Another couple moved to Freshwater on a permanent, year-round basis from the fringes of a large Canadian city due to a perception that their town was being lost to creeping suburban development, box stores, crime and the loss of a lively historic downtown (Brenda and Mike, recent, year-round residents).

Massey argues that it is impossible to fix the concept of place, particularly in today's world, for different people in any place experience it in quite diverse ways. According to Massey:

> If it is now recognized that people have multiple identities then the same point can be made in relation to places. Moreover, such multiple identities can either be a source of richness or a source of conflict or both.
>
> One of the problems here has been a persistent identification of place with 'community'. Yet this is a misidentification. On the one hand, communities can exist without being in the same place . . . On the other hand, the instances of places housing single 'communities' in the sense of coherent social groups are probably – and, I would argue, have for long been – quite rare. Moreover, even where they do exist this in no way implies a single sense of place. For people occupy different positions within any community.

Her suggestion is that it is better to look at place as being "constructed out of a particular constellation of social relations, meeting and weaving together at a particular locus" (Massey 1994: 153-154). The implication of this is that the meaning of place can be many different things at any particular time, depending on whose views are being

considered. It is also less 'thing' than 'process' which is continuously becoming and evolving.

But to suggest that communities can exist without people being in the same place or that people may not feel part of a physical place does not mean that most people do not seek a sense of community in place. To me it seemed apparent in talking to residents of Freshwater, both long-time and recent, that they were looking for some sense of community in that location. Massey's critique does not seem to consider how the larger economic, cultural, and social forces that negatively impact communities can or should be tempered. Massey's way of looking at place may be most useful for suggesting a way forward for thinking about place that is inclusive and allows people a role in shaping place, a subject which will be discussed in Chapter 5.

Heritage Values and Rural Newfoundland

Since the 1992 Moratorium there has been a veritable explosion in Newfoundland's "heritage industries." Much of this activity has been in rural Newfoundland where there has been a tripling in the number of community museums over the last 20 years or so. Many of these consist of restored heritage houses with their usual collection of household items, outport furnishings, and tools. The Blundon House in Bay de Verde, the Fisherman's House in Port de Grave and the Lifestyle Museum in Sibley's Cove are examples of house museums found on the Bay de Verde Peninsula. Much of this activity has been undertaken in the name of economic

diversification (i.e., the development of tourism attractions) through such programs as the Atlantic Canada Opportunities Agency, various manifestations of Newfoundland and Labrador's development arms (currently the Department of Innovation, Trade and Rural Development), and federal employment and training programs. Yet much of the heritage activity is, I believe, also a response to a sense that the old way of life – based on the inshore fishery and subsistence lifestyles – is rapidly disappearing; something is being lost that is important. The considerable recent interest in gathering oral histories – by community and heritage organizations across the province, not to mention folklorists – would likewise seem to reflect a desire to capture the information of an older generation before it passes on. It is often not until a society becomes cut off from its traditional roots through economic change (the loss of the fishery) or, when it has been a largely rural society, through urbanization that it seeks to preserve its material cultural heritage (Pocius 2000: 276). According to Newfoundland writer Harold Horwood "Newfoundland culture tended to flourish after Confederation, rather than before, . . . people became more conscious of saving things from the past, in spite of the fact the so-called outports changed from being quite a separate culture from the rest of the country to being carbon copies of small Canadian towns." (Horwood, 2005 interview, *The Independent*). In other words, only once Newfoundland outports had become more assimilated into mainstream Canadian society, could they become conscious of their unique culture and thereby take measures to preserve it. Horwood,

however, seems to see "Newfoundland culture" as thing (i.e., something you can look at, save, reflect on) rather than as a process or living entity.

The post-moratorium period has also been accompanied by the restoration of many buildings in rural communities, some for commercial and community functions, many others as summer residences. The Town of Bonavista, for example, through the Bonavista Townscape Foundation, responded to the Moratorium by undertaking an ambitious revitalization of its historic core along with the restoration of more than 60 historic buildings, largely funded through various economic development grants (e.g., ACOA) and employment-adjustment programs.

Much of this gathering and preserving of the past in the province has been undertaken without a critical view of how the past is constructed or of the underlying discourses of class, gender, ethnicity, and power that are embedded within representations of the past. Historic preservationists often act as if they are creating a "complete or "objective" reconstruction of the past" (Downer, et al, in Hufford 1994: 39) failing to recognize that history and heritage are socially constructed and that "the past as we know it is partly a product of the present" (Lowenthal 1985: 26). Heritage preservation and the writing of history both involve a selective process. Certain classes are most likely to preserve the past and only certain fragments from the past are deemed worthy of saving. 'Authenticity' is often a stated goal of preservationists, preserving or depicting that which is the most genuine, original, pure, true or reliable

version of a relic or traditional cultural practice. In the process much is left out – the voices of those who have traditionally had little or no power (women, the poor, people with disabilities); the clutter and messy bits of the past; the later changes and additions that take away from the perceived purity of the original – resulting in a heritage that can be exclusionary at the same time that it seeks to reaffirm and validate individuals and groups and reinforce identity (Lowenthal 1985: 38).

A discussion in Tilting on Fogo Island a few years back revealed the complexities of heritage issues. In a community workshop I was conducting on heritage resources, architect Robert Mellin, who owns a restored summer home in Tilting and who has written extensively on the community, recommended the creation of heritage bylaws to protect Tilting's built heritage. He suggested that such regulations were necessary to protect the investment of those who had preserved their historic properties. In response, a retired school teacher and year-round resident from Tilting, responded, "we're Irish, we don't much take to regulation." This same individual, in a separate interview suggested, "we don't worship it [our heritage] but see value in it. It shouldn't be an impediment to Tilting's future development, . . . people are going to do what they have always done. Hopefully heritage won't interfere with moving forward." In considering what the community would look like in the future this same man suggested that the old buildings would still be there but that they would exist along with modern homes of vinyl and asphalt, "after all, the old people modernized when they could." (Telephone interview with Tilting resident, April 2006). These comments get at the

heart of some of the issues around heritage. The past is all about change yet there is a tendency by many heritage advocates to want to freeze the past in what is perceived as its most ideal period (i.e., before mass production when craftsmanship still existed; when things were locally made by hand; when the community was in its former "heyday"). Past residents may have used local materials like wood to build their homes because that was what was available and affordable. More recently, outport residents have, understandably, adopted new materials (e.g., vinyl siding and windows, asphalt shingles) when they were available for just the same reasons as people have done in St. John's or Mt. Pearl (e.g., cost, convenience).

Mellin's comments also point to the an unintended or unacknowledged reality of heritage preservation, namely, that it is often about protecting what has become a positional good (Duncan in Adams 2001: 53) in the hands of urban elites. In "The Aesthetization of the Politics of Landscape Preservation" Duncan describes heritage values and regulations as things that subtly exclude certain social groups and reaffirm elite class identities (Duncan 2001: 387). Heritage regulations can ensure that only people with similar values and tastes will locate in an older community or neighbourhood. Long-time residents may not be able to afford the costs (e.g., maintenance) associated with heritage regulation compliance; they may be priced out of a market in which property values rise considerably; or they may voluntarily choose to locate elsewhere to a place that better suites their tastes and values.

Gentrification and Commodification of Landscape

A process that often seems to accompany heritage preservation is "gentrification," which is the "process of renewal and rebuilding accompanying the influx of middle-class or affluent people into deteriorating areas that often displaces poorer residents" (Miriam Webster Online). Whether one looks at rural Newfoundland communities or downtown St. John's, more often than not the preservation of historic homes is undertaken by middle- and upper-class professionals who gradually replace/displace the urban working class or outport families that traditionally inhabited them. Rural communities and older neighbourhoods that were previously valued as places of production are, increasingly, being consumed by newcomers, be they exurbanites, seasonal residents or tourists. Marxists define gentrification as a movement of capital resulting in profit realized from under-utilized potential of property (Phillips 1983: 125), however a number of writers including Cloke, Davies and Phillips call for a more nuanced understanding of rural gentrification. They have demonstrated that people who move from urban areas to rural communities do so for a considerable variety of reasons: the desire for more affordable housing, to escape the pressures of urban living, to provide a safe environment to raise a family, to participate in "community." My own survey of Freshwater residents revealed that it is impossible to treat outsiders or newcomers as a homogenous group or even to think of them all as gentrifiers in the classic sense. This will be discussed at greater length in Chapter 3.

A common theme in much of the literature on rural places is the commodification of rural landscapes (Cloke 1987, Halseth 1995) or, in Halseth's words, the "purchase of the experience of being in the rural landscape." Attractive views, a rural idyll, or a relatively "unchanged" environment, become prized over the values and uses of the landscape for production. This has various implications for long-term residents who must deal with the rising cost of housing and of land. Locals may come into conflict with newcomers over access to land and resources and may find their own needs for economic development thwarted by incoming urbanites who are interested in protecting what they value about the countryside (heritage qualities, views, open space). Thus the expansion of local resource industries (e.g., commercial farming) may be opposed by these newcomers who often fail to see rural areas as places of continuous change that must compete in the global economy (Halseth 1995). Walker and Formann discuss the role of differing ideas or visions of landscape as a key source of conflict between established rural dwellers and newcomers which often divide between "traditional natural resource-based economies and cultures of aesthetic landscape 'consumption'"(Walker and Fortmann 2003: 470-472) and a competition between "old and new rural capitalisms" (Walker and Fortmann 2003: 476). Even in communities whose economies are no longer resource-based, the "view of the local landscape as a source of production and livelihoods has largely remained" (Walker and Fortmann 2003: 473).

The Outport Landscape as a Shared Resource (The Commons)

A critical aspect of this commodification is the collision with long-established local values about shared access to outport landscapes which, I believe, defines Newfoundland outport communities in a significant way, and separates them from many other (but not all) European communities in North America. Much of the outport landscape, like the seascape, represents a shared or open access resource (Pocius 1991: 16). This contrasts with farming landscapes -- comprising much of Southern Canada – in which land is intensively used and, overwhelmingly, privately owned. The very settlement of places like Southern Ontario and the Prairies, in which a rational system of survey and sale of land was the norm, contrasts with most of rural Newfoundland where informal settlement (squatting) was the frequent form of early settlement and where a very high portion of land throughout the province is publicly-owned to this day.

As writers on outport communities like Pocius and Mellin and others have shown, the landscape within and around rural Newfoundland communities was typically divided into overlapping public, communal, and private spaces with a clear understanding by residents of the boundaries of each (Renouf in Harp 2003: xviii). Public space consisted of the church, roadways, and pathways. Communal space consisted of those areas in the landscape where residents shared access to resources such as woodlands, barrens (for berries and game), beaches, wharves, and the sea (for fishing) and other areas that were used for work (e.g., drying nets or building and

storing boats) or for community social activities. Private space comprised individual houses and gardens although this was not a clearly defined boundary as evidenced by the customary practice in outports of entering any kitchen without knocking (Renouf in Harp 2003: xviii).[6] A key observation in Pocius's study of Calvert on the Avalon's Southern Shore, is that community identity was, in no small way, determined by residents' connections to these shared landscapes.

From the earliest period of European economic activity, both the land and the offshore were considered open-access resources: fishing grounds, woodlands, barrens, pastureland, areas of shoreline. For the first few hundred years of the European fishery in Newfoundland, the notion prevailed that the shoreline was owned by no one and was available for use on a first come basis. Even with the gradual parceling of land along the shoreline of the province's coves and inlets amongst individual families from the 17th to the 19th Centuries, there continued to be "ships rooms" which were reserved for the English migratory fishery. Indeed, the British government discouraged settlement and the privatization of property in Newfoundland to varying degrees until the early 19th century in order to maintain the fishery and the resources that supported it as an open-access resource (Pope 2004: 204).

An interesting example of open access to land in Newfoundland outports was the custom – common in parts of rural Newfoundland until the 1980s – of allowing

[6] In many ways the arrangement of shared and private space in the traditional Newfoundland outport resembled that of medieval village as described in Gies's book *Life in a Medieval Village* (1990).

cattle to roam freely throughout the community. This required owners to fence off areas (generally gardens and yards) that they wanted to protect from grazing livestock. In Freshwater free-roaming cattle were not banned until the introduction of a Local Service District in the mid-1980s.

While significant portions of the shoreline gradually came to be privately owned for activities related to the processing of fish, it still represented a place of free access and often, shared work. An early census of Freshwater, included in the *Plantation Books: Register of Fishing Rooms in Conception Bay* (1805) (Freshwater Plantation Book online) specifically referenced "the commons" in Freshwater. This same document lists "the commons" in a number of other Conception Bay communities including Bay Roberts and Cupids. This likely referred to a place where work related to the fishery could be carried out by all residents.

The writer Harold Horwood used the term "almost commons" (Horwood 1997: 4) to describe some of the open areas in pre-Second World War St. John's, which seems an apt description of much of the shared space in Newfoundland communities (i.e., space that is commonly used but without any formal definition as public space). A friend of mine, who moved to Newfoundland from Quebec many years ago, recounted her first visit to Port aux Basques aboard a sailboat. Unsure of which spaces they could access, an older resident suggested to them, "you goes until you stops" by which he meant that you could pretty much go where you wanted to in the community until

someone stopped you from going there. More recently, many spaces, by virtue of abandonment over time, discontinued use (e.g., the shoreline) or lack of clear ownership have become, in some sense, part of the commons. At the very least many abandoned spaces provide viewsheds that offer free and desirable views of local scenery.

As the value of land in Newfoundland outports increases, and as outsiders with differing values acquire that land, the potential for conflict increases. The Logy Bay example cited earlier is a case in point. Land that was once a shared resource (even when it was privately owned) may become privatized, with former rights of access taken away. In Freshwater a couple of residents spoke of growing tensions over certain properties and concerns that property currently accessed by the general public may be fenced off in the future.[7]

The literature on the commons tends to focus on the concept of the "tragedy of the commons" described by Hardin and others. This maintains that commonly-held resources are always doomed to over-exploitation (Hardin 1968: 1246). One of the critics of this view is Raj Patel who suggests that Hardin fails to address the enclosure or privatization of the commons and the role of capital in the destruction of shared resources such as the fishery (Patel 2009: 93-95). There are many examples of shared

[7] The CBC Television newscast in St. John's on May 28, 2010 featured a story about a move by the owner of a resort in Lewin's Cove, on Newfoundland's Burin Peninsula, to establish a gate over a road that provides community access to a local pond. At a public meeting local residents asserted their traditional access to this road with one man citing the fact that his father and grandfather before him had used the road and that access should not be restricted.

access to non-commercial resources and spaces that have been sustainably managed by local custom or rational social agreements enforced by the state. Sean Cadigan in "The Moral Economy of the Commons" outlines attempts in Newfoundland in the first half of the 19th century to manage access to the commons in an equitable and sustainable manner (Cadigan 1991: 17, 31) as part of a "moral economy" (Cadigan 1991: 12). This included both the fishery and land resources. For example, he notes that, "Newfoundland governors recognized early a moral right of access to land by preventing members of the colony's professional bourgeoisie in St. John's from enclosing large tracts of land at the expense of fishing people's requirements for their subsistence" (Cadigan 1991: 14). In Cadigan's mind, "The tragedy of the commons has really been an impoverished historical perspective about the relationship between fishing people and the eco-systems in which they have lived" (Cadigan 1991: 11).

In a somewhat similar vein Fernandez sees the abandonment of the commons as leading to a degradation of the social contract. She sees the commons as the "arena for truly long-term, confident cooperative acts" and as places that produce "conviviality," necessary for the reproduction of culture (Fernandez 1987: 287). Another way to think about the commons, particularly as it relates to shared spaces and activities (e.g., work), is as social capital (Kaufman 2009: 36). Social capital constitutes those connections and social practices that may not involve financial transactions but which, nonetheless, allow society to produce value. This concept of the commons as a place that produces conviviality is explored in this thesis to see to what degree it may or may not have

resonance with today's outport residents. The key informant questionnaire included questions on aspects of the community (spaces and activities) that are shared today and those that may have been so in the past.

Investigation of the "outport commons" leads to a number of questions. What sorts of places were considered "commons" or open access in Newfoundland outports and what roles did they play in the community? What, if any aspects of the commons/open access still persist and have they changed in use, meaning, status or structure, particularly as a result of economic, social, and demographic change? Ultimately, what interests me is the degree to which the idea of the commons still has meaning – or could have meaning – for outport residents. Does the commons, both as a shared resource and as a locus for conviviality and cultural reproduction, have the potential to bridge native-born residents and newcomers and to allow for rural change to be better managed?

Storytelling and Landscape as Narrative

Just as places are the result of certain social practices, such as the sharing of spaces described above, they are also constructed of narratives: the stories that explain why a place is as it is; the personal narratives that we have created about how we do or don't fit into or belong to a place. Narratives connect us to place. The New York City-based heritage preservationist, Ned Kaufman, uses the terms "storyscape" to define this connection (Kaufman 2009: 3). According to Michael Collins, "emplacement is a

process. If you live somewhere long enough, memories grow. Emotional connections knit people to the land. That's the meadow where we played. That's the beach where we walked. That's the yard where we worked. That's the spot where loved ones are buried." (Collins 2010: 48).

Kaufman talks about the dependence of "social capital" activities (i.e., those things that allow society to function smoothly) on appropriate (particular) spatial frames or settings. These may be churches, coffee shops, park benches, vacant lots or street corners to name a few (Kaufman 2009: 44). He also speaks of the role of places in nurturing cultural capital which "denotes society's stock of traditions, lifeways, beliefs and modes of thought and expression" (Kaufman 2009: 46). He suggests that memory is key to cultural capital and that historic sites help to "anchor the community's cultural identity by attaching historical memory to place. Each reminds the community of a foundation story" (Kaufman 2009: 47).

The sharing of stories about outport places has, I believe, the potential to ground modern-day residents of Newfoundland outports in a period of change. Stories themselves provide a means of bridging cultures even though we may not be able to fully comprehend thought patterns of other cultures. This suggests that in the sharing of stories about place the differing, and sometimes competing values of a place may be bridged. The title of a book by J. Edward Chamberlin, *If this is your Land, where are your Stories? Finding Common Ground*, states succinctly the notion that to fully feel a sense

of belonging to place one needs to know its stories (Chamberlain, 2003). One of the ways in which contemporary and historical meanings of a modern-day outport landscape were explored in this study is through the stories of Freshwater residents gathered in key informant interviews. These are considered from a number of different perspectives. What values and ideas about landscape and sense of place are expressed in stories? What is revealed about the process of constructing meaning through these stories? These are discussed in Chapter 4.

Chapter 2 – Representations of the Newfoundland Outport

Two of the ways in which the Newfoundland outport has been made is textually and graphically: literary works that include fiction and non-fiction; academic writing that encompasses such fields as geography, history, sociology, and anthropology, among others; popular works by local historians encompassing everything from community histories, biographies and memoirs, to shipwrecks and natural disasters; historical records both private and public; and graphic representations that include maps, photographs and works of art. All involve acts of imagination or of abstraction, key components in the making of place. This chapter surveys a number of these different records in order to help place the outport within the larger cultural discourse of Newfoundland and to establish an historical context for the outport community of Freshwater which, I argue, demonstrates a number of the current trends seen in many of the province's outport communities. These records, all of which can be read as different types of texts (Fairclough 1995: 4), are read discursively to develop a sense of the ways in which they were produced and how they have contributed to the production of outport places.

A common theme, particularly in many of the literary sources, is that of the Newfoundland outport as the product of constant struggle, failure on the one hand, and perseverance on the other. Forces which Newfoundland settlers had to overcome included English mercantile interests, which were opposed to settlement, the climate,

and European conflicts which frequently arrived at the island's doorstep (D.W. Ryan 1984: 85). In later years outport residents had to contend with the greedy Newfoundland merchant, government bureaucrats and politicians and their bad policies, technological and cultural change which threatened a cherished way of life.

A useful starting point in considering how the idea of the outport is created is to consider a couple of dictionary definitions:

> **Outport**: a port other than the main port of a country; a port of export or departure; a small fishing village in Newfoundland (Webster's New Collegiate Dictionary 1976: 815).
>
> **Outport:** a small harbor, especially one of the isolated fishing villages along the coasts of Newfoundland (The *Gage Canadian Dictionary* 1983: 806).

The first definition situates Newfoundland's rural coastal communities in relation to the "urban centre." While today we think of the Newfoundland outports in relation to Newfoundland and Labrador's largest city, St. John's (St. John's being "in" and all other Newfoundland communities being "out"), the original use of the term was in relation to London (Story 1990: 363) which considered the Newfoundland fishing communities as more distant manifestations of the West Country fishing ports (Mannion 1986: 37). The local parlance is that if one is traveling from the outport to St. John's one is going "in to town" or, the reverse, one is going "out around the bay". "Rural" like "outport" expresses an "objective attitude toward the country and country life as distinguished from towns and cities and city life." (Gage 1983: 984). From the "urban centre" the outport has, at various times, been seen as unruly, backward,

"traditional" or offering a simpler life freer from modern urban pressures. From my own experience and research, outport residents, many of whom live in unincorporated communities, there is, in fact, a cherished sense of freedom from the rules and regulations that govern urban life.

The second definition describes the outport as a place of export which reflects the fact that the outports were traditionally places of production which consisted of vast quantities of salt cod that were exported principally to Southern Europe and Latin America. The notion of the outport as a place of "departure" is perhaps less obvious but one that has significance in a number of different ways. In their early days, the outports were places of seasonal arrival and departure for European fishers who used Newfoundland's many coves and bays as places to catch and make (process) fish. Later, there was the departure at the end of the fishing season of local men in schooners who were taking fish to distant markets. Beginning in the early 19th century the early spring of the year saw the annual departure of outport male residents for the ice floes off Newfoundland's northeast coast to hunt for seals. During this same period, a significant portion of the outport population in Eastern Newfoundland began to journey to Labrador to fish for the summer. They became known as "stationers" (Story 1990: 530-31). And in an ironic sense, not necessarily intended by the dictionary definition, there has, for a long period of time, been an ebb and flow of "leaving" by young outport residents and those seeking greater economic opportunities at various times in places such as the United States, Ontario, Alberta and the Canadian North.

The particular association of the outport with Newfoundland is interesting. Small coastal communities dot the entire coastline of Atlantic Canada and New England, yet these are not generally termed outports. Perhaps Gage's addition of "isolated" is telling for Newfoundland's coastal communities – and the province in general -- have often been portrayed in the Central Canadian media and elsewhere as "out there," marginal, somehow beyond the North American mainstream in economic, cultural, not to mention geographic terms. This has many roots. One may be a lack of awareness by many Canadians of Newfoundland's history. For example, in the early 19th Century when Ontario settlements were only accessible to Europe by a long passage over sea, river, lakes, and poor roads, many Newfoundland outports saw regular ocean transportation links with Europe and the Eastern (American) Seaboard through the saltfish trade. Newfoundland mariners visited various ports around Europe, the Caribbean, South America and the Eastern United States on a regular basis where they would have been exposed to current information and trends. Beginning in the early 20th Century a lively flow of people seeking temporary employment in American cities such as Boston and New York developed which, no doubt, also contributed to a flow of ideas and information.

The way that the island of Newfoundland appears on Canadian maps likely also contributes to a perception that it is on the Canadian periphery. When Newfoundland joined Canada in 1949 it went from being a separate state, some might say strategically located between Europe and the North American heartland and close to the Eastern

American Seaboard, to a place that henceforth was situated on the extreme eastern edge of the Canadian map.[8]

The perception of the marginality of the Newfoundland outport also has an economic dimension. For example, rural youth unemployment in the province is nearly three times that of rural youth in Canada as a whole (Agricultural and Agri-Food Canada: 2006). High over all rural unemployment in Newfoundland and Labrador combined with a reliance on employment benefits and labour adjustment programs have helped to define the outport as economically marginal. This builds on the narrative of the "failed outport" that developed out of the Commission of Government in the 1930s (Newfoundland as a failed state) and the rural resettlement program of the 1960s and 70s. This is explored below in a discussion on scholarly writing about the Newfoundland outport.

Scholarly Representations of the Newfoundland Outport

A study of scholarly representations of rural Newfoundland and the outports would be a complete study in itself, however, an overview is presented here to show

[8] I have often been struck by the distorted way that the island of Newfoundland is represented on various maps of Canada. For example, on the weather map in the *Globe and Mail*, the island of Newfoundland appears to be not only on the eastern edge of the country but also considerably north of its actual latitude, thereby, exaggerating its distance from other populated regions in Canada. Friends in other parts of the country have expressed surprise when I indicated that St. John's is located south of the 49th parallel (e.g., south of all Western Canadian cities). Monmonier suggests that most "lying with maps" is inadvertent, caused by "the well-intentioned mapmaker who doesn't understand cartographic principles" (Monmonier 2005: 216). It may simply be the result of a layout editor's need to shave the length of the Canadian map a few millimeters which is achieved by moving the island of Newfoundland north from its easterly location.

some of the ways in which academics have shaped views of -- and ultimately policies relating to -- outport communities. This overview draws extensively on a survey by Jim Overton of sociological writing on the Newfoundland outport and on a retrospective of geographical writing in the province by Graeme Wynn. The outport has been considered and represented by academics in a variety of disciplines including history, geography (historical, economic, cultural), sociology, folklore, anthropology, and architecture, among others, particularly at Newfoundland's only university, Memorial University. It has been suggested that Newfoundland and Labrador is one of the "most studied regions of Canada as far as anthropology and sociology are concerned" (Gail Pool cited in Overton 2010: 2). Memorial University sociologist, Jim Overton, in a recent article, provides an overview of this work and places it within some of the major discourses occurring in Newfoundland. According to Overton, Parzival Copes, an economist, who came to Memorial University in 1957, "became the primary academic proponent of the policy of resettlement of small rural communities" (Overton 2010: 2). The work of Copes and various other academics from this period supported the "modernization framework" which was strongly supported by the Smallwood Government in the 1960s and 70s in which Newfoundland society had to be radically reshaped. Ian Whitaker, another academic from the period, suggested that rural Newfoundlanders demonstrated , "a rural ethic. . . [where] capital accumulation is in some sense seen as an anti-social activity" (Whitaker in Overton 2010: 3). W.E. Mann described coastal Newfoundland as comprising "isolated, inbred, pre-modern fishing communities"

(Mann in Overton 2010: 3). Both Whitaker and Mann were situating outport Newfoundlanders outside of the capitalist North American mainstream. Historian Robert Sweeney, cited by Overton, argued that

> the human sciences [mostly non-Newfoundland academics] played a determining role in this debate by identifying the inshore fishery as the principal impediment to modernization and successful economic development, . . . [and was] responsible for defining rural Newfoundland as "traditional" and the outport inshore fishery as a "traditional fishery, . . . which reinforced the idea that the inshore fishery had been holding back development. Sweeney's argument is that the work of sociologists and anthropologists – "their assumptions and theoretical frameworks' -- inadvertently provided support for a program of modernization in the fishery and that this led to an "unprecedented, made in Canada, environmental disaster" – the crisis of overfishing that led to the Cod Moratorium of 1992 (Overton 2010: 3).

Following the period of post-war modernism, in which academics played a significant role in defining the Newfoundland outport as marginal and backward, a flood of social and anthropological studies of outport Newfoundland emerged in the 1960s and 70s which provided a revisionist view of the outport. During a period in which modern industrial capitalism was being questioned, a counterculture generation was looking to more "traditional" communities and groups as an antidote to modern urban, industrial problems. Many academics, artists and others found such an antidote in the Newfoundland outport which was seen to possess "a social wisdom superior to that which built the contemporary world-society to which they themselves belonged" (Jackson 1986: 7). According to Gerald Pocius, who came to Newfoundland to do graduate work in folklore and subsequently joined the faculty of Memorial's Folklore Department in the 1970s, "a whole cadre of researchers in geography, history,

anthropology and archaeology, were hired during this period who were doing research in outport Newfoundland culture, history and landscape" (Pocius, telephone interview November 27, 2010). A large cohort of outport "baby boomers" studying at Memorial during this period [9] – aided by generous student loans during the Smallwood era and the expansion of industrial enterprises and government services in the outports in rural Newfoundland – contributed to a focus on the study of the outports. Many undertook research and writing – encouraged by their professors – on their own roots. (Pocius, interview).

The context for much of this cultural research was a period described by Sandra Gwyn in 1976 as "the Newfoundland renaissance" and others as a "cultural revolution" or "revival " (Overton 2010: 4). A number of Memorial University's departments in the humanities and social sciences including folklore and geography were either founded or flourished during this period when the university focused on the particular strengths of its location which included such things as distinctive language/dialect and cultural traditions. Pocius suggested that these areas were even perceived at that time by other departments to be privileged, with scholars on Newfoundland subjects being given

[9] My own partner, Ralph Jarvis, born and raised in a small agricultural settlement on the Burin Peninsula, was able to study at Memorial due to the wages that his parents made as employees at the local campus of the newly-expanded provincial community college system. A student of science, he engaged in a Newfoundland studies course with geographer Gordon Handcock and used to spend time reading at the Centre for Newfoundland Studies in the newly-constructed main library. In his own words, "I went to university to learn about the wider world and ended up learning more about my own home. (Jarvis conversation, November 27, 2010).

preferential treatment in hiring. Further, graduate work in the humanities in topics not dealing with Newfoundland subjects were sometimes discouraged.[10]

A writer who challenged some of the "romantic" representations of the Newfoundland outport and the idealized culture that was often portrayed during this period is historian and retired Memorial University English Professor, Patrick O'Flaherty. In an iconoclastic essay published in 1976, "Looking backwards: the milieu of the old Newfoundland outports," he suggested that, "it is getting harder and harder to see the pre-confederation outport for what it really was, . . . there are few essays, novels, or plays about the old outport which are not distorted by nostalgia, perverted by one kind of propaganda or another, or written by urban types or other outsiders who do not understand what they are viewing" (O'Flaherty 1976: 145). O'Flaherty even questioned whether pre-confederate outport Newfoundland had a "culture" in the sense of "the sum total of a people's achievements in the arts and sciences" (O'Flaherty 1976: 145). In his mind the fishermen, "inhabited a separate universe of back-breaking labour which cannot be understood by anybody who did not live in it" (O'Flaherty 1976: 148). Such a place did not, quoting H.G. Wells, provide "the progressive emancipation of man's attention from everyday urgencies" necessary for the production of culture (H.G. Wells in O'Flaherty 1976: 145). While I might not agree with O'Flaherty's narrow definition of

[10] According to Jerry Pocius, Fred Aldrich, Dean of Graduate Studies from 1970-1987, felt that Memorial's mandate should be to promote Newfoundland studies. In certain cases he initially refused research proposals from students of folklore for study in other parts of Canada, believing that they should focus on Newfoundland subjects.

culture, his work provides a sobering alternate view of the outport provided by the many of Newfoundland's academics and creative writers.

The 1960s and 70s also represented a time when historical geography at Memorial University was particularly active. The 1977 collection of essays, *The Peopling of Newfoundland*, edited by John Mannion, is seen as an encapsulation of "some of the central emphases of historical geography at MUN in the early years of the 1970s" (Wynn 2010:15). It includes essays by most of the historical geographers at Memorial University during, what is described by Graeme Wynn, as a period when historical geography at Memorial rivaled that of any other Canadian university. The focus of this work was on the regional and local and on migration and settlement. It made heavy use of diverse archival resources that produced, "remarkably fine-grained accounts of the settlements and societies they examined" (Wynn 2010: 16).

Two historical geographers at Memorial University whose work has focused on outport Newfoundland are John Mannion and Gordon Handcock. Much of their research concerns itself with outport settlement and development, each reflecting to some degree, their own cultural backgrounds. Handcock, a native Newfoundlander of English origins, focuses much of his work on Newfoundland's "English Shore" which extended from Conception Bay to the island's Northeast Coast with a particular emphasis on the former regional centre of Trinity. Mannion, a native of Ireland, has written extensively on the Southern Avalon Peninsula which was settled overwhelmingly

by Irish immigrants, who superseded earlier English and French settlers. Mannion, in his study of Point Lance, on the Avalon Peninsula's Southwest Coast, traces the settlement and spatial patterns of that community with a particular emphasis on those aspects of the outport cultural landscape that reflect Irish cultural practices. He notes the early emphasis on farming which became supplemented by fishing, something that contrasted with most communities settled by the English where fishing, supplemented by subsistence gardening, was the focus (Mannion 2010: 14). The work of Handcock and Mannion sought to place the outports within an ethno-cultural context, that is, by establishing their Irish and English roots. Their early work corresponded with a period in which the English and, in particular, Irish roots of Newfoundland linguistic and musical traditions were being explored and promoted.

The last several years have seen a relative shift at Memorial away from Newfoundland rural cultural studies. This can be seen in a recent down-sizing of the historical-cultural geography contingency at the institution. When several faculty retired, including Gordon Handcock, John Mannion, Michael Stavely, and Jo Shawyer – most of whom wrote extensively on Newfoundland topics – they were replaced by only two cultural geographers both of whom have specialties outside of Newfoundland. This reflects university policies, as well as demographic trends in the province. As the University matured it sought to broaden its focus and to become more international (Pocius, interview). Today a smaller percentage of Memorial's students come from rural communities in the province than previously. A larger percentage of the student

population is either urban or originates from out-of-province. Most of these are naturally drawn to fields other than rural Newfoundland studies. As well, institutional arrangements (i.e., the Faculty Association) mean that preferential hiring of faculty with a Newfoundland focus by the university's administration -- as was sometimes done in the past – is no longer practiced. Instead the hiring of new faculty is controlled by university departments which seek expertise based on their own needs (Pocius, ibd.).

Economic geographers at Memorial such as Keith Storey and others have addressed development policy issues and discourses in the outports and elsewhere in Atlantic Canada. These discourses include "a new geography of centrality and marginality" (Sassen 2002: 164) in which places such as rural Newfoundland are perceived by Central Canadians as marginal to the international economy. Stephen Harper, when he was leader of the Canadian Alliance Party, reinforced such notions when he described Atlantic Canada as embodying a "dependence that breeds a culture of defeatism" (CBC Online 2002). Government efforts to sustain Atlantic Canada were often seen as somehow different and less valid than government investments in research and infrastructure -- and its own extensive purchasing (e.g., military hardware) -- to support the manufacturing regions of central Canada. Negative perceptions of Atlantic Canada were particularly pronounced during the post-Cod Moratorium period in the 1990s and early 2000s when the federal government poured significant funding into employment adjustment programs and economic development (read as "bail-outs") to help get people out of the fishery. The latest economic recession may be seeing a

shift in perceptions about "marginal" or "have not" regions such as Newfoundland and Labrador. Bolstered by a resurgent resource sector (and oil in particular) this province has moved to "have" status at the same time that Central Canada has seen its own massive federal "bail-outs," particularly in the auto manufacturing sector.

Memorial University has, over the years, played a major role in efforts to diversify and preserve rural communities. MUN Extension Services, active from the 1960s to the 1980s, sought to harness the university's resources and expertise for community economic development through a network of field offices spread across the province. On Fogo Island it pioneered the use of media technology as a tool in participatory community development, which came to be known as "the Fogo Process" (Snowden: 2011). MUN Extension Services was disbanded in the late 1980s. It took more than a decade for Memorial to formally get back into community outreach -- albeit it in a less intensive and "hands-on" way than MUN Extension -- with the founding of the Leslie Harris Centre in 2004. The Centre's mandate is "to co-ordinate and facilitate Memorial University's activities relating to regional policy and development, advise on building the University's capacity and identify priority themes and projects relating to teaching, research and outreach" (Harris Centre: 2011). One of the Centre's main goals is to link Memorial's research capacity to the needs of Newfoundland communities.

As this thesis is primarily concerned with the intersection of culture and space I will not discuss recent historical writing on subjects relating to the Newfoundland

outport but I must mention an early seminal work that shaped thinking about Newfoundland historiography and representations of the Newfoundland outport for nearly a century. In 1895 Judge D.W. Prowse published *A History of Newfoundland*, which represents the most, and some would say only, comprehensive history of colonial Newfoundland. According to Leslie Harris in his forward to the 2002 edition of Prowse:

> Perhaps it is not too much to say it [Prowse's History] established the basic concept that has underlain all Newfoundland history writing since the date: the proposition that, to the end of the eighteenth century at least, the history of Newfoundland had been the playing out of a struggle between merchants of West Country England . . . and a steadily growing number of unwanted settlers struggling for control of their own destinies. Secondly, Prowse sought to portray Newfoundland history as significant in the context of English development, . . . acknowledgement of the enormous economic importance of the West Country-Newfoundland fishery during England's political and commercial expansion . . . (Prowse 2002: ix)

Prowse played a major role in shaping, or at least perpetuating, the notion that continues to this day that Newfoundland coastal settlements (virtually all except for St. John's which are considered outports) were rooted in struggle: against West Country merchants; pirates; the French; and the vagaries of the fishery. The failure by England to recognize the important contribution that Newfoundland made to that country's history – something which Prowse sought to correct – has been supplanted by a prevailing feeling by Newfoundlanders and Labradorians that their contributions to Canada are not fully appreciated.[11]

[11] Consider the 2003 *Report of the Royal Commission on Renewing and Strengthening our Place in Canada* which examined the failure of Newfoundland and Labrador to fully achieve its potential within Canada or

A field which has shed some fresh light on early European settlement in Newfoundland is historical archaeology, drawing as it does on considerable field work at the sites of early 17th Century settlements in Newfoundland. A common perception which still persists is that these early settlements failed soon after their founding (Callanan, 2010: 7). One can't help but wonder if this is part of a broader discourse of Newfoundland's (and the outport's) poverty and economic and political failure. Recent archaeological investigations in places such as Cupids (English Canada's first colony, established in 1610) and Ferryland (established 1620) have challenged this idea. They have demonstrated that many of the early planters, as judged by the quality of household goods unearthed, were anything but poor and that occupation of these places continued on for many decades, in spite of early challenges and the early withdrawal of their founders. Further, Cupids, Ferryland and other 17th Century communities played a significant role in the settlement of other parts of Newfoundland's English Shore (Gilbert 2010: 44-47). As such, recent archaeological research is playing a major role in the "re-representation" of Newfoundland's historical outport narrative as one of "failure" to one of "persistence." While it may be coincidence, it is interesting to note that this is occurring at a time when the larger narrative about Newfoundland is changing from one of economic failure to one of economic success (i.e., the move from "have not" to "have" status).

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the attempts by the Williams government to demonstrate to the federal government the net economic contribution made by Newfoundland and Labrador to Canada in the face of the loss of transfer payments to the province.

This brief survey of academic production on rural Newfoundland subjects demonstrates how the academy and, in particular, Memorial University has, for good or for ill, played a significant role in shaping perceptions about the Newfoundland outport in the post-Confederation period. Ultimately academics have impacted – and continue to do so to the present day – government policies on rural Newfoundland. For example, the work of Copes is believed to have contributed directly to the policy of outport resettlement which led to the abandonment of hundreds of outports. The outport was later legitimized by anthropologists, folklorists, and others who sought to describe a unique culture at risk from North American mass culture. Outreach efforts at the university – as well as a number of different rural diversification programs supported by both provincial and federal governments – were, and continue to be, aimed at preserving outport Newfoundland in the face of modern capitalistic forces.

Fictional Representations of the Outport

Just as academics have played a major role in shaping narratives about the Newfoundland outport (and in policies that have shaped Newfoundland in the post-Confederation period), writers of fiction (novelists and playwrights) have actively been contributing to the broader narratives about the outport. Works of fiction often play a significant role in revealing the ways that people find meaning in the physical reality of the world and in which they socially construct space. Fiction can both reflect a society's values, aspirations and feelings about place and play an important role in shaping those

values. In *Ramona Memories*, Dydia DeLyser demonstrates this in her discussion of the way in which a work of fiction reflected the changing cultural landscape of late 19th century Southern California. Helen Hunt Jackson, the author of the popular late 19th century novel, *Ramona*, created imaginative places inhabited by fictional characters that were so evocative for many people of that era, that there was a widespread belief that these places were real. DeLyser demonstrates how fiction can play a powerful role in creating "social memory" or "social truth." In other words, "fictive reality may transcend or contain more truth than the physical everyday reality." (Pocock in Crang 1998 : 45). From my own, albeit somewhat selective, reading of Newfoundland literature, I think it is safe to say that the majority of works deal with the outport in one way or another, be they novels, biographies, plays or community histories. These suggest that the outport is still central to the cultural identity of Newfoundlanders and to the larger cultural discourse.

The works discussed here were selected because they represent some of Newfoundland's most acclaimed novelists[12] and the various generations of post-confederation writers, from the 1960s (when Newfoundland literature began to flourish) to the present. The earliest of the works studied, Harold Horwood's 1966 novel, *Tomorrow Will be Sunday*, can be seen in the context of post-confederation Newfoundland politics in which the outport represents a place of confinement, poverty,

[12] All of the writers selected have received attention in the national media (e.g., have been reviewed in national papers) and/or have received nominations and awards of major provincial, national, and even international literary prizes.

fatalism, and narrow-mindedness – a place that needed to be transformed. The novel tells the story of a young boy growing up in a small, narrow and isolated outport who is befriended by a liberal-minded young teacher from away. The result of their friendship – misunderstood by the community – is personal tragedy. Horwood was a St. John's-born writer who, earlier in his career, had been a confederate politician with a strong belief in the benefits that union with Canada would bring to the Newfoundland outports. For him, and others of his generation, the outport was something that needed to be reformed from its narrow, backward confines.

A generation later, Bernice Morgan's *Random Passage* (1992) attempted to capture the experience of settling an outport – the fictional Cape Random -- in the early 19th Century on Newfoundland's east coast. In a personal conversation I had with her Morgan recounted how as a child she led a somewhat sheltered existence in her St. John's home. Her child's imagination was inhabited, in no small way, by the stories and images about her parent's outport home that were passed on by family members (Morgan, personal communication1996). Her book demonstrates how a work of fiction can capture a fuller sense of a landscape and the act of creating a place than one finds in the actual historical record. For example documents relating to the founding of Cupids convey little sense of how settlers experienced Cupids in personal terms. These materials consist largely of correspondence between a colony manager and investors and concern themselves with practical considerations such as the need for supplies and reports on early successes of a business venture.

Morgan's narrative perpetuates the long-established notion of the Newfoundland outport as a place created in the face of struggle against nature and opposition to an unjust economic system controlled by the greedy St. John's merchant. Morgan's literary landscape has spawned other representations. A film set was constructed of Cape Random for a television mini-series based on her novel. This set subsequently became a tourism attraction in Trinity Bay. In a provincial government publication, *The Ambassador*, Random Passage producer Barbara Doran – one of Newfoundland's most prolific film makers -- is quoted as suggesting that it would have been a shame to pull down "what was Newfoundland's only representation of an 1800s fishing village in all of Newfoundland and Labrador." (*The Ambassador* online 2006: 3). In an added ironic twist, the article indicated that the site was to be redeveloped in 2006 to make a "more authentic living heritage village" (*The Ambassador* online 2006: 3). This, of course, ignores the existence of hundreds of real outport communities virtually, most of which were likely settled in a similar fashion to the fictional Cape Random. Apparently in Doran's mind Cape Random as a film set (a fictional creation given a physical expression), is a more compelling place for Newfoundlanders and visitors to learn about the province's roots than actual outport communities. For some of those in the province's heritage sector, in which I include myself, historical recreations like Cape Random and the Matthew replica in Bonavista pose major philosophical challenges

Kevin Major's *Gaffer*, published in 1997 tells the story of a young outport man known as Gaffer who seems part fish in his ability to inhabit the ocean for great periods and who can travel back and forth in time observing his outport home simply known as "the Cove." Like Horwood's outport community, Major's " the Cove" contains a human element that is both barbaric – as embodied by "Skidder and his toadies" (Major 1997: 105) -- and narrow. In his short novel Major deals with many of the large themes relating to rural Newfoundland: the injustices of the traditional merchant-fisherman relationship; the Newfoundlander as survivor in the face of a harsh environment; the aging and declining rural population; the collapse of the cod fishery; the impacts of the Newfoundland offshore oil industry; tourism; the preservation of the outport "heritage;" and its subsequent commodification. As Gaffer bobs in the water looking at the Cove he reflects, "The sight sickened him, how the sun glinted off white saltboxes growing out of the rocks, indifferent to the ways of the world. They had risen there when these waters swarmed with cod. Not one had he now encountered. Was there any hope for the bustle of boats about the harbor, the hum of work up and down the shore; was he to think history would never again make time on this coast?" (Major 1997: 25). Majors' work represents both a documentation and a lament for a lost outport way of life, a theme that has been addressed by other Newfoundland writers.

Kenneth Harvey, in his 2003 novel, *The Town That Forgot How to Breathe*, captures the Newfoundland outport of Bareneed subsequent to the Moratorium on Northern Cod in 1992. Harvey was born and raised in St. John's but chose as an adult to

make his home in outport Newfoundland (Wikipedia citation for Harvey: 2010). Internal threats like pirates and merchants have been replaced by "the injustice of government [and its fisheries policies]" (Harvey 2003: 140) and the local scourge of municipal officials intent on commodifying a traditional way of life to attract tourists (Harvey 2003: 148). The work describes an impending disaster that is gradually befalling the residents of Bareneed. A strange breathing sickness overwhelms residents and the ocean begins to produce unnatural occurrences such as long-dead bodies, mermaids, and strange sea life. A tidal wave looms. All of these point to the inversion of a natural outport world in which a traditional way of life is being lost, overwhelmed by technology and mass media that have served to disconnect residents from the spirits of the past that inhabited the place (Harvey 2003 204).

In his most recent novel, *Galore*, St. John's writer Michael Crummey, tells the story of several generations of the residents of the fictional community, Paradise Deep from its founding in an undated past to the modern era. It explores, among other things, the role of class, religion, and ethnicity (Irish Catholic vs. English Protestant) in the shaping of a Newfoundland outport landscape. It also incorporates a number of historical events and individuals – some fictionalized and some not – that defined Newfoundland as a whole. Sir William Coaker and his Fishermen's Protective Union play a significant role as does a famous local opera singer, whose tragic life is based on the real-life Georgina Stirling from Twillingate, known as the "Nightingale of the North." The Great Sealing Disaster of 1914 and the slaughter of the Newfoundland Regiment at

Beaumont Hamel are both worked into the plot. Crummey's Paradise Deep seems an amalgam of Newfoundland's outport communities. In Crummey's own words, his, "ambition was to have it [Paradise Deep] be all outports. I didn't want people to guess where it might be. I wanted it to be free of particular histories; to be any and all outports" (Crummey, personal interview).

As *Galore* moves away from its early "mythical" beginnings and approaches the rational present, the often fantastical narrative of Crummey's outport recedes. Yet, according to the author, "I am amazed how much of the Newfoundland outport from one hundred years ago is carried into the present – it's just below the surface still. Geography has a lot to do with it, the isolation. People came here with a medieval world view and the traditions lasted much longer than elsewhere, unchanged or changed in its own way –became the flavor that was this place." For Crummey the connection between stories and identity are critical, "In the case of the main character the old stories tell him who he is. What's real about Newfoundland is our stories" (Crummey, personal interview).

For Majors, Harvey, Morgan, and Crummey the outport seems to represent the "real" Newfoundland, that is, the location of stories that connect to a deeper sense of community and the place where Newfoundlanders find their truest identity.[13] All of them challenge the negative vision of the outport articulated by Horwood and the perceived losses that have occurred in rural Newfoundland as a result of government

[13] (Interview with Kenneth Harvey in *Birmingham Words* online 2005)

policies since Confederation. Theirs is a discourse of validating Newfoundland culture by celebrating the Newfoundland outport, which plays into a larger picture of Newfoundland nationalism. They also reflect a profound sense of loss of the traditional ways of the outport (self-sufficiency, a rich tradition of stories) that may, in part, reflect their own remove from the outport. In other words, the fact that they were the children of outport parents who grew up or lived in a non-outport setting (St. John's, Stephenville, Wabush), may have contributed to a sense of alienation from their Newfoundland roots which they sought to overcome through their writing. At the very least they give voice to a larger discourse about changing Newfoundland identities during a time of rapid economic and social change.

These writers also reinforce the point that most representations of the Newfoundland outort, whether literary or scholarly, have been created by urbanites or other outsiders. These representations are often at odds with how native outport residents see their communities. The ways in which native outport writers (i.e. those born and raised in the outports) have depicted the outport reinforces these different representations. Two such writers are Joel Hynes and Donna Morrissey, both of whom grew up in small coastal Newfoundland communities. Morrissey's fictional "Haire's Hollow"(Morrissey 2001) and Hynes's "The Cove" (Hynes 2005) are barely described in their works. The communities they write about appear to lack the virtues or failings bestowed on the outports by earlier writers. Both the product of a rural Newfoundland upbringing, perhaps these two writers lack the outsider's perspective to see themselves

as inhabiting a particular "landscape" as, in Cosgrove's words, "for the insider there is no clear separation of self from scene, subject from object" (Cosgrove 1998: 19).

This tension between the inside and the outside view of the outport and its implications is key to my examination of the process of place-making in contemporary outport communities today. Many of these writers convey the notion that place or locality resides in no small way in stories. As will be explored later in this thesis, the sharing of stories may have a role to play in resolving some of the potential conflicts that can arise between insiders and outsiders (i.e., newcomers) in outport communities.

The Outport in the Archive

Landscapes cannot be understood purely through observation. Past changes are often not evident and, of course, the meanings that places have for people can only come from their own words or close observation of their cultural practices. And while oral histories and ethnographic field work are valuable for understanding place, they are constrained both by their subjectivity and by their inability to reach beyond a couple of generations into the past, what Cole Harris refers to as the "ethnographic present and near past" (Harris 5). The development of an historical context is useful for understanding the events and forces that shaped current values about a landscape. Writers like Kenneth Harvey seem to be implying that the Newfoundland outport is a place that – at least up to the recent past – is relatively unchanged, "true" (Harvey 2003: 140), or authentic. Such a view fails to recognize that the outport landscape as it has

evolved over centuries has always been a location of continuous change that is adapting to new economic, cultural, and social influences and realities. The archive seemed a good place to help me to develop an historical view of outport Newfoundland. My archival investigations focused on what I might find about my case study community, Freshwater Conception Bay. What I did find in the major archival collections in the province (The Rooms Provincial Archive and the Centre for Newfoundland Studies) consisted of few photos, community directories, references on early Newfoundland maps and census data. While often highly informative, in terms of painting a picture about the cultural landscape, these archival sources must be carefully read and analyzed in terms of the purposes of the state and others in creating and maintaining such records.

Following is a sketch of the broad history of Freshwater that archival records tell:

Date	Source	Information
1675	John Berry Census	The first known Census of Newfoundland lists the family of Joseph Parsons as the sole planter (settler) in Clown's Cove. The Parsons were the first of a number of settlers to situate permanently in Freshwater/Clown's Cove in a process that saw the gradual displacement of migratory fishermen by a settled Newfoundland fishing population through the 18th Century.
1684	William Hack's 1684 Map of Terra Nova	Freshwater is referenced on this 17th Century map.
1696-97	Journal of Abbe Baudoin	During the winter of 1696-97 Freshwater and virtually all of English Newfoundland is destroyed by an invading French force led by the Quebec native, d'Iberville. In his journal the French priest, Abbe Boudoin lists 5 planters for "Fraiche Outre" and

		"Kellinscove" along with 42 "soldiers," 9 boats, and 4,000 codfish.
18th c.		There are no censuses of Newfoundland available during this period due to the lack of Colonial Government
1805	Plantation Book for Conception Bay	The most detailed record of Freshwater/Clowns Cove residents to this date, the Plantation Book provides a listing of all property holdings. There are 20 fishing plantations each with a water frontage of between 30 and 120 yards, extending from the water's edge back to "the woods." Some of these properties border on "the commons." The number of fishing stages, houses, meadows and gardens are listed for each plantation.
1836	Newfoundland Census (first census) [14]	Freshwater and Clown's Cove have a combined population of 471. The community had 38 fishing boats and employed 46 servants (i.e., hired individuals not belonging to Freshwater families)
1844	Journal of the House of Assembly (in Encyclopedia of NL, Vol 2.)	Reference is made to the first school in Freshwater which was then six months old
1845	Newfoundland Census	Together with neighbouring Otterbury, Freshwater/Clown's Cove maintained 108 fishing boats and two sealing vessels
1857	Newfoundland Census	Freshwater produced over 460, 000 kg of salt cod
1869	Newfoundland Census	It is recorded that "Many of the able-bodied fishermen of this Division of Conception Bay are engaged during the summer in the prosecution of the fisheries at the Labrador as share men and servants.
1871	Lovell's Newfoundland Directory	The distinction is still made between planters and fishermen in Freshwater/Clown's Cove
1874	Newfoundland Census	The census records, "Most of the fisherman can build houses, fishing crafts, and all are experts in the use of edged tools. The women generally can knit and some can spin. In season all assist in the curing of fish and attending to their gardens."
1894-95	McAlpine's Directory, Vol. II	44 families are listed for Clown's Cove dominated by the Butt, Davis, Snow, and Pike familes; 136 families are listed for Freshwater dominated by the Moores, Parsons, Davis, Noel, and Joyce families. Only 4 of

[14] Unless otherwise indicated census data is drawn from an article on Freshwater in *the Encyclopedia of Newfoundland and Labrador, Vol. 2* (1984).

		these are not listed as fishermen. The population during this period peaked at 560.
1904	McAlpine's Directory	No planters are listed for Freshwater/Clown's Cove suggesting that the distinction between planters and fishermen was no longer made. No merchants or dealers are listed
1921	Newfoundland Census	2 furniture factories listed employing 3 and 4 employees respectively
1936	Lloyd's Directory	Most residents are still listed as fishermen along with a number of carpenters. Several merchants and dealers are listed, presumably having started up within the first few decades of the 20th c. These include Wm Hillyard merchant, A & F Parsons, general dealer and fish merchant, and the families of Moores and Pikes as general dealers.
1945	Newfoundland Census (microfilm)	The census lists occupations for residents in both 1945 and 1935. It shows a large-scale shift away from the fishery in the intervening decade. By 1945 there were only a handful of fishermen in Freshwater/Clown's Cove which were still listed as separate communities. Occupations are diverse from carpenters and construction trades to miners, loggers, steel workers, teachers and labourers. Often several members within a single family will share the same occupation. Only a few women are recorded as having occupations with the rest listed as being "housewives" with no occupation. The wages of fishermen in the community are as little as a quarter of those of carpenters. The population had decreased to 311 after several decades of relative stability.
1956	Newfoundland Census	Population of 434
2001	Newfoundland Census	The population is listed at 265
2006	Newfoundland Census	The population of Freshwater is 227

To summarize this information, in the 16th and 17th Centuries Freshwater/ Clown's Cove likely served as a place for the production of fish by the European summer migratory fishermen. In all probability, the name Freshwater derives from the fact that

the fair-sized pond situated a short distance inland that empties into Conception Bay would have offered a good source of fresh water for migratory European fishers. The cobble beaches of Clown's Cove and Freshwater served as suitable places for the processing of salt cod. The cod followed the capelin which rolled up on the beach in Clown's Cove to spawn every year in late spring/early summer. It is interesting to note that already in the early 17th Century the landscape around Conception Bay coves was being transformed by European fishers and early settlers. The dense original boreal forest was rapidly being cut down to rebuild migratory fishing premises each season and to supply a growing permanent population which relied heavily on local timber for firewood and for the building of fishing stages, dwellings, and flakes (Rose 2007: 219). By the early 19th Century, the result was the nearly treeless scene that one generally associates with Newfoundland outports. The loss of forest subsequently produced, "the rich carpets of blueberry and partridge berry plants that grew as successor species to the coastal trees" (Cadigan: 1991: 16). These berry picking grounds formed an important part of the outport commons which is explored later in this paper.

Gradually, beginning in the latter part of the 17th Century, English planters began to establish themselves in Freshwater/Clown's Cove, likely alongside migratory fishermen who continued to fish in Newfoundland throughout the 18th Century. If Freshwater was like other 17th and 18th Century communities in Conception Bay, the population was somewhat fluid, with families spending periods between Newfoundland and England. By the end of the 18th Century all of the shoreline in Freshwater and

Clown's Cove was filled with fishing plantations, a total of twenty in all. There were 38 houses by the time of the 1805 Plantation Book which averages nearly two houses to a plantation. A couple of plantations had four houses each. While some of the dwellings may have been used to house fishing servants, it is likely that in the majority of cases they were inhabited by the families of the relatives of planters. In addition to dwellings the 1805 Plantation Book lists 15 stages on the shoreline (structures consisting of a wharf and shed used for processing fish); 25 flakes (wooden platforms used for the drying of saltfish); 32 gardens; and 12 meadows. One individual also owned a beach.

Early settler family names include Moores, Jeffers, Penny, Noel, Marshall, Butt, Parsons, Davis, Pottle, and Pike. While some of these families had purchased property in the second half of the 18th Century – some from commercial interests – the majority were inherited from fathers and grandfathers, indicating that several families were already long-established in the community by the early 1800s. A couple of plantations are listed as having been "cut out of the woods" in the late 18th Century by their inhabitants. Jonathan Parsons, with four houses, three gardens, 1 stage, four flakes and two meadows, would appear to be the largest of the planters at least in terms of holdings. He is quite possibly the descendent of Joseph Parsons, the first-known planter in Freshwater. Most of the family names mentioned above can still be found in Freshwater, although, in the last couple of decades, many have been reduced to one or two households. It is conceivable that within the next 10 to 20 years there will be a nearly complete displacement of Freshwater's settler population.

The wars between the French and English impacted the residents of Freshwater and Clown's Cove on a number of occasions. During the winter of 1696-97 the French, under the forces of d'Iberville, destroyed virtually all of what was then English Newfoundland. Many families in Conception Bay saved themselves by retreating to Carbonear Island which sits not far offshore from Freshwater. This was repeated in 1705. Each time, the settlers returned the following fishing season and re-established their fishing premises (Matthews 1988: 81). The Freshwater/Clown's Cove families of the Parsons and Moores, established in the 17th Century, apparently rebuilt given the fact that these family names continue in Freshwater to the present day. During the last English-French battle in Newfoundland in 1762 Freshwater was again impacted. According to local tradition, slain French soldiers are buried on Clown's Cove Head. The Abbe Baudoin's Journal indicates that there were 5 planters living in Freshwater/ Clown's Cove in 1697. The 42 "soldiers" he lists in the communities were, in all likehood, fishing servants who were contracted labourers from England. At this time, the population of servants -- who were not generally year-round residents -- in the two communities would have considerably exceeded the permanent population which consisted of the planter and his family (Matthews 1988: 85).

It was not until the establishment of Colonial Government in Newfoundland in 1832 that regular censuses were carried out. From this time on the population of Freshwater/Clown's Cove is recorded at fairly regular intervals along with additional information, particularly about the fishery. Freshwater/Clown's Cove's 1836 population

of 471 reflected a time of rapid growth in the early 19th Century, which comprised the major period of immigration from the British Isles to Newfoundland (Rose 2007: 269). The growth in population was supported by the development of the Labrador fishery and the seal fishery in the early 19th Century. Begun during the Napoleonic Wars, the Labrador fishery saw large numbers of fishing families from Eastern Newfoundland migrate each spring to the Labrador coast as "stationers" to fish, returning to their Newfoundland homes each fall. Without these fisheries, it is unlikely that Freshwater/Clown's Cove would have seen a significant population increase due to the fact that the Conception Bay fishery had declined considerably from its early period. The 46 fishing servants (about 10% of the total population) counted in the 1836 Census represent a much smaller percentage of Freshwater's population than a century early, reflecting the shift to a resident fishing population. In the mid-19th Century the communities of Flatrock, Otterbury, and Blowmedown were established just north of Clown's Cove virtually contiguous with that community. These communities were located along fairly steep cliffs with poor locations for sheltering boats and landing fish. This speaks to the settlement pressures in Conception Bay at this time (i.e., only marginal locations remained for settlement).

By 1857 Freshwater/Clown's Cove produced nearly a million pounds of salt fish. While Lovell's Directory of 1871 still made the distinction between planters and fishermen in the community, by 1904 McAlpine's Directory only described fishermen. The commentary in the 1874 Census suggests a community that was fairly self-

sufficient: "most of the fishermen can build houses, fishing craft and all are experts in the use of edged tools . . . [and that] the women generally can knit and some can spin . . . [and all women] in season assist in the curing of fish and attending to their gardens" (Smallwood 1984:).

In the 1830s Freshwater got its first church, followed in 1844 by its first school, both of which were Methodist. Regular postal service was provided in the 1860s with a telegraph/post office being established in 1911. In the late 19th Century a courthouse was established in the community as well. A number of retail businesses appeared for the first time, including two fish merchants and three general dealers, along with two furniture factories. The first few years of the 20th Century represents Freshwater/Clown's Cove's peak in terms of population, local business activity, and the establishment of social institutions. An Orange Lodge was established in 1911 and a few years later a Fisherman's Protective Union (FPU) Society Hall was opened (Smallwood 1984: 419-421). The community was still heavily reliant on the fishery but was beginning to diversify in terms of occupations. As will be discussed in the next chapter, the fact that older residents of Freshwater looked back fondly on this period reflects more than just nostalgia, for it was a time when the community was most populous and most self-sufficient.

The 1920s and 30s saw significant change in the community. By the early 20th Century people in Freshwater began to participate in other industries (mining,

construction and forestry) either on a permanent basis, or, in many cases, to supplement the fishery during poor years. According to one of the older men in the community, there was a significant exodus of Freshwater residents to the United States in the 1920s (Henry, senior year-round resident of Freshwater). The community saw a population decline of approximately 40% between 1911 and 1945 (Smallwood 1984: 421). Many males took up employment in the construction trades, mining, lumbering, the railway, and steel-making which, undoubtedly, took them out of the community for periods of time to places like the Bell Island and Cape Breton coal mines and as far as Boston and New York to work in construction. The cemeteries in Freshwater and other local communities such as Salmon Cove tell the often tragic story of this exodus, particularly of younger people. In the Salmon Cove graveyard lie three local men in their twenties and thirties who died in Cape Breton mine explosions, two in 1917 and another in 1923. In Freshwater's two cemeteries there are grave markers for local residents who died while working in the United States:

Lillian Kirby died at Cam bridge Mass. Nov. 21, 1939 Aged 27 years

Winnie Ash, wife of Frank Ash who died at Cambridge Mass. Hospital U.S.A. March 12, 1930, Aged 27 Years

William Thomas Moores who departed this life Jan 17, 1922 at Newburgh New York, U.S.A. Aged 24 years

Other Freshwater residents commuted on a daily or weekly basis to either Carbonear or St. John's. A total of 20 different occupations were recorded in the 1945 Census.

The 1930s witnessed a massive shift out of the fishery in Freshwater/Clown's Cove as documented in the censuses of 1935 and 1945, in part due to poor markets during the Great Depression. The census, however, does not tell the whole story. The oral tradition in Freshwater helps to explain this shift.

> Then it changed around 1935-36. Those fishermen -- some went to the U.S. to work in the summer, usually in construction. My father was a fisherman and a miner who went to Nova Scotia if he didn't get a good year fishing. Many people did that and went away in the fall mining and came back for the next fishing season . . . My father was doing that even before I was born and a lot of others from neighbouring communities – it was a backup for fishing. In 1935 there was a big storm in August – most of the boats came ashore and broke up and that was the end of the inshore fishery in Freshwater and Flatrock (Henry, long-term Freshwater resident, interview).

The loss of Freshwater's fishing infrastructure served to push people out of the fishery, an industry that was already in decline as evidenced by the low value of fishing wages as compared to other occupations. The same occurred in other Conception Bay communities such as Northern Bay (O'Flaherty 2008: 43).

It is clear that other forms of employment were offering a higher standard of living than the fishery as suggested by the huge discrepancy between fishing incomes and those of other occupations as listed in the 1945 Census. For example, fishermen's annual incomes in the community were generally in the range of $100 to $400 compared with $1,000 to $1,600 for carpenters. The period also saw a change in the role of Freshwater women. In the 1945 Census, under the column marked "industry" virtually all women in the community were listed as having "none." They were classified

as "housewives" which may reflect views toward the role of women at this time, but it may also reflects the fact that, other than those women who accompanied their husbands to the Labrador as stationers, women's active involvement in the local fishery (making of salt fish) had greatly declined. The term housewife suggests that their roles were now largely devoted to domestic activities including caring for homes and children, food preparation and maintaining gardens which still played an important role in providing household needs.

The post-war period has seen a continued, gradual decline in Freshwater. The only remaining institution is the United Church with the SUF (Society of United Fishermen) and Orange Halls having been closed. The post office and school were closed in the 1970s and today there are no retail businesses of any sort. The population has seen a steady fall: 434 in 1956; 265 in 2001; 227 in 2006; and likely fewer than that today.

In a broad sense this information tells us that Freshwater/Clown's Cove has always been a location of dynamic change. For most of the community's history the population has been quite fluid. In the early period of settlement people were often engaged in a sort of long-term commuting between Newfoundland and British Isles. By the early 19th Century many residents were taking up seasonal residence in Labrador.[15] In the early 20th Century people were commuting to locations around Newfoundland

[15] In neighbouring Carbonear approximately half of the entire population was fishing on the Labrador in the 1830s.

and the mainland, sometimes moving back and forth between the fishery and other occupations. While the 1992 Moratorium on Northern Cod may have had an impact on some residents of Freshwater, as evidenced by the comments of a few interviewees, Freshwater's time as a fishing community was long past. Commuting to the Alberta oil patch or the Newfoundland offshore as some Freshwater residents do today, follows a long-established practice of alternating time outside of the community for work with periods at home.

In gleaning information from these various records about Freshwater, it was useful to look at the processes that created them for they provide considerable context about place, particularly about issues of power (mercantile interests, the state) that are embedded in all landscapes. John Berry's 1675 Census must be seen in the context of the conflict between West Country English merchants and Newfoundland settlers. The former saw a resident Newfoundland population as a threat to their interests in prosecuting a migratory fishery (i.e., competition for shore space and fishing grounds) and maintaining the right of open fishing (Rose 2007: 216). They repeatedly called on the British government to ban settlement, which led to various legislative attempts and edicts -- none seriously implemented – to do so. Berry, who was the Naval Governor for Newfoundland in the 1670s, was sent to take stock of the extent of the resident "problem" although he himself was sympathetic to the settlers' cause (Rose 2007: 215). Historians are not agreed on the impacts of these attempts at restricting settlement which, nonetheless, contributed to the views promulgated by Prowse and others that

Newfoundland outports were created and maintained through a struggle with mercantile interests.

The context for Abbe Baudoin's Journal, which provides detailed information on Freshwater/Clown's Cove at the end of the 17th Century, is the French invasion of English Newfoundland during the winter of 1696-97. Baudoin was part of an invading French force that captured, plundered and destroyed virtually all communities in English Newfoundland during that period. His recording of 42 soldiers in Freshwater and Clown's Cove is curious for there was little English military presence in Newfoundland at this time. It is most likely that these soldiers were fishing servants employed by local planters who may have been defending the community. It is also conceivable that Baudoin was embellishing his account to glorify the French victory in Newfoundland.

Little information about Freshwater – or the majority of settlements in Newfoundland – is available from the 18th Century. The lack of official censuses (or at least none still extant) is reflected in the fact that, unlike other early Eastern North American English colonies, colonial government came quite late to Newfoundland. This represented an extended period in which Newfoundland's status as a settled colony continued to be debated and contested, particularly by commercial interests in England.

The most detailed early listing of information about Freshwater and Clown's Cove comes from *The Plantation Books: Register of Fishing Rooms in Conception Bay* (1805). Ordered by the Newfoundland governor of the time, Erasmus Gower, it was an

attempt to provide a comprehensive land register for Newfoundland to deal with the ongoing problem of determining property rights (Alan Cass, interview 2008). Due to the lack of local government there had been no way to register the claims of residents to property that, in some cases, had been in their family's possession for nearly two centuries.[16] This, undoubtedly, led to problems for residents who had no legal title to their property. That the register was not officially adopted (Cass) reveals continued ambivalent British policies about settlement in Newfoundland even into the 19th Century.

It wasn't until the creation of representative government in Newfoundland in 1832 that regular and detailed censuses were undertaken, the first in 1836. An examination of various Newfoundland and subsequent Canadian censuses for the Province of Newfoundland, suggest some of the discourses at play in their construction. The creation of these records and their increasing detail and sophistication, represent attempts to make informal, organic places more "legible" to governing elites and bureaucrats. Legibility allowed for control, whether it be in the form of maintaining public order, providing services, or exacting revenue. According to Scott, "appropriation, control, and manipulation (in the non-pejorative sense) remain the most prominent [political motives for enhancing the legibility of a society] . . . if we imagine a state that has no reliable means of enumerating and locating its population, gauging its

[16] According to the 1805 Plantation Books, the Dawe family had been in possession of land in Port de Grave since the 1580s.

wealth, and mapping its land, resources, and settlements, we are imagining a state whose interventions in that society are necessarily crude (Scott 1998: 77).

The early Newfoundland government censuses up to 1901 collected very detailed information on the fishery, by community and limited information on occupations outside of the fishery. This, of course, reflected the fact that Newfoundland was still very dependent on the fishery which was the focus of Newfoundland government economic policy throughout the 19th Century. The 1935 Census collected relatively less information on the fishery and somewhat more detailed data on agricultural production, the status of dwellings (e.g., total number of rooms occupied, status of occupant as owner or renter), and occupations. It is instructive to consider who was collecting this data. The 1901 census was conducted by the Dominion of Newfoundland while the later censuses were carried out by the Commission of Government, which had replaced Newfoundland's elected government in 1934[17]. The Commission was dominated by Britain which appointed British commissioners to head the major government departments and had the final say on major policies. While some of the differences may reflect a decline in the fishery and a growing diversification of the economy, they suggest Newfoundland's apparent failure as a financially and politically viable state. The commission was interested in diversifying an economy highly dependent on the fishery and the information it collected appears to reflect that. As well, it seems probable that some of the data collected reflects how the British state

[17] The 1945 Census was actually conducted by the Canadian Bureau of Statistics, but presumably upon the direction of the Commission of Government.

was accustomed to seeing its own population. For example, whether a property was owned or rented, and the number of rooms occupied would have been of greater concern to a place such as Britain where revenues were generated by large landlords. The measurement of agricultural production in acres is somewhat curious in a place like Freshwater where most production consisted of small family subsistence garden plots. Measurements in "acres," which likely had little meaning for fishing families, were generated by extrapolating the area of land needed to produce a certain number of bushels of cabbage, or the number of tons of hay required to feed various types of livestock (Cass, interview). This suggests that British bureaucrats, in trying to read the Newfoundland landscape, as they would have an English one, were imposing categories that, in many ways, did not reflect the reality of a place like Freshwater.

When Newfoundland was subsumed within Canada, census taking changed to reflect the needs of a larger state. For much of its history Newfoundland had virtually no administrative units below that of the level of colony or nation. There were no municipalities outside of St. John's until the 1940s, and no townships or counties. Hence, census data was collected for each and every settlement as that was the only meaningful way in which citizens were organized. Few people lived outside of such settlements which contrasted with much of the rest of rural North America where significant numbers of people lived on individual farms. In most of Canada, municipalities, townships, and counties provided useful divisions for the state to categorize settled places. With the second Canadian census of Newfoundland in 1956,

Freshwater and its neighbouring communities ceased to exist as distinct entities, at least for the purposes of the Canadian state. Eventually Freshwater became part of "Newfoundland and Labrador Census Division 1, Subdivision H" which includes a large horseshoe-shaped area that wraps around Victoria and Salmon Cove, of which Freshwater's population represents around 50%. This reflected the need of a larger, differently organized state to be able to "read" Newfoundland on its terms. It also coincided with a period in which the new provincial government of Newfoundland began rationalizing settlement by encouraging thousands of people to move from their outport communities to new "growth centres."

This examination of census data reinforces the notion that states and their bureaucracies – like most academics and writers -- have tended to view the Newfoundland outport through their own cultural – generally urban – lenses. Their representations of the outport have, in turn, informed both government policies and popular opinion about the outports. These representations may be at odds with the way rural communities in the province actually work or, at least with way rural residents actually see themselves which is why it is important to treat them critically.

Images of Freshwater

Visual media such as historic maps, photographs, and film provide very useful resources for the cultural geographer interested in landscape. They can reveal changes in landscape and provide many clues as to how people organize a place spatially. As

with all historical documents, it is necessary to look critically at visual images for they generally represent more than is immediately discernable. According to Rose, the meanings of an image occur at three sites: its production; the image itself; and where and how it is seen by an audience (Rose 2001: 16). She expands on this by suggesting that there are three modalities in which images should be considered: the technology used to produce them; their composition; and the social relations and practices that surround them (Rose 2001: 16).

To demonstrate some of these ideas it is helpful to examine a couple of late-19th Century panoramic photographs of Freshwater taken by the well-known St. John's photographer, Robert Holloway. Holloway, a school teacher and self-taught photographer, likely took the picture described above on one of his summer outings with his family. The result of these excursions around Newfoundland were published in a book (1905) to promote economic development and tourism (Riggs, telephone interview). Holloway, in selecting and framing his subject was, in all probability, seeking to produce an image that would provide a complimentary view of Newfoundland. These black and white images (figures 7 & 8) show a community more densely built up than today and which, in many ways, reinforces the picture of the community depicted in the Plantation Register nearly a century earlier in which the landscape is divided into long narrow plantations crowded with stages along the shore, and filled with houses, gardens and meadows. There is, however, no sign of the woods mentioned in the register, with the surrounding hills being almost totally denuded of trees.

Critical too, is an examination of how I or any contemporary viewer renegotiates the meaning of these century old photos. It is easy to view them nostalgically, suggestive as they are of a more prosperous time in the community's history (i.e., there are considerably more houses than today). There is less visual clutter than one sees in the community today as there are no vehicles (wrecked or otherwise) and there appears to be a unity in the style of buildings and the construction materials used. While this more visually cohesive cultural landscape may reflect a pre-consumer society, how we read the photo today may also result from the fact that it is shot in black and white. Black and white images have a way of softening the edges of things, of blending, of reducing and eliminating much of the variety of surface and colour, thereby creating an exaggerated sense of uniformity. These old sepia-toned photos tend to further separate their subjects from us, placing them in a past where, from the perspective of today,

people lived differently, more simply and, perhaps in some sense, less colourfully. One

Figure 7 - Holloway Photo of Freshwater circa 1890s (Photo credit – Courtesy of The Rooms Provincial Archive F54-5)

of the photos frames a view from just above the road that leads into Freshwater from Carbonear. The United Church parsonage is in the foreground with the Clown's Cove Tolt (cliff) in the background. The other is taken from the hill leading up toward Flatrock looking down toward Clown's Cove Head. Aside from the fact that there are virtually no trees, Freshwater and Clown's Cove are characterized by dozens of mostly two-storey houses all with steep gabled or hipped roofs, crowded along the main shore road and laneways or ranging on the hills above. The proximity of some of these dwellings to the front range of houses suggests close kinship ties between inhabitants. These homes are accessed by narrow laneways such as Plank Lane (named after the fact that it was constructed of planks laid over a stream) and Parsons Lane that run perpendicular from

the shore road. Fences of various types enclose gardens in and around the dwellings.

Figure 7a - Detail of Figure 7

Most of these are crudely built either of horizontal "longers" (straight coniferous tree trunks of small diameter) or stick palings. Only the gardens immediately around homes have more refined painted picket fences. Sheds are evident on most properties. Given that these images were produced from large format (high resolution) plate glass images, it is possible to enlarge them considerably without serious distortion. Suddenly Freshwater's landscape is not such a tidy-looking place. The water's edge is lined with an odd assortment of rickety-looking fishing stages, stores and fish flakes, set on poles that cling to the rocky shore. In one of the photos a fishnet is spread over a meadow to dry. The Freshwater landscape depicted in the Holloway photos seems fuller than today with many more houses, active gardens fishing boats and fishing premises that appear to fill up every available nook and cranny. The 1901 Census of Freshwater reveals a somewhat different story. Nearly one-fifth of residences in the community were listed

as unoccupied which, upon very close inspection of the photos is confirmed by the fact that some of the houses were shuttered. This was likely the result of the exodus of

Figure 8 - Clown's Cove circa 1900 (Credit The Rooms Provincial Archives)

Freshwater residents to other areas of North America noted above.

What one doesn't garner from these photos is the pungent smell of drying fish which permeated the air during the fishing season. This is clearly a working landscape – the product of a labour-intensive family-based fishery and subsistence gardening -- with all of its untidiness and ragged edges. It seems unlikely that the Freshwater of the 19th and early 20th Centuries would have been particularly attractive as a rural idyll for the urban middle classes. While there are a variety of reasons why rural Newfoundland has become attractive to this group over the last few decades, perhaps the outport landscape needed to go through a period of "cleansing" of its traditional working elements (i.e., the inshore fishery) which was gradually achieved by the decline of the

fishery and, ultimately, the Moratorium on Northern Cod in the early 1990s. Sanitized of its smell and disorder, the fishery can exist as a rich past as told through the stories of the elders and the outport as a rural idyll.

While this examination of writings and records about the outport in general, and Freshwater in particular, is not exhaustive it helps to provide some context for the outport of today. Literary texts both reflect and reinforce commonly-held notions about the outports. They also play a role in constructing the outport landscape of the past and present. The historical record on Freshwater helps to establish trends that can be observed in the community today and to explain contemporary views of community residents. The lack of formal government institutions in Newfoundland until well into the 19th Century means that outport Newfoundlanders were, for good or for ill, afforded a sort of freedom from the state to order their own affairs as best they could. Notions about freedom and independence to run their own community are still very much in evidence today amongst Freshwater residents. The free access to fisheries resources and, by extension land resources, has been a common thread from the earliest days of settlement in Newfoundland outports to the present day. These are further explored in the next chapter.

In other cases, the record challenges or contests certain views about outport places like Freshwater. I am thinking of the lingering sense in the minds of some of Freshwater's residents (see next chapter) that the Freshwater was, until recently, a

fishing community. It has not really been so for approximately 75 years. I am also considering my own notion – and I suspect that of others -- that outports were, until the time of the Moratorium, relatively stable, unchanging places. It may be that Freshwater is not a "typical Newfoundland outport" but I suspect that its history of dynamic change would be mirrored in many, if not most rural communities in the province.

These insights into Freshwater's complex history speak to Mitchell's axiom for "Reading the Landscape" in which he asserts that "no landscape is local." In fact, all

Figure 9 - Freshwater Wharf with fish flakes in foreground circa 1920s (Photo credit - Courtesy John Butt)

landscapes are the result of "complex processes, practices, and decisions" (Mitchell 2008: 38). Freshwater's landscape was and still is clearly shaped by powerful

capitalistic, cultural and social forces and geo-politics (e.g., Anglo-French wars) far distant from its shores.

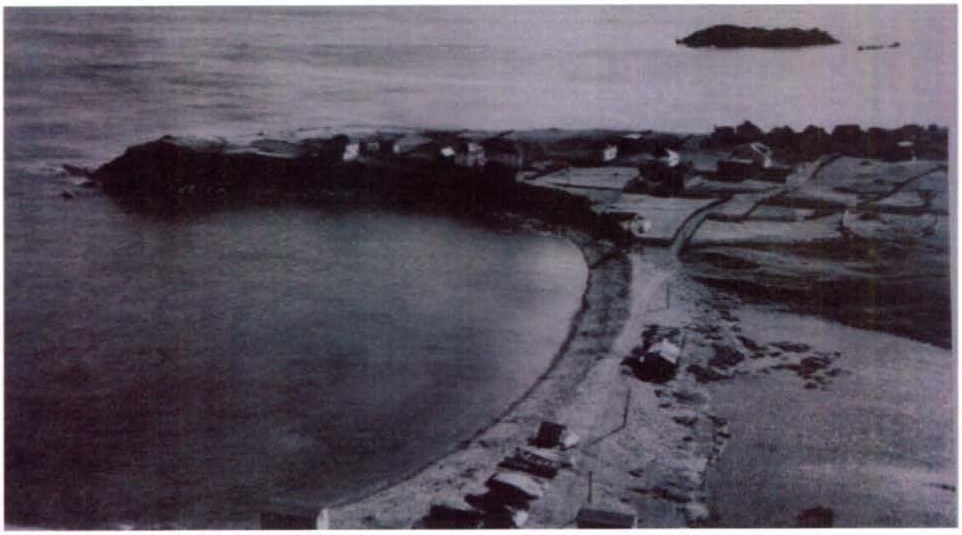


Figure 10 - Clown's Cove Beach and Head circa 1940s (Photo courtesy of John Butt)

Chapter 3 – Field Work Analysis: Making Place in a Contemporary Newfoundland Outport

In order to develop a sense of how residents of Freshwater, both individually and collectively are engaged in the ongoing process of place-making today, it was necessary to talk to them: to determine how they are negotiating change; and to see how they are constructing meaning in place. There is no question that Freshwater is changing in ways that long-term residents would likely not have imagined a half century ago, in particular dramatic demographic shifts and the loosening of social ties within the community.

Key informant interviews, conducted in Freshwater in the late summer of 2009, were the principal means of information gathering. I saw these interviews as a way to engage in an in-depth discussion with residents that would allow them the opportunity to shape the discussion in more ways than a survey might. Most, but not all, of the respondents were known to me by virtue of the fact that I lived in Freshwater between 1988 and 1994 and have visited there frequently subsequently to moving away from the community. This provided easier – and hopefully more open – access to participants. My own observations of Freshwater's landscape and interactions with its residents over a period of nearly 25 years were complemented by interviews, field notes recorded in 2008-2009 (including photographs), and by occasional informal conversations with people whom I met on the road in the community.

Interview questions focused on how respondents thought about and used spaces in Freshwater and how they perceived landscape change. Some questions were more open-ended in order to see which aspects of the community were of greatest value to individuals: land/space or social relations. In other words did different groups have a tendency to place more value on spatial or social attributes in Freshwater? As will be seen, there were some fairly marked differences between native-born and new residents, particularly seasonal ones. A full list of interview questions can be found in Appendix A.

In an effort to validate my findings and to allow them to form a basis for discussion about change in Freshwater, a community meeting was held in the community on May 20, 2010. A flyer was hand-delivered to all Freshwater households with an invitation and an explanation of the purpose of the meeting. It is recognized that this meeting had limitations in terms of providing a cross-sectional representation of Freshwater residents. A relatively small number of residents (nine in total) participated in the session, the majority of which were middle-aged or older males. Given the time of year, no seasonal residents were involved which would have been a challenge in any event, given the short periods of time that most of them reside in Freshwater. But the session did serve to validate my field research findings and it produced a lively discussion, particularly about community concerns and ideas for managing change. The discussion questions and complete notes from the session can be found in Appendix B.

Characteristics of Key Informants

A total of 25 people were interviewed through 18 key informant sessions which represented approximately 15% of Freshwater households. Seven of the interviews were with couples: married, common law, and same-sex. The inclusion of interviews with couples, where both spouses/partners were present when I arrived for the interview, was seen as an efficient way to include as many respondents as possible. While difficult to say for sure, this may not have produced as full a representation of views and opinions as if I had interviewed each partner individually. It is conceivable that some individuals may have deferred to their partner or held back opinions that might have differed from them. With only one or two exceptions, however, in instances where both partners were interviewed together, there seemed to be a fairly even and free sharing of opinions.

Nearly a third of respondents were seasonal residents, as compared to the total percentage of seasonal households in Freshwater of around 20%. The over-representation of seasonal residents in the interviews reflected a major focus of this thesis, which was to determine the potential differences in values about Freshwater's cultural landscape between long-term residents and those who resided only for a few weeks, generally in the summer time.

It was not always easy to categorize respondents in terms of their origins, length of residency or the type of residency (e.g., native-born, year-round vs

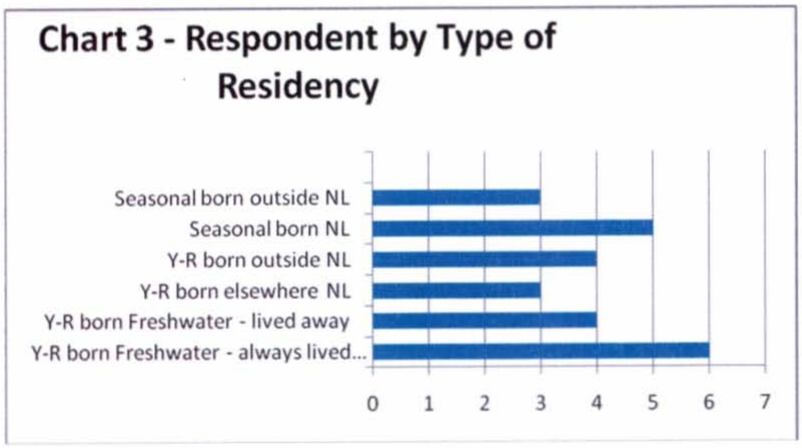
outsider/seasonal). Fewer than a quarter of residents interviewed had always lived in Freshwater and most of those tended to be senior citizens. Even amongst these, it was not uncommon for the male head of the household to have spent periods of time working away from the community. An almost equal number of respondents born in Freshwater had lived away from the community for a number of years, some returning to care for aging parents, others to retire after spending their working lives elsewhere.

Similarly, those who had moved to Freshwater on a permanent basis from outside of the community tended to be quite diverse in their origins and in their motives for coming to the community. This supported some of the literature on rural gentrification described in chapter 1 that identifies the non-homogeneity of rural newcomers. Some Freshwater "immigrants" came from neighbouring communities or from outside of the province because they saw Freshwater as a good place to live. In other cases the affordability of housing and the lack of property taxes was a drawing card.

All but three of the seasonal residents interviewed were born in Newfoundland. All recent outsiders to the community are seasonal residents who come for a few weeks in the summer aside from one couple who spend several weeks and another couple who live in Freshwater on a permanent, year-round basis. In some cases, seasonal visits may lead to more permanent residency in the community: one of the year-round resident couples had lived seasonally in Freshwater before retiring; two other seasonal couples

indicated a likelihood or possibility of retiring there in the future. Seasonal residents (like year-rounders) are not a homogenous group. Their perceptions of the community are likely impacted by such factors as whether they had ties to Newfoundland, whether they were from St. John's or another rural community, or whether they had lived outside of the province for some time.

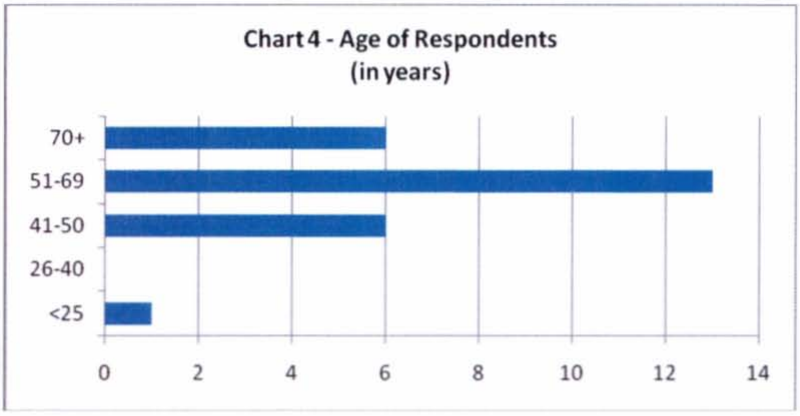
Almost all residents interviewed were over 50 years old with seven (30%) of these being retired. From my own observations this fairly accurately represents the age distribution of Freshwater residents today. Unfortunately, given Freshwater's inclusion within a larger census subdivision and the fact that sampling distorts the real



Y-R = Year-round resident; N = 25

demographic picture within a small population size, it is difficult to compare my own interview population with that identified in the most recent census. According to the census and some of my respondents very few families with children now reside in the

community. A couple of respondents mentioned the fact that one family had moved away from Freshwater due to the lack of other young families for their children to play with and that another was planning to move for the same reason. Freshwater, like most



N = 25

of rural Newfoundland is quickly aging and becoming a community of retirees. Male key informants exceeded females by a factor of two to one. This reflected, in part, the fact that some of those interviewed were male same-sex couples. In some instances, only the male member of a household was home or chose to take part when I conducted the interview. This paper does not consider gender in any detailed way in the construction of Freshwater as this is seen as a possible avenue of study all on its own. One major observation is that both in the past and in the present female heads of households tended to remain at home with children while men were working away for extended periods. This seems to have been as common a half century and more ago as it is today, with males working several weeks on and off in the oilfields of Alberta or

Newfoundland's offshore. A significant number of Freshwater males worked for the Newfoundland Railway, initially coming home to Freshwater only for weekends, later commuting daily to St. John's (Dan, year-round resident).

What Freshwater Residents Value

One of the major intents of the key informant interviews was to gauge what people value about Freshwater. Respondents were asked directly what they most liked about the community; what drew them or keeps them there today; and what characteristics of the community are most important to them. Another way of investigating how people are constructing place was to ask what changes people noted and to determine how they understood or felt about these changes. Respondents were asked to note significant changes they had seen in their lifetimes and, in particular, to identify changes that had taken place in terms of community life including shared (community) activities and shared spaces.

What the different types of residents most value about Freshwater is, not surprisingly, quite varied. While there are some widely shared community attributes that most residents value —such as the quiet, peaceful qualities of Freshwater, the shoreline – they were sometimes valued for different reasons by different types of people. For example, the waterfront (and access to it) was mentioned by both long-term year-round and seasonal residents alike as being important. For seasonal residents its scenic qualities and recreational opportunities (a place to walk or picnic) mattered

most, while for many long-term residents, especially those born in Freshwater, the waterfront was not mentioned for its scenic qualities but primarily as a place of memory, linked to the fishery that was historically the economic lifeblood of Freshwater and the focus of much community activity.

For seasonal residents and permanent residents from the mainland, a strong majority mentioned the aesthetic qualities of Freshwater (ruggedness, views, heritage qualities) as something that they like about the community and that drew them there. No long-term, full-time residents mentioned this. Respondents born in Freshwater were most likely to mention aspects that relate to the social fabric of the community as being important. Among these were: family and friendship ties; an ability to count on one another when needed; the ability to know everyone in the community; participation in the local United Church; and sociability. As an example of the importance of the latter, one year-round resident mentioned an occasion where a couple of seasonal residents had failed to wave to their neighbor (another year-round resident), a fact which had been reported and perceived as a slight. For others, Freshwater residents lead busier lives today and have less time for visiting.

Figure 11 – View of Freshwater United church from Clown's Cove Head (Photo credit - J. Dick, Summer 2009)

An aspect of sociability identified by respondents is the ability of people in Freshwater to rely on one another.

> "I like the way people work together and that people help each other. When Glenys [woman in community] died the women got together food for after the service – when there is a death there is always food and help. I like where I live, the neighbours are not four feet away . . . but you could look at it two ways – people looking after and taking care of each other or they are just too damned nosey." (Janice, year-round resident)

> ". . . an important thing, you gotta be friendly – if you're walking around Freshwater you wave if you see somebody . . . the people of Freshwater care for each other and they are concerned with one another. I could probably walk around Freshwater in 20 minutes but it takes 1 ½ hour with people stopping to talk. If you want someone to come to Freshwater and don't want others to know your business, then you're come to the wrong place." (Tom, year-round resident)

For seasonal and full-time residents from off-island the sociability of local residents is important but a number of them mentioned the fact that people will leave you alone if you want and that local residents are not intrusive, suggesting a desire for more social distance if one chooses. In fact, this distance was actually mentioned as a virtue by a couple of people

> The other thing I really appreciate is that it is a small community, unique from others – the people leave you alone but you can talk to people if you want. I appreciate the opportunity to get away from people because of my job which requires constant contact with people. Here in Freshwater we are left alone – it's just the way of people to mind their own business. When walking around the community no one comes out and engages us in conversation which is nice but they will acknowledge you. If you want to chat people up you can (Ron, seasonal resident).

This sort of comment suggests that at least some seasonal residents view sociability in a different way from most year-round residents. Socializing and being friendly with the

neighbours is something that you can choose when you care to as opposed to a virtual requirement if one is from the community. For seasonal residents the community is an escape from the pressures of urban life. Casual sociability is one of those qualities (e.g., the sense that people are more friendly than in the city and more likely to help their neighbours) that draws them to rural Newfoundland communities. In some ways it is like the scenery, one of a number of desirable characteristics that contributes to a positive experience to be consumed at one's pleasure. The same may be said for some of the year-round residents who moved into the community from elsewhere. For these newcomers it is nice to live in a community where people are friendly and sociable, but one may choose not to be a part of that community or to find one's sense of community elsewhere.

Fitting into Freshwater

The feeling that seasonal residents were not really part of the community was mentioned by several year-round people from Freshwater, although comments about them were often accompanied by a suggestion that the community had not gone out of its way to get to know the newcomers. In general there were no strong negative comments about seasonal residents other than a general feeling that their presence was part of the process of erosion of community.

> "Most don't fit in at all -- most just come and go – some are just here two weeks a year. I guess they just relax and have a couple of weeks' vacation-- I don't associate with them." (John, year-round resident)

> "Most new people are summer residents . . . in essence they are not part of life in the community – when it comes down to it nor am I – I go to work, come home and do my own thing . . . I don't know that they change Freshwater in any way." (Janice, year-round resident)
>
> "Newcomers don't take part in anything but there is not much to take part in" (William, year-round resident)
>
> "There are a lot of summer residents in Freshwater now – they are only here in summer so don't contribute like a handful of year-round residents – but some do donate money to the community." (Tom, year-round resident)
>
> "Summer residents – we really don't think about them – I don't think there is anything negative or positive about them." (Stephen, long-term year-round resident originally from outside community)

While some concerns were expressed about the influx of seasonal residents, no real negativity was observed. This contrasts with other rural areas where significant conflicts have arisen between the long-established population and newcomers. Walker and Fortmann, for example, describe such a conflict in Nevada County, California (a rural region), where differing visions of landscape exist between ex-urbanite and long-time residents and a competition between "old and new rural capitalisms" (Walker and Fortmann 2003: 476). A number of things likely distinguish a place like Freshwater from Nevada County. For one, newcomers to Freshwater are mostly seasonal and have little involvement in the operation of the community, seemingly contented to let long-time residents run things. As well, the two locations likely have considerably different political cultures. Serious conflict would likely only arise in a place like Freshwater if newcomers sought to assert personal values about the landscape that are odds with long-established values. There are a variety of ways that newcomers can assert their own values that may bring them into conflict with locals. They can, in the absence of

local regulatory controls do things with their property that others might not like such as restrict traditional rights of access. Where such mechanisms as community planning, zoning and community bylaws and regulations exist, they can use them to enforce particular values (i.e., design or heritage regulations, minimum lot size, restrictions on farming or business activities). Due to its lack of municipal status, the latter could not happen in Freshwater at the present time.

Generally, seasonal residents feel well-received in Freshwater although, in some cases, it has taken time and effort on their part to get to know people. Local residents are perceived as friendly and willing to lend a hand or let one borrow something but tend to respect or maintain social distance. Nonetheless, a couple of incidents were mentioned by key informants that suggest some antipathy on the part of long-term Freshwater residents. One individual spoke of his boat not being rescued during a storm by year-round residents who hauled in all of the other boats. There was some discussion with his wife as to whether this was mean-spirited or whether there was a reluctance to interfere or assume responsibility. In another case a youth in the community made a homophobic slur to a visitor which was addressed by the visitor's host with the youth's family. A local resident I spoke with casually on the road commented that there were several "queers and lesbians" in the community which was not a problem as long as there were no public displays of affection.

There was some evidence of seasonal residents in Freshwater forming their own groups or sub-cultures within the community. For example, a number of residents acknowledged a small community of gay seasonal residents. As Sean, a gay respondent put it, what drew him to the community was, "the camaraderie that is here – there is a small sub-culture within the community – 'the Boys' [a group of gay seasonal residents]. All of the gay respondents indicated that almost without exception their reception in Freshwater has been positive. Rich indicated, "as a gay couple you might think that it could spawn some reaction in the community but there has never been an issue that we're aware of. There have been 5 or 6 gay-owned houses in the community and I'm not aware of any problems." Jeff suggested that they wouldn't have gotten such an easy reception in a comparable small town in Southern Ontario where they were from. One long-term year-round resident from outside Freshwater suggested, "in terms of gay people, [local] people know they're gay – the best word might be bemusement – but not something that is a big deal – you might hear 'that's where the gay guys live.' There is no angst or wariness about what they'll do" (Stephen, year-round resident).

One seasonal resident suggested that people settle into the community as much or as little as they want to, that it depends on how open seasonal people are to the community and that "you need to set boundaries about how you want to interact" (Sean, seasonal resident). This sentiment was mirrored by some year-round residents, "people from away have been very friendly – don't know anyone who is standoffish but then I would talk to the Devil" (Sylvia, year-round resident). The feeling of being

somewhat apart from the community was raised in a query by a seasonal resident as to why local residents would even want to get to know people who are only here for three weeks a year. Ultimately, he felt that he had more in common with other people with urban connections. These comments speak to the ongoing loosening of community ties. In the past residents had to interact on a daily basis as part of everyday work and family life. Today fitting in with the community is entirely a matter of choice.

Themes That Emerged from the Fieldwork

A number of key ideas or themes emerged from this fieldwork in terms of what things are important to residents of Freshwater today. These include such aspects as: rural freedom; shared access to resources (the commons); and the important role of shared community activities and sociability which, in this study, are tied to an interpretation of the commons. I must note, however, that by framing the interview questions, I have, undoubtedly, played a role in determining the kinds of responses that I received.

Rural Freedom

That Freshwater offers a "sense of freedom" was mentioned by several respondents, both year-round and seasonal. A number of seasonal residents either stated directly or implied that Freshwater offers them an escape from the pressures of urban living. One of the year-round residents who had moved from away, indicated that she felt a sense of freedom from what she perceived as rising crime and

homogenization on the mainland. For another year-round resident who had moved here from elsewhere in Newfoundland, the sense of space and the fact that no one is looking over your shoulder were mentioned as positive.

For permanent, year-round residents of Freshwater, the lack of constraints and urban rules was seen as quite important. This was most often mentioned as freedom from municipal taxes and regulations. As a couple of permanent residents put it,

> You can tear down a shed and build a new one with no rigmarole like you would have with a council. (John, year-round resident)
>
> I can do what I like here – no one torments you – I can light a fire in the garden and no one will be bitching at me. There is lots of room – you're not all bunched together like in town or even like Carbonear . . . (Ron, year-round resident)
>
> You have a bit of independence with no town council. [Her partner] didn't have to get a permit to build a shed as there is no council. (Beth, year-round resident)

A number of respondents recounted an incident which reinforced their perceptions that amalgamation into a municipality would be a negative thing. An individual had cleared land on the edge of Freshwater to build a house, only to discover that his land was actually within the town boundaries of the neighbouring municipality of Victoria. That community's regulations did not permit him to build his house across from the poultry farm that is located on the western edge of Freshwater which was seen as an infringement on his rights to build as he pleased (i.e., as he could have if he was within Freshwater's boundaries).

Some people took pride in the fact that the community is able to provide basic services -- the provision of water and garbage collection – without a town council. One seasonal respondent suggested that the lack of a municipal council means that things can happen in a more spontaneous way. For example in the case of a dispute, "You just talk to your neighbor rather than sending over an enforcement officer." Another individual from outside Freshwater voiced a similar sentiment:

> I think that there is a sense of lawlessness in the community. I don't mean that in a negative way – they look after things themselves. There is a sense of the neighbours looking after you. I have never seen a police car here. There is a council [Local Service District] that looks after the village – it rests with them. I get a sense that they like the way things are – the fact that people have lived here so long – the long-time families are in charge and there is nothing wrong with it. I'm amazed at how this village runs. If water goes off someone calls Davis [Noel] and then a group of men is going around to check for leaks. (Brenda, year-round recent resident)

For Brenda Freshwater offers a more natural, spontaneous way of being in community, one of the attributes or attractions of outport life that sets it apart from the urban existence which she recently left. Such a comment calls to mind the notions of "rural virtue" or "preserved continuity" which Raymond Williams suggests is a response to change and modern urban pressures (Williams 1973: 9). In other words, in the minds of some (ex)urbanites rural places like outport Newfoundland operate in a more natural way, free from the constraints of bureaucracies and the pressures of capitalism, a reflection based more of perceptions or personal needs than of the realities of rural places.

While newcomers tend to see a spontaneous way of managing the community as something that still exists in Freshwater, long-term residents generally see it as something that is receding, again reinforcing Williams's notion of the past having been a more virtuous time:

> Well, a lot of people volunteered back then but not now, like the school, if somebody is building something – a shed, house or ditch -- somebody would butt in and help. If there was a picnic the men set up swings and a bowling alley. I think they're too busy looking after themselves. Probably they have too many activities themselves. (John, year-round resident)

There was also recognition by a few residents that this freedom from local government authority is a double-edged sword. On the one hand it means that they have the ability to build a house or a shed without municipal interference. On the other, the lack of municipal controls means that Freshwater has few, if any, tools to either encourage or control development, to maintain open spaces, to retain heritage properties, or control the design and scale of new house construction. One individual, a member of the Local Service District, suggested that if they were able to levy taxes, they would be able to identify all land owners and, if taxes were not paid, they could foreclose and sell the land, freeing it for home construction. Another indicated that, "when neighbours have car wrecks you have to go to the Dept of Environment as there is no local council to take action." (Beth, year-round resident).

Access to Shared Spaces in Freshwater

Beyond freedom from municipal control is the fact that Freshwater – and much of rural Newfoundland -- allows ready access – to the resources of the land and sea. One can hunt, fish, cut firewood (albeit with a government license) and pick berries to provide for one's sustenance:

> It's a cheap place to live – you can live on a quarter of the cost you could on the mainland – I own my own house and car and have no bills – I get mostly wild meat -- moose, rabbit, seal, birds, saltfish and salt capelin. Where else can you live on $800 a month? Only here could I do that cause I own everything (Tom, year-round resident)

From what I heard from native-born residents of Freshwater, the commons, comprising shared or open access to local resources (wood, berries, game, fish) and community spaces (the woods, barrens, shoreline) as well as shared community activities that nurture social capital or conviviality are defining elements of Freshwater and, I would suggest, of Newfoundland's outport communities in general. The commons of Freshwater, as described by the historical record and by accounts of its residents is an evolving notion, one that has different meanings for different people. As indicated earlier, the commons was formally listed in the early 19th Century Plantation Book in Freshwater. It appears to have been located to the rear of a number of plantations that fronted on the saltwater. Its function is unclear but, unlike the rear portions of most of the other plantations in the community, it was cleared. It may have served as pasture or for other activities related to the fishery.

Both seasonal and year-round residents suggested that any areas not fenced are, to some degree, public spaces even if they are acknowledged as likely being privately owned. Prior to 1984, when a Local Service District was established and roaming cattle were banned, anything not fenced served, essentially, as a community pasture. John, a long-term resident, recounted how, prior to the banning of roaming cattle, people from other communities would drop off livestock in Freshwater to graze. The fencing of spaces in the past seems to have served not so much to define private property as to protect one kind of productive space (a garden) from another (a pasture). The banning of free-roaming cattle, as happened in all rural Newfoundland communities by this period, would seem to represent something of a shift in notions about the commons (i.e.,a move away from a shared landscape based on production). As will be seen later, the end of grazing also had a significant impact on the look of the community (e.g., vegetation).

Figure 12 – View of Commons in front of church (Photo J. Dick, Summer 2009)

In the past there were a number of specific spaces identified as comprising "the commons" (as identified by long-term year-round resident, Janice) or spaces of shared activities. These included: a pasture on the

In the past many shared community activities centred around work (and work spaces), the church, the school and community organizations such as the Loyal Orange Lodge. The proximity of fishing premises, houses and gardens in Freshwater created a concentrated band of activity around the fishery and the waterfront that would, invariably, have brought residents of Freshwater into close physical contact with one another on a regular basis. A photo[19] in Stan Deerings private museum in Flatrock from circa 1900 shows Clown's Cove Beach lined cheek by jowl with fishing stages and by the 1805 Planter's list which described lots of generally around 70 yards in width. While each fishing family would have caught and processed its own fish on an individual basis, there would have been ample opportunity for social interaction between residents. Certain activities such as the hauling in of boats required the effort of many hands.

From native-born residents of Freshwater I sensed that the decline of the fishery and related fishing infrastructure such as the community wharf in Freshwater represented more than just the loss of economic activity but the diminishing of shared community life and conviviality. I once asked a former neighbor of mine in Freshwater, George Davis (born in 1910) what he thought the best time in Freshwater was. He suggested that it was in his youth when, despite general poverty in the community, people worked together more. He mentioned the hauling in of the boats as an activity that involved all (male) hands. According to a couple of long-time Freshwater residents:

[19] I saw the photo in question in Stan Deering's private museum in Flatrock. He would not allow the photo to be copied and I could not find an archival source for it.

> There are no boats since the Moratorium – we lost the sense of the community since that – if anyone wanted a plank in a boat there would be 25 would lend a hand or if someone had a trap to mend – they would be in the stage telling stories – Andrew's place (store) was the real meeting place – there was always a crowd – there were 30 boats out there of which 7 or 8 were bonafide fishermen – when the wharf went no more boats (William, year-round resident)
>
> The older men used to get together every day, sit on the edge of Andrew [Parsons} stage – Josiah Butt, Uncle Tom Davis, Uncle George Butt, Uncle Norm Noel – when grandfather's legs got too bad sometimes they would go to the steps of the old school. If you hid away you heard the most interesting stories but they were toned down if children were around (Janice, year-round resident).

Many year-round residents identified the fishery and waterfront activities with this sense of community connectedness, in spite of the fact that the fisher's importance had declined significantly several decades before the moratorium.

Whereas in the past, the commons consisted largely of those spaces that were part of the working landscape of Freshwater or of spaces used for community activities, today shared community space in Freshwater seems to mainly comprise locations of leisure activity where people – most notably seasonal residents -- like to walk and sightsee. Sean, a seasonal resident, described the entire waterfront (including the adjacent islands) as a playground. Clown's Cove Head was mentioned by the overwhelming majority of people from outside of Freshwater (permanent or seasonal) as a shared space but infrequently by long-term residents. Formerly this land had been inhabited with several houses and gardens. Particularly for seasonal Freshwater residents this is now a pleasant, scenic place to walk and to watch whales. Some expressed concern that this not be lost to development or access restricted. One

individual mentioned seeing stakes on the Head and wondered if this was an indication that it would no longer be publically accessible.

The beaches were frequently mentioned by all types of residents as spaces of shared activity, formerly used for mooring and hauling out boats, more recently as places where people have bonfires or where people from all around assemble during the rolling of the capelin. The latter was mentioned as a spontaneous community event that brought people together. During the spawning of the capelin, "it was like a freeway, everyone was down there," according to one respondent. Another suggested that "there is a sense of community to the capelin coming in and when there are a whole lot of whales." One may see this simply as the congregating of large numbers of people to see spectacles of nature but, perhaps it has a deeper sense: of drawing people together to participate in some way in the seasonal cycles of nature and in the harvesting of the capelin; and maybe even linking people to the fishing heritage of Freshwater. The failure of the provincial government[20] to repair the Beach Road after a washout was stated as negative by a few individuals as it cut access to this area and eliminated one of the walking loops around the community. It may also be seen as another example (in the minds of local residents) of Freshwater's decline in the face of government indifference.

[20] As a community without municipal government, Freshwater's roads are maintained by the Provincial Government.

A few people mentioned the traditional rights of way and pathways that extend through Freshwater as having some importance as shared spaces. These allowed local residents to move through the landscape on foot or, in earlier times, with a horse and cart. Gradually these have lost their usefulness except as ATV routes. Yet there is a sense by some that these are being encroached upon or fenced in, sometimes through lack of awareness by outsiders that they exist.

Shared Community Activities

As indicated above, the loss of shared community activity or conviviality was noted by various native Freshwater residents. An example of an attempt in the last number of years to bring the community together (rekindle conviviality) – albeit in a formal way – was the staging of a Freshwater Come Home Year in 2004. For a couple of years after the event there followed the staging of "Freshwater Days" which consisted of an annual summer celebration. It was mentioned frequently by both permanent and seasonal residents as an enjoyable community activity that brought the community together. Come Home Year and Freshwater Days attracted seasonal, permanent and former residents and consisted principally of evening music, skits, and humour held on a flatbed stage at the end of Clown's Cove Beach Road. A couple of permanent residents described it as a community reunion, "For a few years we had a big reunion – it was the best weekend in Freshwater with a big service in the cemetery – After we danced on the beach in August -- now there is nowhere . . ." (Tom, year-round resident). After a few

years it died away, in the minds of some people due to the excess consumption of alcohol, or a lack of continued community support. Regardless, it was seen by the community as an activity that involved everyone – both year-round and seasonal residents – as well as others with family ties to Freshwater.

There is a strong recognition by all respondents, both seasonal and permanent that the church and church/community hall are the primary -- and the only remaining – focus of organized community activities today. According to long-time resident William, "My feeling is that the church is what brings people together . . . That's what holds the place together – it is the only nucleus." A number of seasonal residents indicated that they attend the church on occasion, but seasonal resident Sean suggested, "The church is intended to be a shared space but I'm not sure it is succeeding in bringing in the whole community – not many of us partake although I've been there several times – it is an old idea of church."

Several respondents mentioned the dinners hosted several times a year in the church hall (former school) by the United Church Men's Service Club as shared community activities:

> All the money raised goes to the church . . . usually the dinners get lots of people but few seasonal people because they like to stay to themselves but they don't cause interference. . . For each dinner 2 or 3 men are scheduled to cook and the women serve the dinners (William).

In spite of the above suggestion that few seasonal people attend, according to my interviews, the dinners draw all types of people from the community and beyond,

regardless of their involvement in the church. They also play an important role in fund-raising for the church. According to Tom they are the only thing keeping the church afloat financially. Some respondents also mentioned that the church serves as an important visual landmark or focal point in Freshwater. These comments about the role of Freshwater's church in creating community suggest to me the importance of preserving rural churches in Newfoundland for as long as is practically feasible. This is discussed further in chapter 5.

Other than the church, informal social get-togethers seem to be the main form of community or shared activity – BBQs, dinners, shed parties, visiting. One respondent mentioned gatherings of the gay community in the homes of other gay seasonal residents as a shared activity. The practice in Newfoundland of meeting in someone's backyard shed, often done up with cooking facilities and a refrigerator for refreshments, seems to have replaced the fishing loft[21] as a popular place to socialize and tell stories.

Perceptions of Change

Asking residents about the changes they perceived in Freshwater and how they felt about these changes was another way to gauge what things were important about the community's physical and social landscape. Perceptions of community change in Freshwater are quite varied and particular to individuals and their personalities and

[21] The loft was generally the second level of a fishing store where work where fishing equipment was stored and where work such as net mending was carried out. It was also a space where fishermen would meet to swap stories or where members of the community might hold a dance (Story 1982: 310).

experiences. They depend, in part, on the length of time that one has spent in the community. Many residents have seen major changes in their time in Freshwater; some think the changes are good, others not. Even people who have lived there for most, if not all, of their lives have differing opinions about change. In interviews, those who have come to Freshwater from outside, particularly seasonal residents, tend to see change in terms of property and the physical changes in the landscape (loss of older homes, fixing up of others, difficulties in acquiring new property). A number of seasonal residents described their role in the community as positive in terms of fixing up/saving old properties leading to increased property values and people looking after their properties more. But there is also recognition by a few newcomers that their acts of gentrification are changing the community in ways that may not always be positive. According to one seasonal resident, "There are pros and cons to outsiders buying up and beautifying [properties] but all of the seasonal residents diminish the sense of true, full-time community . . . there must be some sense of threat [amongst year-round residents] from newcomers, that I will be forced out of my home." (Rich). Another seasonal resident suggested that, "Seasonal residency might mean that you won't know people/your neighbours resulting in a loss of social interaction." (Jeff). It is not clear in this last statement, however, whether a loss of year-round residents would negatively impact year-round residents, seasonal residents or both. The comment by a few seasonal residents that they wouldn't want to see Freshwater become like Brigus or Trinity, which consist of a high proportion of seasonal residents, suggests that too many

seasonal residents would spoil the experience for them, making Freshwater less of a 'real' community. Jeff, a seasonal resident, mentioned a fear that the continued loss of year-round residents might have negative impacts on seasonal residents as there would be no one left to keep an eye on their properties when they are away.

For many long-term residents change has meant loss, particularly of what Cosgrove describes as the loss of "historically deep-rooted community" (Cosgrove 1996: 542). Young people have left Freshwater. There is less time for visiting and social interaction. The common explanation in the community is that people's lives are busier. There is a sense that Freshwater's identity has gradually ebbed away with the loss of services such as the school, post office, and all of the shops. As one long-term resident indicated, "Carbonear is now more the focus of people's lives" (William). There was a widely expressed fear that amalgamation with Carbonear would mean a further decline in services (e.g., snow clearing and road maintenance) and a further loss of community identity. The increasing shift from year-round to seasonal residents is seen as leading to further erosion of community as the latter are not as involved in the community and are absent for most of the year. For some of the older year-round residents the decline and eventual loss of the fishery represents the decline of Freshwater and a loss of community identity – the kind of conviviality where people helped one another to mend a boat or a trap; where the wharf was the focus of social exchange between males; and where everyone knew one another.

Related to the erosion of "community" in Freshwater is the loss of self-sufficiency and the increasing reliance on government services. One long-term resident, originally from outside Freshwater, highlighted the fact that the local United Church congregation now relies on government funding to maintain the church and cemetery, "The public areas are better looked after, for example the cemetery and the church but all these things are done by the government, through grants, rather than through grassroots efforts. I think there is a sense of entitlement throughout the province" (Stephen). He also felt that something deeper has been lost, "There is a thing in all of Newfoundland, it is more polished up but an artificial thing, for example the fancy big new houses built by people from Alberta."

As indicated earlier, Freshwater has been changing in terms of out-migration and the local economy (fishery) for a long time. In the early 20th Century there was a significant exodus of residents to the Northeastern United States. This "thinning" of the community has speeded up in the last couple of decades. One year-round resident mentioned that their closest year-round neighbour is now three doors down as the in-between houses serve as summer homes for family members of two former residents (sisters) who had died. On the other hand, seasonal residents expressed concerns that new houses were being built in Freshwater and that these might be too large and out of character and scale with the community or that they might be built too close to or block the view from their own property. For seasonal residents, protecting attractive views

and rural qualities contrast with a desire expressed by some long-term residents to see the landscape fill up with new houses and more people.

The collision of my own urban middle-class values with those of some outport residents was driven home to me in a personal way through a conversation with Stan Deering, a local Flatrock resident, in which I discovered an entirely different way of considering the place.

Figure 13 - Freshwater Sign (Photo credit J. Dick, Summer 2010)

Flatrock is one of my favourite places to stroll. Its abandoned stone foundations and ancient-looking root cellars set in a community pasture, appeal to my romantic sense of the passing of time. For me Flatrock exists as a scenic (ruined) landscape and as an aesthetic experience, something that I have always felt needed to be preserved as it is. I was greatly disturbed, for example, when I discovered that someone had salvaged most of the rock from the numerous old root cellars for landscaping purposes.

Figure 14 - These Flatrock cabins are virtually all owned by area residents and others with family ties to the abandoned community. Note the contrast with seasonal properties in Freshwater (Fig. 6) (Photo J. Dick Summer 2010)

For Stan, who has moved back to Flatrock on a full-time basis, the best thing that could happen is that the government would upgrade the road leading into the former community, opening up the possibility that the descendents of former residents could build cabins on the land of their fathers and grandfathers. Whereas I see Flatrock as an attractive landscape that I would like to see preserved in its current state (i.e., as a testament to resettlement and the abandonment of outport communities), Stan sees it as a social space and as a place of memory of the families who once lived here. One could see how our different values about landscape could, potentially, put us in conflict: me with my urge to preserve the physical landscape; Stan with his desire to revive something of the life (conviviality) that used to exist in Flatrock which would mean filling it up with houses and cabins.

Stan devotes considerable time to preserving memories of Flatrock. He has created a private museum adjacent to his house consisting of a little red school house, and an exhibit of old photographs. He is currently constructing an old-time retail shop.

Fig 15 – One of two permanent residents in Flatrock with cabins in the background

In addition, he has created his own outdoor interpretive panels painted on rocks.

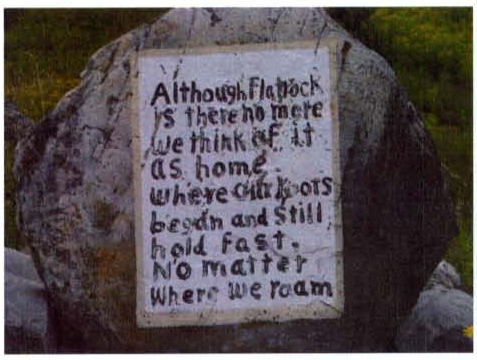


Figure 16 & 17 - Historical markers created by Stan Deering in Flatrock (Photo credit J. Dick Summer 2010)

Economic Change

Earlier in this paper a sketch of the economic history of Freshwater was outlined which saw the community peak in terms of population and local business activity in the early 20th Century. Some of the oldest residents of Freshwater still remember a time when there were several local businesses in Freshwater that served the community:

> "[There are] no stores here now. There were 14 at one time." (Noah)
>
> "There is no grocery store – you can't buy ice cream or an apple. We have to go to Carbonear for everything" (William)

By the 1950s there were just a few fishermen left in Freshwater and these were described as mostly part-time. The 1992 Moratorium therefore had relatively little direct impact on the community as there were only one or two fishermen at that time, but there were some indirect impacts, largely as a result of post-Moratorium government programs to diversify outport economies. Some of these focused on programs to support the development of small-scale business. I myself was involved in the administration of one such program, "Community Futures," which provided business lending and labour force adjustment mechanisms that included training, skills development, and support for self-employment. One local resident who received support under this program started up a small home-based food processing business out of her home that produced specialty jellies made from local wild flowers and herbs as well as chocolates. When her husband subsequently had to move away for employment she was forced to close the operation and take a service job in Carbonear

as the business was too much for her to handle alone. Another small business, a local auto body repair shop, was closed when its owner took employment in the Alberta oilfields. At least one other Freshwater resident "commutes" to the Newfoundland's offshore oil fields. The pattern for oil workers is generally two or more weeks working followed by an equivalent time back in Newfoundland.

A variety of other small businesses started up in Freshwater during this period of economic diversification that either moved or eventually closed. One was a micro-brewery; another was a manufacturer of specialty leather gloves.

Figure 18 - Originally the United Church parsonage, this structure has served a variety of uses including: a coffin factory, micro-brewery/bicycle repair shop and lastly a shop for manufacturing fashion leather gloves (Photo J. Dick Summer 2009)

Today local businesses in Freshwater consist of a cabinet-maker's shop (long-established) and two dog kennels. The latter received some negative comments by Freshwater residents as being inappropriate in residential areas but with no town council there is no way to regulate such activities.

A noticeable change in Freshwater, certainly from the old photographs, and even in the time that I have known the community, is a decrease in the number of gardens which once formed part of a subsistence household economy or, at least served as a

supplement to household earnings. Today, a relatively small minority of households continue to have them. In some cases, people have given up gardening due to advancing age. Seasonal residents generally aren't in the community long enough to make gardens worth their while.

Environmental Changes

For an eternity the forces of nature and, for at least five centuries, human activity have been sculpting and changing the landscape of Freshwater. The shoreline is slowly being eroded by wind and waves and, occasionally, a "big sea" dramatically reshapes both the natural and the cultural landscape of the community. As mentioned, within recent years one such event resulted in a break in the rocky beach of Clown's Cove cutting off the road that had been built across it. The fact that it has not been repaired by the government – it requires a new culvert -- was mentioned as an irritant by a number of residents. The same applies to the loss of the community wharf which disappeared in a big sea several years ago.

> It hurts me to see how the wharf went – it ruined the beach – there is no way to get out on a boat now. Now the Clown's Cove Beach is just about gone from the washout – the breakwater is almost gone – in a couple of years it will be all gone. The breakwater is holding things together but it will all be out in the pond. With the downturn in the fishery not enough people are using it (William, year-round resident)

Added to this are new government regulations that require an environmental assessment in advance of work in and around water features and shoreline. Even if Freshwater's residents wanted to repair these things on their own – as they likely did in

the past -- they would first have to pay the expense of meeting these regulatory requirements.

Another change in the landscape of Freshwater over the last quarter century, mentioned by a couple of respondents, is the re-greening of the community. A landscape originally covered in boreal forest and gradually cleared by the requirements of the fishery and the grazing of livestock has become noticeably more treed. Little vegetation directly in the community is coniferous, the majority being deciduous trees planted by residents. With no cattle or goats to graze, shrubs and small trees such as aspen are self-spreading in places as is the invasive "September Mist" or "Mile-a-minute." Many of these represent introduced European species. On the hills surrounding Freshwater alder and small spruce and fir are gradually re-establishing themselves. According to one Freshwater senior, "[there was] not a tree when I came here – most trees I saw here grew in the last years . . . We used to pick berries wherever you like but there are trees all over now – it's all growed over" (Noah).

At the community meeting a number of participants indicated concerns about possible pollution flowing into Freshwater Pond from Gadden's Mash (Marsh) on the edge of Carbonear. The exact nature of the problem was not articulated but it was thought to result from upgrading of the highway a number of years ago which redirected drainage toward Freshwater. One of the key informants suggested that North Atlantic Oil is dumping tanks in the marsh which was a concern (George, year-

round resident). As with other problems "the government" is perceived to be remiss in its actions or lack of action. Whether these observations are based on fact or rumour they suggest a sense of powerlessness that some native Freshwater residents feel about their community in the face of change and of large institutions like government and big business.

Changes in the Valuing of Land

As in many parts of Newfoundland the economic value of land in Freshwater has risen rapidly over the last several years. Several references were made to a house out on Clown's Cove Head, sold a few years ago for under $50,000, that had recently been acquired for $140,000. The purchaser, reportedly from Quebec, was reputedly going around the province buying up coastal properties. There were a couple of mentions of real estate agents knocking on doors looking for property. According to one older year-round couple, "a man came around a while ago from St. John's who wanted to buy the house for someone. He said that money is no problem. There are too many memories, we can't sell it" (Isabelle).

Rising property values in the community are changing attitudes about land, which is becoming harder to acquire because long-term land owners now appreciate that it has financial value and, thus, they are more reluctant to part with it. When land becomes available it is quickly purchased. One permanent resident (Tom) expressed concerns that if costs go up in Freshwater he will not be able to maintain his property

and to maintain a reasonable lifestyle on a fixed income that is supplemented by hunting, fishing, and gardening. He mentioned specifically that his nephew makes $500 a day working on the oil rigs, "how can I compete with that?" This makes it clear that rising property values in Freshwater aren't exclusively caused by seasonal gentrifiers but are also the result of the influx of high wages from the Alberta and Newfoundland oil industries. The lack of municipal taxes mean that Tom likely has little to worry about in terms of no longer being able to afford to live in Freshwater, however, his comments are significant for they suggest a concern that the community may eventually become a place that no longer has room for him or other native residents. As was indicated at the beginning of this thesis, a common consequence of gentrification is that long-term residents get "priced out" of the local market, if not through property tax increases, then through the fact that their children can no longer afford to acquire property.

Like many rural communities in Newfoundland, issues of land ownership in Freshwater are often complicated. Nearly a century of out-migration means that some descendants of landowners have forgotten that they own land in Freshwater. In other cases property is disputed within a family or estates are difficult to settle due to the lack of wills. With no property tax in the community there is no way to easily settle issues of vacant land (i.e., force the sale of land for non-payment of taxes). In the case of one of the seasonal residents this was seen as a good thing as it makes it more difficult for people to build new houses. One of the year-round residents, a member of the Local Service District, had the opposite opinion,

> It [Freshwater] could grow but it's not gonna grow – it has to do with politics. Nobody is gonna give up a piece of land to build on cause nobody knows who the hell owns it – 4 or 5 would like to but they can't get land. I would like to see it grow faster. If we could get land we could see 20 new houses. We had a meeting with Kennedy [the area's Member of the House of Assembly]. The Local Service District can't charge property tax so we don't know who owns the land. If taxes were not paid then the community could take it or sell it. (John)

Another limiting factor on growth in Freshwater is the fact that provincial regulations require private septic systems for new houses, meaning that properties need to be a minimum of half an acre in order to accommodate a septic field. Such regulations would not permit the traditional pattern of settlement in Freshwater with houses often situated close together right on the main road. John also suggested that the community wells would not be able to support additional use even if many of the existing seasonal residents decided to retire in Freshwater.

The above example and the need for environmental impact assessments prior to repairing the Clown's Cove breakwater, attest to the ongoing and, some locals would say, increasing role of state bureaucracies in shaping the rural landscape. Another example of the state's need to rationalize, to create conformity, to regularize human activity was demonstrated in Freshwater in the early 1990s. At that time the provincial Department of Transportation and Public Works had a policy of clearing the right of way of buildings directly on public roads. This resulted in a perfectly solid century home

being purchased and torn down, one of the last of those houses that had earlier lined this section of Freshwater's shoreline road.[22]

Perceptions about the Future of Freshwater

Key informants were asked what they thought Freshwater might be like in 15 years to get a sense of where, in their minds, the community was going and, in particular, to determine concerns about their future. There was a fairly common response amongst all types of residents that in 15 years Freshwater would increasingly become a community of summer people and retirees. The results would include the community being a ghost town in the winter and "less of a community or a family and more just a place to live." Or, as another long-time resident put it "in 15-20 years there won't be enough men in church to pull up a boat – just older people" (William).

Many felt that the church will likely close which would result in the loss of the last formal institutional nucleus of Freshwater and a further fragmentation of the community. One individual expressed the hope that community volunteers would keep the community suppers going as they are the main source of financial contribution to the church. Another person expressed the frustration of trying to keep the church going as it, "feels like it is in its death throes" (Elizabeth). Some permanent residents such as

[22] I had a very personal involvement with this as I submitted a successful bid to acquire the house and purchase the land in order to move it further back from the road for use as a B & B. A neighbour, upon hearing of this, circulated a petition in the community to have this revoked resulting in the Province backing away from their agreement to sell the land.

Sylvia expressed hope that their own children would be drawn back to the community even if only to retire.

Some seasonal residents suggested that over the next several years there will be an intensification of development in Freshwater as people returning from the Alberta oil sands or from the military or outside people will build new and larger homes. This is seen generally as a negative thing as it will lead to houses that are out of scale and will detract from the quaintness of the community. This contrasts with some long-time native-born residents such as John who are concerned that growth will be hampered by the unavailability of property for development. There is some irony in the notion that intensification of building development in the community would somehow be out of sync with the "historic" character of Freshwater. The Holloway photos show that, historically, Freshwater had a considerably denser built landscape in which many residents would have had their views of the water blocked by their neighbours' houses. One could argue that to fill up many of the vacant spaces in Freshwater with new housing would be more true to its historic character. This reinforces the idea that heritage values often differ for urban middle class seasonal residents/newcomers and long-time rural residents.

One individual saw the time when residents would be taxed for services, presumably either as a result of being annexed to Carbonear or having regional government imposed. This raises the question as to whether more control mechanisms

for Freshwater would be a good thing. It is unlikely that Freshwater could incorporate as a municipality due to its small size and there seems to be a strong opinion against amalgamation into an adjoining community with its resultant imposition of property taxes and the loss of personal freedom and community identity. There is fear that Freshwater would become just a suburb of Carbonear, although one could argue that in some ways it already is as that is where people shop and often work.

In spite of several concerns about Freshwater's future, the majority of respondents suggested that in a decade or so the community would be pretty much as it is now which, in their minds, would be a good thing as most are fairly happy with the way things currently operate. As indicated, growth could occur, but likely would not due to the limiting factors described above. That some year-round residents regard potential growth as a positive thing likely reflects a hope that the community will repopulate and regain some of its former vitality. One of the individuals who expressed an interest in growth also indicated a desire to see Freshwater develop trails and boardwalks. This idea was countered by a year-round resident originally from outside Freshwater who suggested, "I could see people with the best of intentions putting up a boardwalk but we wouldn't like that. We like it that it is rugged – nothing has been changed ever" (Brenda). Trails, boardwalks and scenic lookouts seem to have become necessary accoutrements in outport communities as evidenced by their proliferation over the last couple of decades, a trend rivaling or surpassing that of museum-building

These facilities are generally justified when making application to government funding agencies with reference to a somewhat vague notion of "tourism development."[23]

Many of the community informants' comments about perceptions of change focus on a sense that something important has been lost or is at risk of being lost. For native-born residents this relates largely to the erosion of community vitality (social relations and local economic activity). For newcomers (both seasonal and year-round) there are some concerns that the rural qualities that drew them to Freshwater (landscape views, the scale of the community) could be lost

As the archival record shows, people in Freshwater have always actively participated in a global economy whether it be in the form of fish production for the trans-Atlantic trade or later mining in Cape Breton or construction in Boston or New York. This involved a high level of labour mobility beginning with the early migratory fishery. Yet, until the mid-20th Century this always included a significant level of local community production – gardening, keeping of livestock, commercial fishing – together with furniture-making and retail. Today, virtually everyone in Freshwater works outside of the community either in a neighbouring town such as Carbonear or much further afield in places such as Alberta. There is very little vegetable gardening and only one individual keeps any livestock. There is no retail shop of any type. All of this serves to make Freshwater, like many outport Newfoundland communities, a very quiet place in

[23] I base this on my own extensive experience as a civil servant who regularly reviews funding proposals to government. Applicants are responding to the criteria of most government funding programs which have economic benefit as their key criteria.

comparison to previous times. The changes observed in Freshwater demonstrate how broader economic forces are playing themselves out in the community's social and physical landscape. The loss of local economic activity has loosened social ties and has, based on the comments of the older residents I spoke with, diminished the conviviality that brought residents together and made them dependent on one another.

From their comments, most residents of Freshwater, be they long-time residents, newcomers, or seasonal residents, are interested in maintaining some key community qualities. These include the maintenance of freedom (e.g., from municipal government and regulation), shared access to the landscape, and a desire to maintain a genuine sense of "community" and social space. In order to do this they will need additional tools to manage change. These are explored in Chapter 5.

Chapter 4 – Constructing Freshwater Through Narrative

One of the ways in which both seasonal and year-round residents of Freshwater express their sense of place is through stories that they pass on, as well as personal narratives they create to explain how they fit into place in a time of change. These were captured through passing comments during the key informant interviews and, most directly, by a question which asked residents to tell a story that took place in Freshwater. This story could be from the distant or recent past and something that happened to them personally or a story they heard from someone else. Freshwater, like Newfoundland outports in general, is the source of a rich narrative tradition, the product of an enduring oral culture. Some of the stories related to me by Freshwater residents were very personal and singular; others fit into broader narratives about Newfoundland and the larger world. Yet others might fit into the category of "social truth" or "social memory" described earlier, in which the created and shared memories of place supersede historical fact.

One significant theme in many of these stories was of a simpler past in Freshwater when people had little but were happier; when they had more time for one another; before television, automobiles and other modern conveniences served to separate people from one another. This notion was relayed by a number of long-term residents in the community. In the words of one senior resident, Isabelle: We were raising 14 youngsters with no toilet, no running water – we were back in poor

depression times but everyone was as happy as larks. People are not as happy now . . . I don't think people visit much today. People are too up to date, they have all the stuff which is too modern for me."

A more recent seasonal resident spoke of his experience of this couple:

> [From them] you got a sense of family and history and joy and poverty, of joy in poverty, and the fact that they raised 12 children in two bedrooms with an outhouse. They feel like the heart of this place – the people who built and love this place. They are like something out of yesteryear – a flashback – they grew up in an era we have read about in literature. They are teetotalers and religious, yet with an almost bawdy sense of humour . . . they like talking about hardship . . . our visitors have connected with them—they made a big impression (Dave, seasonal resident).

According to another long-time Freshwater resident,

> Well, a lot of people volunteered back then but not now, like the school, if somebody is building something – a shed, house or ditch, somebody would butt in and help . . . [today] I think they're too busy looking after themselves – probably they have too many activities themselves. People don't socialize – people should visit and have a singsong. Every night you were in someone's house and they in yours. When TV came out at first you wouldn't go out the door night time – before you were out till dark – plus computer and games came with it . . . the fishermen would help each other out and help each other with the traps – I don't know if you get that today or not (John, year-round resident).

And yet another account of Freshwater's past:

> I remember years ago there was something I did to help out a poor family in Freshwater. The idea came from one of the church groups. In the fall everyone grew vegetables. I took my father's horse and canvassed Freshwater for food – vegetables and fish – to give to one family which was very poor, . . .to hold them over. In those days you got your own food in for the winter. To do that today, it wouldn't happen, perhaps it would. In those days there was no social assistance. There was always a

> wonderful community spirit, looking after people who were down and out. I was in my early teens. I don't know where the idea came from, I just remember doing it. (William, year-round resident).

For some a more community-minded Freshwater existed not that far in the past:

> When my son walked to his grandmother's house for the first time, he was 5½. She [his grandmother] said she would call down when he arrived. It was around 1 km door to door. When he went out through the gate Betty called to let me know he was out. Then Marg Davis called and down between the two hills Linda called. Then Mary Parsons called to say that he was going down through the pinch. I got eight phone calls in total, each one asking, "did you know...?" Eyes were on a child the whole time. This was 20 years ago. I don't know if it would happen now, partly due to lifestyle changes – half the people who called had kids themselves and there were more women were at home (Janice, year-round resident).

An underlying theme in these accounts is that modern life has brought about significant changes in the way people relate to one another in Freshwater; that there has been a loosening of the social ties that existed in the community. This calls to mind the words of Jerry Pocius: "leisure becomes increasingly dependent on the enjoyment of goods and not people" (Pocius 2000: 297).

For outsiders who have moved to Freshwater, either as permanent or seasonal residents, there is the need to accommodate one's self to an existing social order and to explain, perhaps even justify, one's place in the community. This has led to a number of different narratives that help individuals to situate themselves within Freshwater. In one account the act of purchasing and restoring an older home is described as an act of stewardship for Freshwater's heritage:

> We felt we were contributing to the sustainability of the community by preserving the house, hiring locals and keeping money in Freshwater by patronizing local businesses. We are helping to keep the community alive – the community feels alive in summer which helps others stay here and contributes to pride. The preservation of our historic house helps locals to think of their own surroundings in different ways . . . this project is an expression of our personal values, we try to be responsible stewards generally and we appreciate the value of historic places and a continuity with past knowledge (Jeff and Bruce).

Sean, a gay seasonal resident described how he saw gay people as being the pioneers in the move to preserve historic structures in Freshwater, making the way, so to speak for other (non-gay) people. This is, of course, a common narrative, of gays being pioneers in gentrifying or revitalizing older, often degraded neighbourhoods (Lees: 2000 , 394).

A number of the narratives presented by newcomers/those who moved into the community from the outside related to situating oneself with respect to Freshwater's established social structure. One of these was the special role of those families who have been in Freshwater for several generations: "there is a council that looks after the village – it rests with them. I get a sense that they like the way things are – the fact that people have lived here so long – the long-time families are in charge and there is nothing wrong with it." (Brenda, recent year-round resident). A seasonal resident suggested that it was "important to respect the history and the families who have been here [in Freshwater] for a long time" (Sean). Another response from a year-round resident from away attempted to put forward a sense of how things work in Freshwater: "there is a role for the dominant male in the community – everyone understands who that person is but they wouldn't acknowledge it – for example in a meeting if something

had to be decided you wouldn't do things without checking with that person – the way to be the dominant male is by being smart." (Stephen). He extended the notion of "being smart" to the entire community, suggesting in his own words that this may represent a validation of his decision to live in the community, "people here are special – beyond other communities – people are smarter and neater – not sure if we think this just because we live here – I think people in Freshwater are clever and enlightened – the majority – this is not a place where people would panic, say over something like the flu. Compared to [neighbouring] Victoria people in Freshwater would think they're more civilized." Stephen's last comment points to a tendency by at least some recent transplants to project qualities onto the community that validate them and support their own aspirations or needs. One of these needs is for their adopted rural home to represent a place where the majority of people are deeply rooted in place and where there is a natural order in terms of the way things work, qualities that, perhaps, contrast with their views of city life (e.g., transience and artificial) .

Another kind of narrative I heard a few times follows the lines of one of the "official" stories about Freshwater, that is, the kind of story from the distant past that gets passed on from one individual to another. Some of these stories help to explain why things are the way they are and may fall into the category of "social truth." Henry, one of the senior residents of Freshwater explained that the name "Clown's Cove" came from an image of a clown that one could see in the side of the tolt if one stood at a certain spot. I sat in my car and vainly tried to find such an image until eventually I was able to

discern what looked like the profile of a "Punch-type" face, with a craggy chin and hooked nose. Punch as a character certainly goes back to the earliest recordings of Clown's Cove on maps, being officially recorded for the first time in 1662 in England (Wikipedia citation for Punch and Judy 2011). It raises the questions as to whether the place was first named Clown's Cove due to the fact that early residents of the area saw a clown's face in a cliff or whether later residents, needing to find an explanation for a curious name, searched until someone identified such a feature.

Figure 19 - The clown's face in the cliff from which Clown's Cove purportedly gets its name (Photo J. Dick, Summer 2010)

One of the official stories, told to me by several individuals, is the account of a shipwreck off of Clown's Cove Head. As related by a couple who had fairly recently come to Freshwater, "I believe it was the late 1700s and a ship coming from Bay Roberts crashed on the Head. The men from the community rescued all but a few people. That tells you about the people that they would jeopardize their own lives. A lovely man, Graham Butt, gave [my husband] that story" (Brenda). A long-time resident told this same story thus:

> I don't know the whole story – there was a shipwreck off the head – there were many people sove[24] off the head – it was written down by a fellow – one woman was lost, they found her in the gulch below Graham's. She had her head gone. The "Wobbies on the Sound" where the ship came aground on the head – when certain winds blow you could hear the people bawling. Grandfather told of a mail boat going aground (John).

A variation on this story that I heard when I lived out on Clown's Cove Head in the late 1980s was that: a) on the anniversary of the wreck or b) on a stormy night one could hear the cries of the ghosts of those who perished. I heard other ghost stories connected to the Head, one relating to the ghosts of French soldiers who died in one of the 18th Century French raids on Conception Bay. These stories and others, along with bits of history passed on by local residents, served to fill the Freshwater landscape; to enrich my experience of the place; and to marvel that Freshwater's distant past persisted in the memories of many of its inhabitants. This was echoed by a seasonal resident with a long involvement with Freshwater:

> I sit in the chair and can almost see the schooners that once filled the bay . . . I can picture life on different places in the landscape which wouldn't mean anything to someone who didn't know the history. When I would come around to visit as a youngster Freshwater was a beehive of activity – people and animals – driving goats and cattle – people going door to door selling vegetables – everyone had their own fences and gates to keep out the livestock – there was a lot more population – you'd see 40 to 50 kids hanging around – knowing this grounds me and makes me a part of a place – I can enjoy looking at a rock but knowing its history puts life to the community – if a guy came here from Ontario he might enjoy the scenic qualities of the rock but people would enjoy it more if they knew something about the place (Ron).

[24] "Sove" is a common usage in many Newfoundland communities as the past tense of the verb "save."

Several long-term Freshwater residents spoke of the loss of the old people in the community who knew the stories. The passing of the elders was another Freshwater narrative that was related by a number of long-term year-round residents.

> "The pillars of the community are all dead and gone." (Janice, middle-aged respondent)
>
> "The real old people – old fishermen telling yarns – are all gone . . . 200 have died since I came here . . . only three old people left including me, Graham Butt and Ted Noel. . . no real old people left to tell the stories but it is important that know newcomers know the stories" (Noah, senior resident)
>
> "A lot of the old people had a sense of humour. Pat Noel -- Joe Noel's brother -- had lots of stories" (Dan, senior resident)
>
> "One thing about it, the older generation, at one time there were probably 15 people in their 70s or 80s – dad and Graham are really the only ones left and they are starting to forget stuff" (John, middle-aged respondent).

This narrative speaks to me of Freshwater residents' perceptions that the old people and their stories represent a link with a past life in Freshwater that is quickly fading. Perhaps every generation, particularly as it ages, becomes more aware of the passing of the "old folks." But I wonder if, for the majority of year-round Freshwater residents who are now in their fifties, sixties, and seventies, there is a feeling of isolation. Not only are parents, grandparents, aunts and uncles gone but children and grandchildren are living far away from Freshwater. Perhaps this has created a sense that the natural flow of information about place, passed on from one generation of Freshwater's longstanding families to another, has been broken. They may have inherited many of the stories about the past in Freshwater but there are few to pass them on to. One

newcomer to Freshwater touched on this notion in an interesting way: "[there are] families who have lived here forever and ever are eventually not going to be here – I think it easier than not that the community could dry up – there will just be the geography to draw people" (Mike, recent year-round resident). This suggests that, without the families who have lived in Freshwater for generations and who embody an "historical" place, Freshwater will be little more than physical space, empty of the rich layered meanings that contribute to it as a community.

My interest in narrative about place is two-fold. For one, it is a useful way to gauge how people are constructing place in Freshwater. Every story communicates an underlying sense of community values. It also seems to me that narrative and stories can serve to anchor people in a time of change and can help to integrate newcomers by communicating how things work in a place and helping connect them to place. To explore how all types of residents in Freshwater thought about this I posed the question as to whether it was important or not for newcomers to know about the values and history of Freshwater. The overwhelming majority of respondents responded in the affirmative. Their comments included:

> I think it deepens the appreciation one has of a place. It helps people to fit in even if they are seasonal . . . every year we deepen our understanding and learn more about the people who lived around here . . . it gives more depth to our experience of living here – a continuity with the past – not radically altering the character of the community. It is fun to give our own visitors a sense of what went on in the past -- for example Carbonear Island -- to be a local ambassador or interpreter. (Jeff, seasonal resident)

> It's very important to know the history and values -- some people can come into a place and change it to suit them and make it like where they came from – if they want to know a place and understand why it is what it is. (Beth, year-round resident from elsewhere in NL)
>
> I do think it's important that they know something about the local values and history – it roots you to the community more and makes you feel you belong more . . . . (Harold, year-round resident from elsewhere in NL)
>
> I think it's very important. If you knew the [local] values – at first I fumbled around – it would help your transition (Brenda, year-round resident from outside Freshwater)

In other words, for newcomers, knowing about local traditions and values can: deepen one's experience of place; help newcomers to more easily integrate; and help to minimize conflict between new and established residents.

A few residents provided more nuanced responses to this question. One year-round resident, not originally from Freshwater suggested, "I think knowing the history and values are important for the newcomers – it's important for the community if you are going to be conservative, if you want the place to stay the same" (Stephen). Another year-round resident responded, "I don't know if it is important [that newcomers know about the local history]. I like the fact that the community has been here for a long time – if they are interested fine but if not, are you going to hold it against them? For me the history of Freshwater is about the history of families" (Janice).

One seasonal resident responded somewhat differently, "The onus is on newcomers to make the attempt to familiarize themselves with the flavour and history

but it is not essential. If you are used to living in an urban or suburban place you are not used to thinking about the history unlike locals where families have a long history. It's not part of your reality. We wouldn't do it in an urban environment so don't feel pressure to do so here" (Rich, seasonal resident). Another year-round resident, not originally from Freshwater, shared a similar sentiment, "it depends on what you want out of the community – if you're coming here just to get away then it doesn't matter. If you come from outside you will always be known as an outsider" (Mike, recent year-round).

Stories can serve to connect people to place and to each other in important ways. As mentioned by a couple of seasonal residents, stories can help people to inhabit spaces in a landscape with meaning and with connections to people and events from the past. Perhaps, stories can help to make the spaces of a community "sacred" in the sense of "that which is worthy of the highest respect [or] . . . that [which] must not be violated or disregarded." (Avis 1983: 988). This may help residents of all sorts (long-term, recent arrivals) in a community to see space as more than just a commodity or an asset to be used and shaped according to one's personal whims with no regard for the past or the future. Stories contain information and values that can help residents, newcomers and younger generations in particular, to develop an appreciation for how things work in a community. For instance, as mentioned by Jeff (seasonal resident), had he known that a traditional right of way extended through his property he may not have fenced it as he did.

Information about places can be transmitted by various means. The passing on of stories from community elders to others serves to create bonds between the giver and the receiver and provides validation for the storyteller. I am reminded of Mike's response to being told the story about the shipwreck on Clown's Cove Head, "to me the story is sitting down with Graham and the look in his eyes as he told me the story and how important it was that I know the story" (Mike, recent year-round resident). My fond memories of my old neighbour, George Davis, originate, in no small way, from the many stories about Freshwater that he related to me. They emphasize the critical social dimension of place and reinforce Raffles observations cited earlier that, "locality resides in people [or their characters] rather than in economy or geography, and it is rooted in shared experience" (Raffles 2001:55). A slightly different take on this would be that locality is expressed through the stories that people create and pass on.

An old rock wall, an abandoned root cellar, a stone foundation, traces of garden drills (linear mounds that were created to grow potatoes) still visible in the right light, or a grassy laneway are all fragments of stories about past lives. They speak of building up and of dying away. Often these features can speak for themselves or, at least they can pique the interest of the passerby to know more about what went on in the past in a particular place. In the same vein, simple signs that mark old streets, lanes and places in the landscape can also provide a link to past residents, events and activities. Plank Lane in Freshwater is one such example. The curious name reflects the fact that at one

Figure 20 & 21 - (Left) Grave index panel Freshwater. (Right) display of traditional cemetery wrought-iron fencing (Photo J. Dick Summer 2010)

time residents had planked over a small stream that ran down the hill in order to make it an accessible right of way. At the community meeting it was suggested that the names and places of Freshwater needed to be mapped while knowledge of them still existed and that signs could be erected throughout the community to mark them.

During my time in Newfoundland I have seen a proliferation of interpretive markers in the landscape. The residents of Freshwater, for example, have erected a couple of interpretive panels in the local cemetery. One labels sections of wrought-iron fencing believed to have been forged in the community. Another provides a map and legend of all of the grave markers. Stan Deering's historical markers in Flatrock (Fig. 16 & 17), consisting of painted pictures and words on rocks, have a certain charm for their

Plank Lane, Freshwater, Conception Bay, NF, August 1924
Figure 22 – Photo courtesy Charmaine Ash

simplicity and their ability to pique the interest of the by-passer. A couple of examples include: "Hal Snow's Wooden Car"- "First School 1800's – Albert Pottle – Mary Sommers."

The desire to mark or interpret the landscape is indicative of a number of things. In some cases it is based on a recognition by local residents that the old way of passing on stories and information about the landscape – by word of mouth – is rapidly disappearing. It also reflects the fact that places like Freshwater have shifted from places of production in which an intimate knowledge (and naming) of the landscape and the transmission of that knowledge is no longer necessary as a part of every day living. The erection of signs and interpretive panels speaks, in part, to the fact that the outport landscape has been commodified, something to be consumed by visiting tourists who will hopefully stop long enough in a community to spend a few dollars.

Chapter 5 - Conclusion

Amongst long-term residents of Freshwater there seems to be a general acceptance of, or at least a resignation to, the significant changes that are occurring in their community. Some see the changes as good; others are worried by them and are concerned that some important things that existed in the past are slipping away. There is also a sense that people have little control over the ways in which their community is changing: the provincial government could one day require them to amalgamate with Carbonear; people could do things in the community – such as establish a business or build a big house – that would be out of character and scale with Freshwater; or they could one day simply not know their neighbours.

From the time of its establishment Freshwater has been made at many different locations and at many levels. Various states and their bureaucracies – England, France and a number of European countries, the former nation of Newfoundland, Canada, and the Province of Newfoundland – have all shaped the community through their economic and social policies and through the ways that they have chosen to represent it. Each has looked at Freshwater and represented it in ways that serve particular institutional needs and arrangements as well as economic interests. Powerful economic (capitalistic), environmental, social and cultural forces, far beyond the shores of Newfoundland, have shaped Freshwater reinforcing the notion that places are not merely made locally.

So too academics, writers, civil servants and artists – often working from the urban centre of St. John's – have represented the outport in various ways that have contributed to perceptions about the outport. These run the gamut from the outport as wild, unruly, backward, traditional (i.e., not modern) or doomed, on the one hand; to the embodiment of Newfoundland's national identity and rural virtues on the other. And, of course, at the level of the individual situated in rural Newfoundland, the outport is made on a personal basis as a place of meaning, of community (or exclusion), and often of struggle.

This place making is a very dynamic process. As I have attempted to demonstrate in this thesis Freshwater, and outports in general, have always been locations of change. In the decades after World War Two, Newfoundland was actively engaged in resettling residents out of dozens of outport communities. Yet the last few decades, in particular since the Moratorium on Northern Cod in 1992, have seen changes that are both accelerated and qualitatively different. During this period rural populations in Newfoundland have dropped faster than at any previous time. Today, economic forces and government policies (or lack thereof) are seeing traditional populations move away from outport Newfoundland communities to St. John's or Alberta while another group of settlers (seasonal residents, tourists) moves in, even if for brief periods of time. And, as has been suggested, in the few last decades many outport communities have seen an almost complete shift from landscapes of production to landscapes of consumption. Whereas in the past, outports were the focus of

industrial production (fish) and subsistence activities, today many find their primary *raison d'etre* as retirement and summer communities and/or as places to be experienced by visiting tourists.

From my observations amongst Freshwater residents, particularly those with deep roots in the community, there is a perception that the community is ebbing away. A place that was once the site of rich social connections, is less so today. Virtually all of the institutions which helped to define Freshwater and tie its residents together are gone – save the United Church -- and there are fears that the church cannot last much longer. Comments about the passing of almost all of the "old people" in Freshwater may be a reflection of a sense of loss. It is natural that the older generation of Freshwater residents is dying off (it has always been thus) but, perhaps, when middle-aged residents feel isolated by the loss of their parent's generation and the relocation of their own children -- to whom they would, in the past, have passed on their stories and knowledge -- they experience this loss more keenly.

The relationship between newcomers and long-established residents is somewhat ambiguous. While I heard of no real antagonisms by long-term residents toward seasonal residents, there was a bit of unease and a concern that seasonal residents are largely strangers who do not really participate in the social life or running of Freshwater. Nor was it really clear that long-term residents wanted these people to participate in a greater way in the community. In spite of divergent ideas about place

and community long-term residents and newcomers (both seasonal and year-round) have avoided significant conflicts. Tthis is likely because the newcomers in Freshwater have not attempted to impose their values on the community through institutional means (e.g., through bylaws that might restrict or control local behaviours). For one thing they don't have the mechanisms to do so as there is no local government.

Understandably, long-established residents and newcomers (be they seasonal or year-round residents) have different values about social space and landscape in Freshwater. Sociability, seen by long-term year-round residents as a critical element in the community, appears to be understood somewhat differently by the two groups. For locals it is a necessity bred, no doubt, by long-standing close proximity, family and social ties and, at various times, by the need for mutual support. For outsiders it is, perhaps, more related to the experience of being in a rural place, in other words, an amenity to be appreciated and partaken of according to one's preferences. Most seasonal residents I spoke with appreciated the sense of community and friendliness that Freshwater offered but seemingly wanted to experience it on their own terms which is understandable given that they are on vacation when in the community, a time when one is generally escaping the obligations of day-to-day life.

A number of seasonal residents reflected on the impacts of their presence on the existing fabric of the community (rising property values, people no longer being known to long-term residents); at the same time they believe that without their presence,

many of the older properties would have simply rotted into the ground. Some seasonal residents have negotiated their own place in Freshwater by seeing themselves as stewards of Freshwater's heritage or as pioneers in the move to "revitalize" or preserve the community. But the material aspects of Freshwater's past that they seek to preserve are not necessarily those that long-term residents would see as particularly worthy of saving. While Freshwater residents seem to be proud of their long history they appear to have something of an ambivalence about preserving it. For example, a heritage society was formed a number of years ago and I personally had a discussion with the group about what it wanted to achieve, the focus of which was the establishment of a community museum in the old Orange Lodge. But, aside from collecting a few artifacts, no progress was made in establishing the museum and the group disbanded. Recently the group has been re-formed in response to the alleged illegal sale of the lodge by the former society president to a family member.[25] Freshwater's experience calls to mind the words of the Tilting resident described in Chapter 1, who suggested that heritage is not something to be worshipped or to stand in the way of future development. After all, as suggested by Pocius and Horwood, the preservation of heritage seems to be something that you engage in once you have become disconnected from your own cultural roots (Pocius 2000: 276).

[25] I received a number of telephone calls and emails from Freshwater residents wondering if there was anything that I, as provincial director of heritage, could do to assist them in resolving the matter of the Orange Lodge

What will be the implications of the loss of the local stories about Freshwater or the outports in general and of the traditional knowledge that people have had about place? Or the loss of a unique way of being in the world as encompassed by values of freedom, intimate connection with the landscape, a shared sense of space, and social-mindedness? Will Freshwater become, in the words of one local resident, just "geography"? If it is true that, "just as landscape defines character, culture springs from a spirit of place" (Davis 2009: 33), then what are the impacts on Newfoundland society as a whole as the spirit of rural Newfoundland ebbs away? Michael Crummey suggests, "all of Newfoundland is the outport – it is our identity, . . . the outport is at the heart of everything." (Crummey personal interview). Similarly, Newfoundland-born philanthropist, Zita Cobb, in a recent *Globe and Mail* feature suggested, "our culture feeds on the fishery. It's in our language, it's in our music. It's in how we think. We're people of the sea. If boats aren't going to sea we're not the same people" (Moore 2010). The reality, of course, is that the fishery has not been the mainstay of many outport communities for some time although the perception that it is, remains.

Wade Davis, in *The Wayfinders* – based on his 2009 Massey lectures – describes the importance for mankind as a whole of maintaining the cultural diversity that exists on the planet. Just as biodiversity helps to ensure a healthy ecology, different ways of being and experiencing the world are important for ensuring the future survival of mankind. Davis suggests,

> Before she died, anthropologist Margaret Mead spoke of her singular fear that, as we drift toward a more homogenous world, we are laying the foundations of a blandly amorphous and singularly generic modern culture that will have no rivals. The entire imagination of humanity, she feared, might be confined within the limits of a single intellectual and spiritual modality. Her nightmare was the possibility that we might wake up one day and not even remember what had been lost, . . . Modern industrial society as we know it is scarcely 300 years old. This shallow history should not suggest to any of us that we have all the answers for all of the challenges that will confront us as a species in the coming millennia. (Davis, 191)

Maintaining aspects of outport Newfoundland may have value, in part, for the skills and knowledge that allowed people to adapt economically and socially to the Newfoundland environment. It represents a way of understanding and valuing the landscape that is different from the North American mainstream. In the outport, communal or shared access to space is emphasized, sociability (interdependence) is valued and the landscape is inhabited by stories from the past. This knowledge and the skills that evolved to inhabit this landscape may prove useful to future generations of Newfoundlanders and Labradorians. On a more prosaic level a distinctive outport culture – albeit a commodified one -- is one of the things that helps distinguish the province in the international marketplace, attracting both newcomers and tourists seeking a unique sense of place.

The "traditional" practices of the outport may yet provide useful lessons for the wider society and, in some ways, to have been ahead of their time. For example, a subsistence outport way of life has bred a flexibility and resilience in which people were willing to take on a variety of vocations and often to travel considerable distances to secure a livelihood for their

families. This was evident in the 19th and 20th centuries in Freshwater and continues today with residents, as a matter of course, commuting great distances to work in Alberta or the Newfoundland offshore or to spend alternating periods working in the province and elsewhere. This may prove a useful model for residents of other parts of North America who must adapt to increasingly changeable labour markets. Similarly, the so-called traditional inshore fishery, which was essentially voted out of existence by fisheries bureaucrats and powerful centralizing capitalist forces, may yet prove to be the only rational way to manage a sustainable fishery as part of a "moral economy." Had they been successful, past attempts by Newfoundland outport fishermen to share resources in an equitable fashion and, at various times, to limit capital-driven new technologies, may have avoided the ecological, cultural, and economic catastrophe represented by the collapse of the Northern Cod. Recently on my drive home from work I caught a headline on CBC radio that suggested that joint management by scientists and fishermen was the best way to manage the fishery, implying a recognition that fisheries scientists had, at last recognized, that they alone have not been up to the task.

Not all are fearful that Newfoundland's traditional culture is destined to fade away. According to Michael Crummey,

> Newfoundland culture was never a static thing – whatever washed up on the beach got used – this also relates to culture. For example dad and country music – he didn't distinguish between it and Newfoundland music yet it somehow gets torqued enough to feel different. This gives me hope for the future – it will be interesting to see what children of African refugees will be. I think of Art Fong who owns the restaurant in Carbonear. When he opens his mouth he sounds just like a

> Newfoundlander. Newfoundland is always going to be Newfoundland – we're still pretty isolated which will result in a culture that is always different from the outside world – the place will still produce something different (Crummey, personal interview).

This brings me to the point of what, if anything, can be done to help maintain some of those things that Freshwater residents said were important to them and to foster a sense of "community?" Are there things that will help Freshwater residents to navigate through and manage the changes that they are experiencing? Are there ways to bridge the various "identities" that exist in the community based on gender, sexuality, seasonal or year-round residency, founding family, CFA ("Come From Away")? Is it possible to develop, "a sense of place [that is] progressive; not self-enclosing and defensive, but outward-looking? A sense of place which is adequate to this era of time-space compression? (Massey 1994: 147). A number of strategies occur to me that could address these issues.

Fostering of social space in the community

The various social spaces that once allowed Freshwater residents to come together in convivial ways have certainly diminished. There are no more local school or Church Women's concerts, meetings, dances or card parties at the Loyal Orange Lodge or Sunday School picnics. Christmas mummering or jannying happens infrequently if at all. Fishermen no longer gather at the wharf or at the Parsons stage to tell yarns, and less frequently do all able male hands come out to haul up boats – all of which are now recreational rather than for commercial fishing -- at the end of the season. Almost no

children play on the beaches and meadows or wander the pathways. Impromptu story-telling and music-making sessions in the homes of residents happen less frequently than before the advent of television and computers. People still visit in one another's homes although less frequently and spontaneously according to some of Freshwater's older residents. These changes are the result of current demographic, economic and social realities

Yet residents still appreciate the opportunity to come together as a community. As indicated, nearly all respondents spoke fondly of the United Church Men's dinners held in the community hall as they did of the big celebration previously held on the Clown's Cove Beach, variously referred to as "Freshwater Days," the "reunion," or "Come Home Year." A number of people spoke with regret that the annual summer event had died out.

With the loss of most of the formal social places within Freshwater (post office, school, local shops) information about what is happening in the community likely does not flow as easily as it once did. This is particularly the case for seasonal residents. One of the ideas that emerged from the workshop in which my findings were presented and discussed was a community newsletter that would keep people more abreast of what was happening, thereby allowing them to be more engaged in Freshwater. Blogs and Facebook pages devoted to a particular community could offer a way for seasonal and

year-round residents to communicate on a regular basis in spite of being located in far-flung locales for much of the year.

As mentioned, the maintenance of Freshwater's church is seen as important to residents. For some it is an iconic landmark. For others it is a critical institution that helps to preserve community solidarity and social capital. One of the biggest challenges facing declining rural congregations is the ability to maintain church structures, many of which are older buildings which are costly to heat and repair.[26] While the use of government "make work" grants over the last couple of decades has helped Freshwater to maintain its church and cemetery these may become increasingly difficult to access as the community ages (i.e., as few working-age residents remain who are eligible to be employed on these grants). One possibility may be for the creation of a provincial "Religious Heritage" program similar to that which exists in the Province of Quebec. Under this program, congregations or parishes that own historic churches are eligible for capital grants to restore building features and renew outdated heating systems. The program is premised on the idea that the best way to preserve historic churches is to continue to allow congregations to operate and manage them.

During the community meeting a number of ideas were generated for the maintenance of the church. One of these was to seek provincial heritage designation

[26] Recent events in Portugal Cove on Conception Bay have highlighted the strong sense of ownership that local residents have for a church structure. Efforts by church officials to tear down the former Anglican Church have resulted in conflict between The Town of Portugal Cove, concerned citizens and the Anglican Church.

which would afford protection and open up funding sources. Most ideas revolved around attracting more people to the church including an appeal to young people and other (non-United) residents in the community and hosting activities to draw people from other places. These ideas draw to mind "Partners for Sacred Places," a not-for-profit organization in the United States devoted to "helping congregations and their communities to sustain and actively use older and historic sacred places" (Partners for Sacred Places: 2010). One of the most important services of the organization is to work with congregational representatives to enter into a process that articulates the various ways that historic church buildings contribute to the community. It also seeks greater community buy-in for these structures through new partnerships. This generally involves broadening the types of activities that occur in the church: activities for youth, seniors, and people with special needs; arts activities; sharing space with other groups. A common result is enhanced relevance within the larger community and an enlarged base of support. For a place like Freshwater, the use of the church for a community arts festival (e.g., music or other performing arts), for seniors activities, for talks on such things as local history or community issues, or for local music and story-telling sessions might create a wider base of support for the church. It could also provide opportunities for year-round and seasonal residents, old-timers and newcomers to come together to foster a shared sense of community.

Tools for Managing Development

Freshwater, like all unincorporated outport communities, has few formal management mechanisms. As a Local Service District (LSD), Freshwater has virtually no ability to manage development. LSDs lack the mechanisms that municipalities have which include the ability to provide permits for development, to designate heritage structures, and to create municipal plans with a variety of types of zoning (including conservation or heritage areas). LSDs provide basic services such as water, street lighting, firefighting and garbage collection (NL Municipalities Act, Part XIII). At one time Freshwater was included under the Town of Carbonear for development purposes (i.e., one had to get building permits from the town) but this is no longer the case. While residents no longer are required to get permits they must still adhere to provincial environmental regulations (e.g., for septic systems).

Aside from LSDs Newfoundland and Labrador has no other level of rural government. In other provinces there are "rural municipalities" (Saskatchewan), "regional districts" (British Columbia), and townships (Ontario) that have some or all of the powers of a municipality. A form of regional government for Newfoundland and Labrador would provide these although it may have some of the same impacts as the amalgamation of small rural communities with neighbouring municipalities, in terms of the loss of local identity. As well local interests would have to be balanced with those of other communities in a region. One respondent in Freshwater, John, expressed an

opinion against regional government on the basis that Freshwater would lose its identity.

Another option might be for the Province to create another classification under the *Municipalities Act* that offered powers somewhere between a municipality and an LSD or to extend the authority of LSDs. In particular, it could provide small Newfoundland and Labrador communities with tools to manage development. These might include the ability to designate conservation areas and heritage districts which articulate the kinds of activities or development that could occur. At the very least, communities could develop voluntary guidelines, similar to the heritage guidelines that exist in some communities and the community could work with residents to find development solutions that fit with local preferences and standards. I found relatively little literature on the subject of voluntary community development mechanisms other than as they relate to voluntary environmental protection measures which are seen by many as relatively ineffective without enforcement (Fourth International Conference on Environmental Compliance and Enforcement: 1996). But for communities that have a culture of independence and freedom from formal control mechanisms, voluntary development guidelines may be an acceptable option than can serve to build a level of trust that could lead to the adoption of actual regulation.

Actions to preserve Access to Shared Spaces

As indicated in this paper, the ability to freely access space (the "almost commons") is seen as one of the defining characteristics of Newfoundland outport communities. It is likely that the kinds of informal sharing of spaces, described as being important to all types of Freshwater residents (albeit not always for the same reasons), will gradually decrease as the commodification of rural spaces advances. The buying up of property – particularly large tracts of land – by outsiders will probably lead to the establishment of more fences that restrict access. Increases in land prices will serve to speed the decline of the traditional population base in rural Newfoundland communities as property prices move beyond the reach of locals. There are concerns in Freshwater that this may already be occurring.

For communities such as Freshwater that have few or no tools for protecting what is of value to them, it may be that the state – in this case the provincial government – is the only authority with the ability to do so. One model for the maintenance of traditional rights of access is the *Scottish Outdoor Access Code*. This legislation, based on a long tradition of free access, enshrines in law the rights of people to access most property with limited exceptions that include private residences and gardens, schools, industrial and construction sites. Even farmer's fields allow access as long as one does not trample on crops (Scottish Natural Heritage - Outdoor Access Code website). The Scottish government undertakes efforts to educate both users and

managers of land on their responsibilities around access. Similar legislation in Newfoundland and Labrador could help to preserve access to places like Clown's Cove Head, the traditional rights of way that criss-cross Freshwater, or the berry-picking grounds around the community, helping to maintain a long tradition of common rights to land. An extension of the province's current high water mark could also safeguard against restrictions to shoreline access.

Massey's description of community as "constructed out of a particular constellation of social relations, meeting and weaving together at a particular locus (Massey 1994: 153-154) captures the dynamic and fluid character of a place like Freshwater: men leave for employment for extended periods and return; some of the people who have lived their working lives outside of the community have come back to retire; seasonal residents alight in the community for a few weeks or weekends in the summer, some eventually retiring there. As Freshwater transitions to a new type of place, the kind of community it will become and the degree to which it can maintain the sort of conviviality that produces culture (Fernandez 1987), will depend on opportunities for the meeting and weaving together of the different types of residents that now inhabit it. A number of ideas for allowing this to happen were discussed in this chapter, including opportunities for social networking.

The future of any place is a question mark. The trends would suggest that Freshwater will have more seasonal residents and senior citizens in the future; that land

values will increase; that the church will likely close its doors as has been happening in a host of other communities across the province; that the social ties will further weaken resulting in a more atomized sort of place. Freshwater may endure what Tilting writer Roy Dwyer describes as a lengthy "strange twilight" (Dwyer 2007: 3). But different scenarios are possible. Much will depend on the will of residents and their ability to engage in a meaningful conversation about the kind of community they want Freshwater to be. For that matter, it will depend, in part, on how Newfoundlanders and Labradorians as a whole view rural Newfoundland and what measures they are prepared to take to support it. A positive future for Newfoundland's outports will depend, in part, on supportive and progressive provincial policies and the kinds of tools that are made available to rural communities.

Finally, I would suggest that a rethinking of the ways in which the outport is represented is in order, particularly in the realms of academia and government policy. As demonstrated in this paper, the manner in which academics, bureaucrats and writers have represented the outport has shaped public perceptions and policies, often in detrimental ways that have devalued the outport experience. Sometimes, through seemingly innocuous descriptions such as "traditional", the Newfoundland outport has been cast as "not modern" and the residents with their "folk ways" as different from the North American mainstream. These perspectives reflect Raymond William's notion of rural places as the "antidote for urban alienation" (Williams in McKay 1994: 9). While there is no question that the Newfoundland outport produced a unique culture the

residents who live there would not necessarily choose to think of themselves as traditional or not modern.

In cultural and heritage terms a re-evaluation of terminology may also be warranted. Recasting outport residents not as "the folk" and their lifestyles (both past and present) not as "traditional," but simply as a unique cultural response to a particular confluence of geography and history, may help us to take a more objective view of the outport. It may allow newcomers to outport communities – particularly urbanites -- to better negotiate their presence in rural Newfoundland in ways that both respect the uniqueness of place and the needs of long-term residents to realize their own "modern" aspirations.

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b) Key Informants

Note: All key informants are given pseudonyms (first names) to protect their identity

Year-round Residents Native to Freshwater or Neighbouring Flatrock

Janice – middle-aged resident
Peter – young resident under 30
Tom – middle aged resident, retired
William – senior resident, retired
John – senior resident, retired
Dan & Sylvia – middle-aged married couple, Dan is retired
Noah & Isabel – senior married couple, retired
George – senior, retired
Henry – senior, retired

Year-round Residents from Outside Freshwater

Stephen & Elizabeth – middle aged, married couple
Beth – resident around 40
Mike & Brenda – middle-aged, married couple
Harold – middle-aged, retired

Seasonal Residents

Rich & Dave – couple , live outside Newfoundland and Labrador
Jeff & Bruce – couple, live outside Newfoundland and Labrador
Sean – single, lives outside Newfoundland and Labrador
Jonathan - single, lives elsewhere in Newfoundland and Labrador
Ron & Marian - live elsewhere in Newfoundland and Labrador

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Appendix A – Key Informant Questions

Informant Profile:

1. Name of informant:
2. How long have you lived in Freshwater (on a permanent or seasonal basis)?

- More than 30 yrs
- 21 – 30 yrs
- 10 – 20 yrs
- 5 – 10 yrs
- Less than 5 yrs

3. If not born in Freshwater where were you born?

- In a neighbouring community within 25 km
- In another location in Newfoundland
- Outside of Newfoundland and Labrador

4. Year-round resident _____ Seasonal resident _____

5. If seasonal, how many weeks per year do you typically reside in Freshwater over the course of a year? What time of year do you reside here?

6. How many people are there in your household (approximately ages)?

7. How many retired people are there in your household?

8. Where is your permanent residence?

- Freshwater
- St. John's
- Another location in Newfoundland and Labrador
- Outside of Newfoundland and Labrador

9. What is the location of your employment?

- Freshwater
- St. John's
- Another location in Newfoundland and Labrador

(specify_____)

- Outside of Newfoundland and Labrador

(specify_____)

The gender and approximate age of the informant will be noted

Discussion Questions

1. What do you most like about Freshwater?

2. If you were born here, what keeps you here? If you are not from the community what drew you here?

3. In the course of the last week or so, what are some of the places that you visited in the community and what did you do there?

4. What changes have you seen in Freshwater during your time here?

a. In the look of the community
b. In the way people use the land/landscape
c. In the people that live here
d. In the local economy

5. What do you think about these changes?

6. Are there features or places in and around Freshwater today that you would see as shared (i.e., anyone can use or access them)? What sorts of things do people do in them/how do they use them? (e.g., shoreline, areas surrounding community, traditional paths and rights-of-way).

7. Are you aware of features or places in and around Freshwater that were shared/used by residents in the past but no longer/or rarely are and if so, please describe them.

8. List what you would describe as "community" activities in Freshwater today (i.e., things that people in Freshwater do together)?

9. Are there community activities from the past that no longer occur? Do you miss them and why?

10. What things or characteristics of Freshwater are most important to you? Do you have any ideas about how these things can be maintained or preserved?

11. What concerns do you have about Freshwater today?

12. Do you think that newcomers settle in to Freshwater okay? How do you feel that you have been received in Freshwater if you were not originally from here? How important do you think it is that newcomers to Freshwater know about the local history and values of the community? What would you define as some important community values? Please explain your response

13. What do you think Freshwater will be like in 10 or 15 years? Will that be bad or good?

14. Please tell me a memory or story about Freshwater. This could be something that happened to you personally, something that was told to you, something from the recent or distant past.

Appendix B – Notes from Community Meeting in Freshwater, May 20, 2010

1. From a list generated by the key informant interviews about **those features or characteristics that are important about Freshwater to residents**, meeting participants were asked to: a) indicate if there were any additions or corrections and b) to each select what they felt were the top three things of importance (by placing three checkmarks beside their points that were listed on flipchart pages).

a) There were no additions to the list

b) Features/characteristics deemed most important:

Number of votes	Feature or Characteristic
0	Knowing people in the community
1	You can count on neighbours
1	People are friendly
2	No municipal control/community manages its own affairs
1	Access to spaces in the community
1	Access to special places in the community (beaches, the Head)
2	Church as a means of bringing people in community together
1	Church an important landmark
1	Views of the water
0	Attractive older homes
0	Lots of space (not over-developed)

2. From a list generated by the key informant interviews about concerns of Freshwater residents about the community, meeting participants were asked to: a) indicate if there were any additions or corrections and b) to each select what they felt were the top three things of importance (by placing three checkmarks beside their points that were listed on flipchart pages).

List of concerns from key informant interviews

- Declining population
- Less time to socialize
- Amalgamation with neighbouring community
- No way to control development
- Loss of community/social cohesion (know your neighbours)
- Seasonal residents not really part of the community
- Loss of community infrastructure
- Land ownership – can't get land to build on

Additions to list generated in meeting:

- Get more young people involved in community
- People not informed about what's going on
- The road is gone (i.e., in bad repair)
- Environmental concerns about future development and toxic run-off from Gadden's Mash which was caused by redirecting of water flow when new highway was constructed
- Don't want to make bad friends (i.e., by enforcing environmental regulations, etc.)

b) Issues of greatest concern

Number of votes	Issue
1	Declining population
0	Less time to socialize
1	Amalgamation with neighbouring community
1	No way to control development
1	Loss of community/social cohesion
2	Seasonal residents not really part of the community
2	Loss of community infrastructure
0	Land ownership – can't get land to build on
5	Get more young people involved
3	People not informed about what's going on
3	The state of the roads
5	Environmental concerns
0	Don't want to make bad friends

3. Participants were asked to brainstorm on what could be done to address some of the top issues/concerns of residents:

Maintaining the Church

- Attract young people
- Appeal to non-United (whole community)
- Seek heritage designation for the church
- Develop activities to draw people from other places
- Establish a website for fund-raising

Controlling Development

- Residents ensure that existing government regulations are enforced throughout community

- Establish a community watchdog (suggestion that Local Service District could fulfill this function)
- Follow up on complaints

Maintaining Access to Shared Spaces

- Inform people in the community about what has been a traditional Right of Way or public access
- Map those places in the community that traditionally provided public access – the Heritage Society could take this on – put up signs with names of these places – need to do this while the memory of such places still exists in the community
- Determine what government regulations exist (e.g., relating to water features)

Get Summer Residents Involved

- Provide an official welcome to new residents (appoint someone in community to do this)
- Keep them informed through such things as a website, newsletter or calendar of events
- Hold "meet and greet" dinners
- Develop an inventory of skills, talents, and interests of newcomers

An additional idea that was suggested, relating primarily to controlling development and dealing with environmental issues, was to create a community patrol based on the "River Rangers"