

BLACK DIAMOND BAY: A RURAL
COMMUNITY IN NEWFOUNDLAND

CENTRE FOR NEWFOUNDLAND STUDIES

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COMMUNITY IN NEWFOUNDLAND.

by

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ABSTRACT

Black Diamond Bay, a rural community in Newfoundland, was found to have undergone a number of very fundamental changes, primarily within a period of approximately twenty years. In the first place, there was a shift from a generalized, largely subsistence-oriented adaptation to a dependency upon wage labour. Accompanying this change in the organization of labour there has been a general easing of the traditional isolation of the community through an upgraded infrastructure, particularly paved roads, and through the introduction of readily accessible mass media, especially radio and television. One of the most apparent outcomes of these changes has been the emergence and development of a regional identity and a corresponding reduction in the importance of community identity.

Another important impact of the recent material changes which have affected the community has been the creation of what may be referred to as a "generation gap." This "gap" is acknowledged by residents of the community and is a frequent subject for their speculation. Upon closer examination, however, it was found that the "gap" seemed to actually represent the expression of traditional values

through a new idiom derived from the implements and symbols of mainstream North American culture.

The traditional values were found to form a complex centering upon the male peer groups which cross-cut ties created by the formal kinship system. The values themselves largely emphasized equality and personal worth and served to sanction behaviour which denied, or threatened to deny, the important cultural emphasis on egalitarianism.

It was further argued that egalitarianism, as a cultural ideal, seemed to operate in a dialectical manner with the tendency toward stratification inherent in the community's embeddedness in the wider society. It appeared to be a means by which a small, face-to-face community attempts to disrupt, or to render impotent, the divisiveness of stratification. It creates a local-level moral community and demands subscription to it.

Prognosis for the continued adaptation of the traditional value system is not good. The increasing tendency toward stratification and the decreasing importance of relationships on the community level seems to indicate movement toward a larger scale, differently organized, regional form of social organization.

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The completion of a work of this magnitude, particularly when it is one's first, bespeaks a debt of gratitude to numerous people who have over the years contributed to the direction the author has ultimately chosen to take. To all those persons, too numerous to mention individually by name, I offer my thanks.

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As a final note, though the completion of this thesis has been greatly assisted by those acknowledged herein, I alone must bear responsibility for any errors or misinterpretations that it may contain.

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Following Paris (1972), throughout the thesis single quotation marks will be used for words and phrases that are part of the local linguistic usage of the people of Black Diamond Bay. Double quotation marks will be reserved for emphasis, brief citations from the literature, and to designate conversation.

Additionally, pseudonyms utilizing colours designate a person residing in the community of Black Diamond Bay, whereas pseudonyms making use of common bird names will be used to designate persons who do not reside in Black Diamond Bay.

CHAPTER I

The Setting

The confederation debate in Newfoundland prior to the 1949 referendum was indeed a very bitter one (e.g., Chatwood 1974). The island dominion had been in existence for several hundred years prior to the referendum¹, and this long colonial history had instilled in its inhabitants a relatively intense sense of national identity, as well as strong feelings of pride in that identity². Thus, while a group of "confederates" coalesced around the proposed benefits that a political and economic union with Canada would bring to Newfoundland in its wake, another, and equally powerful group, the "anti-confederates," took strong opposition to the move, appealing primarily to national pride in claiming that it was both ludicrous and self-defeating for a people to give up their nationhood and their autonomy for a few paltry dollars from the "Canadian wolf." As a result, as the eve of the referendum drew near, the population of Newfoundland was split down the middle over the confederation issue³. Debate raged almost ceaselessly through the media and throughout the course

of everyday conversation.

Given the rather intense heat of the debate, it is, not at all surprising that the electorate of Newfoundland was very far from clear as to the desirability of becoming Canada's tenth province. The final outcome, in fact, necessitated two votes rather than simply one, and was even then in no way very decisive. The first referendum, held June 3, 1948, offered the voter three options: the continuation of a non-elected government in the form of a commission appointed by Great Britain; the reinstatement of political autonomy under an elected Responsible Government; or confederation with Canada. The official results were as follows: Commission of Government, 14.32%; Responsible Government, 44.55%; Canada, 41.13%. Since these results made only one point perfectly clear, that the majority of Newfoundlanders had had quite enough of government by appointment, a second referendum was held on July 22, 1948 to decide between the other two options. This time the official count listed Responsible Government at 47.66% and the remaining 52.34% in favour of confederation with Canada (figures from Chatwood 1974:9). Hence, the decision to become part of Canada was far from decisive, especially since the total number of voters supporting confederation

represented only about 43% of the total eligible electorate (Butt 1949:98), so the figures unambiguously proclaim a very large opposition to the move. Even after the final referendum a group based in St. John's calling itself the Responsible Government League was circulating a petition protesting both the outcome of the referendum and the means by which it was conducted (Butt 1949:96-97). A more recent contention (Paddock 1978:9) indicates that the true vote may have actually been the reverse of the official count; that the decision on Newfoundland's destiny had been decided upon beforehand by the political power holders of Great Britain and Canada, and that confederation with Canada was to become a reality regardless of the outcome of the referendum, hence, regardless of the wishes of the Newfoundland electorate. The belief that such had been the attitude of Great Britain toward Newfoundland had been widely accepted throughout the island in 1948 (The Nation, June 12, 1948:647-648).

Whether or not the small margin of the referendum was actually in favour of confederation or against it, and whether or not, as Butt (1949) charged, unfair pressure had been exerted to influence the final outcome, the fact remains that the margin was indeed exceedingly small, and

that the Confederation ceremonies of 1949 were met with mixed emotions. As many persons mourned the loss of nationhood as celebrated their new found Canadian citizenship. As Chatwood has written:

Solemn faces were seen on all sides, and window blinds were drawn, black arm-bands worn, and many wept. A few extreme cases became so distressed that they even committed suicide. In the pulpits, the clergy preached words of comfort and consolation, exhorting their flocks to accept with a good grace, the things which had come to pass and could not be changed, and to seek for the well-being of the Province those things in the present situation which were for the good of the greatest number (1974:9).

Surely both the mourners and the celebrants must have felt that the change in their political status, whether they thought it for the better or the worse, would also mean the commencement of many other far-reaching changes in their lives. To some extent it was the attitude that one held toward the desirability of some of these changes which led to differences of opinion.

Putting to one side all questions as to whether or not confederation with Canada has been a blessing or a curse to Newfoundland, an issue which is still not decidedly clear to many Newfoundlanders today⁴, an observer is forced to admit that there certainly have been many profound changes introduced to the island since that

fateful day in 1949. Whereas the American and Canadian bases of World War II in a sense "bridged the moat" (c.f. Cohen 1943:555) of traditional isolation through exposure to North American standards of living, confederation with Canada has drawn Newfoundland more and more into the mainstream of North American life. As a consequence, its longstanding traditional social and economic organization has rapidly been altered by the exigencies of the modern world.

In the next few chapters we shall take a closer look at some of the major socio-economic⁵ changes which have occurred in Newfoundland in recent years. The focus of our examination, however, will not be the wider Newfoundland society, but rather the social and economic organization of a single rural community. To protect the anonymity of the village and its residents who were so friendly and helpful to a novice anthropologist, I have chosen a pseudonym which occurs as a place name in Joseph Conrad's novel Victory (1975). Hence, throughout the present thesis, the focal community shall be referred to as Black Diamond Bay.

The community of Black Diamond Bay lies on the southernmost portion of Newfoundland's Avalon Peninsula, at approximately a two-hour drive by automobile from the

capital city, St. John's. It is located within the broad area in which the warm Gulf Stream meets with the cold Labrador Current. Hence, its traditional fishing economy has been throughout the course of its history continually beset by heavy fog and frequently rough seas, making it, comparatively speaking, an even more precarious means of gaining a livelihood than the admittedly hazardous inshore fishery was in general.

The community has been in existence as a distinctively named entity for a considerable period of time. It is, in fact, listed as far back as the first census of the Newfoundland Government in 1836 (Queen's Printer 1836). With documented certainty, then, the community has a time-depth of something more than 145 years.

It is almost certain, however, that the way of life upon which the community was essentially patterned has an even greater time-depth in so far as Black Diamond Bay seems to have had its genesis in the expansion of the already existing inshore fishery tradition throughout the southern Avalon Peninsula in the late 18th and early 19th centuries. The bulk of the population in the census years from 1836 onward (see Bibliography) are listed as Newfoundland-born.

Nemec (1972; 1973) and McCarthy (1971) have outlined

the general process by which this expansion occurred. The rapid growth of population over time, combined with the factor of continuing, though rapidly dwindling, in-migration, seem to have led to an ever increasing pressure on available resources around the few originally established communities in the area. In other words, population growth led to an oversupply of labour in relation to the resource, forcing some fishing crews to relocate themselves to a new area in order to pursue the inshore fishery at all, or else to at least maximize their chances of obtaining a sufficient catch to adequately meet their requirements. Alternative occupations were simply not available to draw off the surplus labour created by natural growth processes⁶, so expansion of fishing activities along unexploited sections of the coast line was the only viable solution to the situation short of emmigration to the United States or Canada⁷. As a result, fishermen fanned out from a few original villages until such a time as virtually all areas suitable to an economy based upon the inshore fishery were occupied, and the entire area was littered with an almost unbroken chain of small fishing villages. The process of expansion continued up until the 1850s when further expansion became virtually impossible and

the existing economy could no longer adequately support a growing population (Nemec 1975:21).

That just such a process was a major factor in the early settlement of Black Diamond Bay is supported by two pieces of ethnographic data. First, some of the surnames found in the community are also found in other, sometimes older communities, suggesting a possible historical linkage. Such an historical linkage is also to some extent recognized, though not considered of importance, in local cognition. I asked one of my informants if he were in some way related by kinship to the proprietor of a small business who had the same surname, but was located in another community some dozen or so miles 'up the line.' He responded that:

You can't really call us relations, though I guess we're umpteenth cousins or something. I believe all us Greens came from the one family up around there way back in the old days. But you might as well say we're all relations from Adam and Eve.

In short, the possibilities of an historical linkage are great, and are to some extent recognized by the people of Black Diamond Bay, though they are of little consequence to everyday life, so are ignored, or are simply unthought of. Generally, kinship ties beyond second cousin are of no more importance than ties of

co-residence within the area.

Secondly, many of my informants pointed out to me that:

We've always treated the fishing berths the same as we do the land. They're passed down from father to son, so there's never much trouble figuring who got what.

Assuming that in all likelihood this custom of inheritance existed well back into the past, we can easily understand the necessity of expansion while expansion was still viable. Since the number of berths in any given area were finite, population growth, particularly when comparatively rapid, would soon cause the relationship between men and berths to pass beyond the ecological carrying capacity of the inshore fishery in that area, an especially important point given that alternative sources of gaining a livelihood were virtually non-existent. At the same time, however, at least until almost the middle of the 19th century, there were still many other fishing grounds that were as yet unexploited. It was to these new grounds that the surplus fishermen were inclined to move⁸, creating many new settlements, such as Black Diamond Bay, in the process.

The importance of discussing this process of

expansion lies in that it indicates that communities such as Black Diamond Bay were founded by Newfoundland fishermen who brought with them a way of life which had arisen in the Newfoundland colonial context, which was already formed in its essentials, and which was simply transplanted to a new location. Thus, although these communities have in some sense a relatively short time-depth, they are nevertheless based upon a form of social organization that has a significantly greater time-depth. As early as 1794 British seaman Aaron Thomas was able to report having encountered many people in Newfoundland whose families had already been there for three generations (c.f. Murray 1968:137). The traditional social structure of the outports, then, generally represented a well-established way of life.

BLACK DIAMOND BAY

The community of Black Diamond Bay is one of the largest villages in the portion of the southern Avalon Peninsula in which it is located. In physical terms, the village lies in a long and narrow, snake-like fashion along the banks of a long pond. Though there



are several small 'lanes' to be found here and there. throughout the length of the community, the village is primarily a line village, laid out along the one paved road that passes through the length of it and which is essentially part of the highway that links together most of the villages in the region.

Behind the houses on the side of the 'road' opposite 'the pond,' a hill gradually rises to the height of a hundred feet or so where it then levels off into a barren ground which extends a further mile or so outward and then drops abruptly into the cold North Atlantic Ocean. The barrens, 'out behind' as it is referred to by the residents of Black Diamond Bay, are rich in various species of game birds and edible berries, both of which are utilized as a food source; and in some cases as a "cash crop," by the local inhabitants.

SEA AND FOG

At one end of the community lies the powerful and omnipresent North Atlantic Ocean, the major environmental feature of the area. The 'sea' as it is called, is usually quite rough here, continually throwing a heavy surf onto the rocky beach, and it is

not at all infrequent or unusual to hear the quiet of the night disturbed by the sound of its incessant smashing against 'the fote' (the beach). Also, when the wind is high and 'on the shore' ocean spray is sometimes carried a considerable distance inland. The general failure of the cabbage crop in Black Diamond Bay during the summer of 1977, for example, was almost universally attributed to that effect.

One of the most marked and characteristic climatic features of the Black Diamond Bay area is the almost continuous blanket of thick fog during the summer months. One soon becomes accustomed to the piercing, if distant, wail of the fog horn located above a dangerous, rocky cape a few miles from the village. Because of prevailing on-shore southerly and southwesterly winds in the summer, the fog would almost surely make at least a brief appearance for some part of the day.

In addition to being a highly visible environmental feature, the fog, as one might suspect, plays a role in the lives of the people of Black Diamond Bay. It is a climatic feature they have had to come to terms with. Women, for example, are forever complaining about how difficult it is to dry their laundry 'in the place' (meaning the community). Both men and women often discuss

the potentially harmful effects of a long period of daily fog in preventing sufficient sunlight from reaching their vegetable gardens during the short summer growing season. Also, around hay gathering time in August, there is often much speculation as to whether or not the fog will abate long enough to allow for the proper drying of the hay. Many people recall incidents from past summers where the onslaught of heavy fog caused some men's newly cut hay to be spoiled by mildew. Finally, high humidity and heavy fog present a general inconvenience in that they impede visibility and interfere with the conduct of a variety of outdoor chores, pose a threat to navigation and fishing, and simply 'gets on peoples' nerves.'

EXPRESSIVE USE OF PROMINENT ENVIRONMENTAL FEATURES

The fog, 'the pond,' and 'the sea,' all of which are quite prominent environmental features in and around Black Diamond Bay, play an equally prominent role in local conversation, and in local cognition in general. The fog, or the state of 'the sea,' or the direction of the wind as determined from the direction of the 'wind-lops,' or 'lops' (small waves) on 'the pond,' each play a relatively significant role in greeting

behavior (the same general observation has been made by Paris 1966:23-24). For example, a fairly typical short verbal exchange made by two men passing each other on the 'road' often proceeds as follows:

A - Fine day.

B - That it is. As long as the wind stays down the pond it may stay like this. (Wind down the pond is wind blowing toward the ocean and this ensures that fog will remain off-shore).

or:

A - Fog's some thick.

B - Yes, boy. I'm almost after forgetting what the other side looks like. (The term 'the other side' is always used to designate the side of 'the pond' opposite Black Diamond Bay. This sort of statement, though it is an exaggeration, is rather common as 'the other side' is indeed often obscured by thick fog).

In either of the above examples, the individuals may decide to continue their conversation by turning to more relevant topics, or else they may decide to leave things stand after their friendly exchange and go their separate ways. Such short verbal exchanges are an example of what is locally referred to as 'passing the time of day'.⁹

Since the major environmental features are very familiar to all the residents of Black Diamond Bay,

their most distinctive features are at times used to express analogous qualities in other, less familiar, things or situations. For example, 'the pond' is far larger than other ponds within the region and the people of Black Diamond Bay are very proud of it. Hence, the 'the pond' is often used to metaphorically express the mass of an object, especially when the object in question is larger than the typical example of its kind. Thus, a Russian factory-ship on the Grand Banks, where comparatively small draggers are by far the most common type of vessel, was described to me by one of my informants, a trawlerman, as being 'pond-size,' a very dramatic way of impressing upon me that it was much larger than the ships usually encountered on the Grand Banks. Similarly, where the most commonly encountered bottles of liquor are the 26 ounce variety, the larger 40 ounce bottle is often referred to as 'pond-size.' Such expressions were encountered on numerous occasions during my stay in the community.

The fog is likewise used to produce graphic, if somewhat exaggerated descriptions. All the people of Black Diamond Bay are well aware of the thickness of the fog, and many persons, particularly the 'characters' (people who hold a community-wide reputation for their wit,

humour, and pranks), are quick to pass humorous comment upon it. They say, for instance, that the fog around Black Diamond Bay is almost thick enough to stand upon, or that it is dangerous to throw things on a really foggy day because the fog is so thick that thrown objects might very well bounce back and injure the thrower. Metaphorically, then, the thickness of the fog may be used to express thickness, or density, in other contexts. For example, when describing a trouting expedition he had been on in Labrador, one man was recorded as claiming that: "The flies were thicker than Black Diamond Bay fog!"

THE PROVINCIAL PARK

At the end of the community opposite the sea, just before one enters Black Diamond Bay's officially designated boundary, there is a Provincial Park which, though constructed and manned by residents of a neighbouring community, is seen by the people of Black Diamond Bay as being essentially their own (though they neither expect nor desire exclusive use of it). The people of Black Diamond Bay, particularly the younger people, are very proud of the park and make considerable use of it

during the summer months, especially on Sunday afternoons. People 'mug up' (snack) there, swim and bathe in the small swimming hole, and the teenagers and young adults often camp out and hold parties there. In short, the Provincial Park is the scene of considerable outdoor social activity during the summer months.

Another important feature of the Provincial Park is that during the summer camping season it attracts tourists to the area, a phenomenon virtually unheard of in the past. Up until the early 1970s the stretch of road from the Trans-Canada Highway (which was itself incomplete until the mid-1960s) to Black Diamond Bay was unpaved and in very poor repair. In 1958 Financial Post reporter Rodney Touche described the Newfoundland section of the Trans-Canada Highway as "...not in good enough condition to be used for pleasure" (June 14, 1958:50), so the road to Black Diamond Bay, as a secondary road was even less desirable for pleasure excursions. The road was very narrow, filled with steep hills and a multitude of blind turns, and was generally a nuisance to all but those most familiar with it and not overly concerned with the wear and tear on their vehicles. The ruggedness of the drive, on both vehicle and passengers was more than sufficient in preventing

most tourists from exploring very far from the Trans-Canada Highway. As a result, Black Diamond Bay, until recently, has had very few visitors from the outside world.

However, with the road now upgraded and paved, and with the location of a Provincial camping park within the region, tourists now visit Black Diamond Bay from other parts of Newfoundland, from the Canadian mainland, and from the United States of America. The volume of the tourist trade is still not very great since the park is located at a considerable distance from the Trans-Canada Highway and is thus considered too remote by many campers, particularly those visiting the Province for the first time. Still, the number of visitors who do come to the area are sufficient to establish tourism as a part of summertime life. The result is that much less of a commotion is made by the presence of 'strangers' than there has been in the past.

I distinctly remember my first visit to Black Diamond Bay in the early 1950s when the presence of 'strangers' was still a very uncommon phenomenon. Men, women and children dropped in to visit the people with whom we were staying just to find out who we were, where we were from, why we came, how long we would be staying, what we thought


of 'the place,' and so forth. In short, the presence of 'strangers' was a phenomenon out of the ordinary which infected the entire community with curiosity. In contrast, during the summer of 1977, while I was conducting my fieldwork in the village, several American campers entered the public drinking establishment nearest the Provincial Park one night and spent an hour or so there drinking beer and talking. When they first entered the building there were a few questions asked about them around the table at which I was seated. Some satisfactory answers were provided by a man who had been talking with them earlier that afternoon. However, within a few minutes the tourists were forgotten as everyone at the table returned to their own activities. I observed that no one even noticed the 'strangers' leaving later in the evening. Clearly, 'strangers' were no longer the curiosity they were a decade or so before.

PUBLIC DRINKING ESTABLISHMENTS

At a little more than a mile from the Provincial Park, within the official boundaries of Black Diamond Bay itself, there is located a public tavern. It is the only such establishment within the community's actual

physical bounds, but there is another such establishment within the cognitive bounds of the village. The other 'club,' as the taverns as most frequently called, is actually located in a nearby community, but it is owned and operated by a young man from Black Diamond Bay. It is also frequented by many Black Diamond Bay men, so it is with some justification that the people of Black Diamond Bay are inclined to claim it as their own. All my informants, without exception, proudly commented that Black Diamond Bay now has two 'clubs.'

Prior to the middle 1970s the village had its own resident Roman Catholic priest who, being very conservative and tradition-oriented, held a virtually unchallenged position as the community's moral, and oftentimes secular leader. He believed, it would appear, that humans are by nature weak and given to vice and the pursuit of pleasure if not protected from their own base natures. As parish priest he was mediator between the corrupt world of humanity and the perfect kingdom of God, so it was his duty to protect his parishoners from their own worst instincts. To that end, he categorically refused to allow the establishment of a 'club' within the community. His highly respected position, much of which he had earned during his long tenure there, was sufficient



to sway public opinion and to influence the powers that be to such an extent that the procurement of a liquor licence for the community was effectively prevented.

As time passed, however, and age took its toll, the priest was eventually retired and replaced by a series of younger priests who were more liberal minded, having been trained during the period in which the Catholic Church was undergoing ritualistic and doctrinal change. One of these priests, of whom more will be said later, was approached by one of the local entrepreneurs who asked for backing in his application for a liquor licence from the Provincial Government. The male segment of the community was most definitely in favour of a move to establish a 'club' in the community because the vast majority of them were drinkers, and given the then existing situation, the nearest 'club' was located some ten or so miles away and this was rather inconvenient. However, the female opinion was by no means as clear, so the priest called a meeting of the community's women to discuss the move.

At the meeting it was admitted that whether or not the community had a public drinking establishment inside its boundaries, the men were going to drink. They were already visiting 'clubs' up the shore on a regular basis,

so it really made little difference to continue to prevent the establishment of a 'club' closer to home. Few people believed that such a move would in any sense cause men to drink more. In fact, it was pointed out that having a 'club' in Black Diamond Bay might even be a wise move because the men of the community would at least have less of a distance to drive home after having consumed alcohol.

Thus, the 'clubs' were finally established and they have by now become intricately interwoven into the fabric of Black Diamond Bay social life. This will be discussed in more detail later in this thesis, but for the present we will let it suffice to note that the 'clubs' are important to male social life in particular, and to the wider social life of the community and region in general. From Sunday to Friday the 'clubs' provide a place where males may congregate in an all male atmosphere, where they talk, joke, play pool, and enjoy one another's company. In one important sense, the 'clubs' provide a forum for the exchange of ideas and opinions on community, regional, and provincial events. They provide one with the opportunity of fairly quickly discovering the position of one's fellows on particular issues, and they allow for the

the rapid communication of news throughout the community. On Saturday nights, however, the 'clubs' change their function as a meeting place for males and become the scene for a much wider process of social interaction. It is on Saturday night that the 'clubs' hold their dances which are important community events.

THE CHURCH AND ITS SURROUNDING BUILDINGS

Progressing still further into the community of Black Diamond Bay we come upon a complex of buildings which form yet another important social landmark. Towards the centre of the village one finds the church and the buildings which are in one way or another associated with it. These are, namely, the church itself, the priest's house, and the Convent, all located on one side of the road, and the 'old school,' which now serves as a community hall, on the opposite side.

The people of Black Diamond Bay and virtually the entire surrounding area are all Roman Catholic. As has been the case in other areas of Newfoundland, the Church has traditionally played a very prominent role in the socioeconomic, sociopolitical, and intellectual

life of the community. As we shall later see, the Church's power is today greatly diminished from what it has been in the past¹⁰. Black Diamond Bay, in fact, no longer has its own resident priest, so clerical supervision and direct influence is no longer as close in the current context as it had been a mere decade ago. However, the church buildings still stand in fairly good repair (the nuns who teach at the 'new school' reside at the Convent throughout the school year) and their very prominence hints that the influence of religion is in no way entirely a feature of days gone by.

The old school building, which in the past served a dual function as a school and community hall, has in recent years been replaced by a more modern and better equipped building. The old building now functions exclusively as a community hall. Community meetings are held there, as well as bingo games, card parties, the annual Garden Party, and special celebrations (e.g., during the summer of 1977 a birthday celebration for a man who had reached his 90th year was held there). However, the position of the building in the social life of the community has been significantly altered in that several major community social events are no longer held there.

In the first place, 'weddings,' a term which refers most specifically to receptions, are today held in one or the other of Black Diamond Bay's two 'clubs.' This is a very significant alteration in these important social occasions. In the past, 'weddings' were, in an important sense, a responsibility of the entire community, and as a result, the expense involved for the bride's family was minimal. The school/community hall was at their disposal free of charge and virtually every woman in the community could be depended upon to contribute to the food and refreshments. A wedding today, in contrast, involves renting the facilities of one of the 'clubs' and paying for its catering service. Consequently, a 'wedding' is now clearly (in most cases) a responsibility of the bride's family and not of the community at large. It is today best considered a familial, rather than communal, event.

In the second place, the traditional 'times' of the community have been totally replaced (perhaps with the exception of the annual Garden Party) by the Saturday night dances at the local 'clubs.' In the past the community hall was the scene of important community events, called 'times' or 'sprees,' which were held periodically throughout the year in Black Diamond Bay,

as in most other rural communities in Newfoundland. These 'times' were important community social gatherings which provided music and dancing as a source of entertainment, they provided the individuals of the community with a means to meet socially on a regular basis with their friends and relations, they offered an enjoyable diversion from the rigours of subsistence and market production, they provided an outlet for pent-up energies and emotions, and, finally, they served as a ritualized expression of community solidarity. A 'time' was a social activity provided by the entire community for the benefit of the entire community.

In the contemporary situation, as I have already noted, 'times' have been replaced by the Saturday night dances which are held at the two local 'clubs.' Much more than a mere change of physical location is involved here, however, as there are several major distinctions which must be noted between the two events. These all point to the fact that the importance of the community as a close-knit social group has been greatly eroded in recent years.

Whereas the traditional 'times' were produced and directed by the community at large for their own participation and enjoyment, the Saturday night dances

today produced and directed by local entrepreneurs for their own financial gain and sold to other members of the community as a virtual commodity. Whereas the community stood as both the producer and consumer of its own entertainment, it now stands in the much more passive role of consumer of prepackaged entertainment. Similarly, the entertainment provided by the 'times' of old was produced by musicians residing within the community. Such events provided them with opportunities to display their skills and talents in public and to thereby compete for the favourable reputation awarded to a good entertainer. In contrast, the music provided at the Saturday night dances today rarely has local roots. Entertainers are hired from outside the community, often from as far away as St. John's, and they play for money, not simply for the esteem of their peers. Once again we see a movement from communalism to individualism; the community seems to have become less an organic whole and more a collection of individual actors pursuing their individual ends. It is this feature of modernization in particular which most of the older residents of Black Diamond Bay rue.

Furthermore, one of the very important, if not explicitly expressed, functions of the traditional

'times' was to gather the community together in concerted action and to thereby express the solidarity of the community as a concrete, effective social group. In stark contrast, the Saturday night dances simply cannot duplicate that feat because there are people who do not frequent either of the two 'clubs,' while those who do are divided between the two. In fact, rather than emphasizing community solidarity, the current Saturday night dances tend to emphasize divisions within the community, particularly the division which has arisen between the elder and younger 'races' (generations). Of this, much more will be said in a later chapter.

THE 'HANGOUT'

Progressing further into the community, past the church and its surrounding buildings, we come to what is locally referred to as either the 'pool hall' or the 'hangout.' Several years ago one of the men of the community who operated a neighbourhood 'shop' (small convenience store) sold it to a man 'from the outside' (not native to the community or immediate region). The new owner subsequently renovated the basement of the establishment and installed two small, coin-operated

pool tables, a juke box, and a small snack bar which sells soft drinks, chocolate bars, potato chips, matches and cigarettes. It quickly became, and still remains, a thriving business with the almost exclusive patronage of teenagers of both sexes and the young, unmarried males.

During the summer months the 'pool hall' operates in the afternoons, evenings, and nights, and, whatever the time of day, is usually filled with young people. Teenagers who are unemployed over the summer, who have no chores, or who have finished their work for the day, congregate there in the afternoons. If the weather is 'miserable,' they will likely spend the remainder of the afternoon there before returning to their homes for the evening meal. If the weather is fine, they will use the 'hangout' as a central meeting place before moving off in separate groups to partake of a variety of summertime activities.

In the early evening, for at least a few hours, the 'pool hall' becomes the almost exclusive domain of the young, unmarried males of Black Diamond Bay. Whether they work at the nearby fish plant, which is practically the only source of wage employment in the entire area, or whether they are in receipt of unemployment insurance

benefits, the pattern is the same. Very shortly after finishing the evening meal, at about thirty minutes or so before the place is expected to open, they begin to arrive, some in cars, many more on foot. It is really not possible to cite any definite opening time for the 'pool hall' since, like all the family operated businesses in Black Diamond Bay, it does not operate on the basis of any set time schedule. Rather, it opens and closes at the discretion of the owner. However, the young men are by no means shy in expressing their impatience with the proprietor of the 'pool hall.' They often jokingly shout comments up at the window of the owner's house in an attempt to have him open for business a little earlier, but the attempt seems to be primarily ritualistic and primarily for their own amusement.

Come on, Joe, boy. Take your tea down with you. We've got better things to do than stand out here.

Hear the money jingle, Joe? If you don't hurry up we'll all be going. You'll never retire this way, Joe.

You'll have lot's of time with the missus later on, Joe.

Most of the comments shouted now and then up at Joe's window are routine, but with an ongoing process of innovation, primarily on the part of the best known

'characters.' However, stylized haranguing of the proprietor always results in failure, so the young men must simply wait until he sees fit to open the place.

While gathered around outside the 'pool hall' the young men do more than simply harangue its owner. They stand around in small groups smoking cigarettes gossiping and joking about any interesting or amusing incidents which occurred that day at the fish plant, and shouting the occasional comment or joking insult at passersby. The comments, sometimes in the form of spontaneous verse or song, are usually satirical and are often directed at a person's idiosyncracies or lapses in socially appropriate behavior. The favourite targets of such verbal stabs are those who 'think they're something' (in some was pretentious). There is usually little recourse for them but to try and return the joke in kind, for to take offense at a joke is to declare oneself a 'poor sport.'

It is also at this point in time that the various 'crowds' (discussed in detail by Schwartz 1974) into which the young men are composed begin the relatively complex process of reaching a consensus about how they pass the remainder of the evening.

One of the most important and most strongly

emphasized ideals of manhood in Black Diamond Bay is that a man should be both independent and autonomous; his 'own boss,' so to speak. As several men in the village put it, "A man is beholdin' to no one but his ownself." He owes nothing because he discharges his obligations as soon as they arise, he provides fully for himself and his family (so welfare is seen as humiliating and demeaning), he makes his own decisions, and he is, in short, the master of his own fate. But despite the ideals, it remains a fact that the social world, by its very definition, is not constructed to allow for total social anarchism, each man independently choosing his own direction. Rather, each man functions socially in an egalitarian network of peers, so must adjust his behavior and activities to those of his 'race' and his 'crowd' (these terms are discussed in detail in Chapter IV), and to an unwritten, but morally binding, code of conduct. There is, then, an apparent contradiction between ideals and reality; the former requires behavior which is virtually impossible in terms of the latter. However, various mechanisms are widely utilized to avoid bringing the ideal and the real into open conflict, of allowing the ideals of independence and autonomy to peacefully co-exist with the necessity of

bending to the will of the group. Temporary and necessary deviations from the ideals are usually disguised or denied.

Many Black Diamond Bay men, especially the young bachelors, do not like to be told what to do. In most social situations men tend very strongly to resist the supposed authority of another. Thus, the various male 'crowds' in the community have no outright, acknowledged leaders. However, that is not to say that they are acephalous. Each 'crowd' has influential central figures who may indirectly, through skillful (often unconscious) manipulation, but never directly through order, regulate the 'crowd's' activity. 'Crowds' are conceived of as "of a single mind," their collective action emerging from the agreement of the independently arrived at decisions of the individuals involved and not really from a process of compromise. The underlying philosophy seems to be "Because we do the same things we are a crowd," and not "Because we are a crowd we do the same things." The difference is significant.

I have on many occasions observed the means by which a 'crowd' arrives at a consensus. It is an interesting process to watch, and one which requires skill if one is to participate at a reasonable level of

proficiency. The central, most influential members of individual 'crowds' were usually those persons who are able to skillfully maneuver within the rules of the "game" to ensure that the outcome always, or at least usually, matches their original intentions.

The rules are relatively simple. One should not suggest lines of action in a manner which would seem to compromise the independence of another, for such a suggestion would likely be rejected. At the same time, care should be taken not to suggest a line of action which would be ignored or outrightly rejected by the 'crowd,' for if the 'crowd' then decides upon another line of action, the person who made the original suggestion will have obviously rejected his own proposal and bended to the will of the 'crowd' if he decides to go along with them.

When the young men are gathered together outside the 'pool hall' their talking outlines their likes and dislikes in general terms such that by the time someone takes the initiative and proposes an activity for the 'crowd,' it is usually a reflection of the 'crowd' decision. No one seems to be simply going along with the group; rather, it seems that everyone has just happened to be interested in doing the same thing.

As I have already noted, when the owner of the 'pool hall' is finally ready the doors of the establishment are opened. The young men then gather inside, the first two to arrive taking command of a pool table each and then playing challengers decided upon before entering. The remainder of the young men place their quarters in a row along the rim of the table since the owner of the next quarter in line will play the winner of the preceding game. Those not immediately involved in play sit on the painted wooden benches which line the walls of the room to watch the play. All the while they joke with the players and comment upon the play, but their attention is particularly drawn to the play when one of the opponents is recognized for his skill. Considerable esteem is awarded to those men skillful enough to beat a number of opponents in succession, and thus command the table for the extent of their stay. The aim of the game in such circumstances is to 'sit him down.' If no one is able to do so, the undefeated victor finally quits the game by passing the cue stick to another man, saying in a boastful manner, "I'm tired of this now. You fellows play amongst yourselves."

After an hour or so of play, the young men begin to finish up and the various small 'crowds' leave and go

about their business. The building is soon passed back into the hands of the teenagers who had been standing along the sidelines, as it were, peripheral to the action and waiting for the young men to finish. The same general process is repeated each night with little variation from the described pattern.

NEIGHBOURHOODS

The community of Black Diamond Bay is itself composed of a number of fairly distinct territorial entities for which there is no indigenous generic name. For the sake of convenience, I shall refer to them as "neighbourhoods." Each of these neighbourhoods goes by a specific name derived from some concrete, physical feature which distinguishes it from all the others. There are, for example, 'the flats' (an aggregate of houses clustered together on an area of level or flat ground just a short way up from the beach), 'the hill,' 'over by the church,' and 'up along' (the section of the community 'up the road' and 'up the pond' from the church). Actually, 'up along' actually consists of several different clusters of houses, so is itself composed of several different neighbourhoods, 'up along'

being an all-inclusive name for them. Likewise, 'the flats,' 'the hill,' and 'over by the church' are often grouped together under the collective title 'down along.' The reader will note the obvious opposition that exists between the two areas.

It should perhaps be noted here, that since the community was too large for me to completely cover during a fairly short stint of fieldwork, most of my data has been derived from the area referred to as 'down along.' All indications were that the social and cultural situation of 'up along' was no different from that of 'down along.' The opposition seems to have been made primarily as a spatial division and was not due to the existence of social divisions.

In addition to the noted neighbourhoods, there is a neighbouring community, 'the cove,' which lies directly across 'the pond' from Black Diamond Bay. Although in formal political terms it forms a separate and distinct community, it is generally conceived of by local people as yet another neighbourhood of Black Diamond Bay. In contrast with other communities found in the general vicinity, the community across 'the pond' is very rarely referred to by its formal community name in the normal course of conversation. It is almost

always referred to as simply 'the other side.' Such a name is never given to other communities in the vicinity. In fact, it is interesting to note that even the people from that particular community most frequently refer to themselves as being from 'the other side.' Furthermore, they are generally identified, and tend to identify themselves, as residents of Black Diamond Bay.

Thus, when people refer to 'the place,' meaning the community, 'the other side' is always implicitly included with Black Diamond Bay proper. This is a quite logical inclusion given that 'the other side' was originally established by individuals and families who were primarily from Black Diamond Bay (Nemec, personal communication 1977). As a result, quite a few surnames are common to both communities, indicating kinship linkages, however close or distant they may be. Moreover, close interaction, including marriage, has considerably reinforced existing ties between the two settlements. It seems that the two communities are seen by their inhabitants as something essentially akin to two sides of a single coin. This conception is powerfully, if figuratively, expressed in a brief anecdote I collected during my stay in Black Diamond Bay.

An elderly priest who had been located for many years

in the community up until his retirement in the early 1970s was one day in need of a sharp saw, but found that his own had been badly dulled. Tommy Orange, a man who lived 'over on the other side,' had an excellent reputation throughout the community for his superior ability in sharpening axes, knives, scythes, and so forth, so the priest decided that he would have a good job done of it and engaged Tommy's assistance. Tommy told the priest he would have the job finished on the next day and proved true to his word. The priest picked up the sharpened saw at the arranged time and brought it back across 'the pond' to Black Diamond Bay with him. However, a short while later the priest returned to Tommy's house and complained, "You've done a marvelous job of sharpening the blade, Tommy, but I'm afraid you've sharpened it on the wrong side."

Tommy, who also had a reputation for being something of a 'character,' replied, "I'm very sorry, Father. I thought that you wanted me to sharpen it on this side. I guess I should have gone over to your side and sharpened it!"

Here, in humorous form, the relationship between two sides of a single object, on the one hand, and the

relationship between Black Diamond Bay and 'the cove,' on the other, are made equivalent. Many other similar examples were recorded during my stay in the community, all of which were said in jest. The examples obviously indicated that there is indeed a tendency for both the people of 'the cove' and Black Diamond Bay to see themselves as comprising a single community, regardless of the formal political distinction.

THE 'SHOPS'

Each of the neighbourhoods into which Black Diamond Bay is divided is serviced by a small 'shop,' most frequently a built on addition to the owner's home. The 'shops' are small, family-operated retail outlets where people may make purchases of incidental items such as milk, bread, and margarine, confections such as potato chips and chocolate bars, and small luxury items such as cigarettes.

The people of a particular neighbourhood usually deal with the 'shop' located in their own neighbourhood. The relationship, however, is by no means an all-exclusive one, but is rather a relationship of convenience. If one is in another neighbourhood, perhaps visiting a friend or

kinsmen, and in want of cigarettes, one simply goes to the 'shop' in that neighbourhood and purchases them. The people of Black Diamond Bay seem to hold no belief that one should be loyal to one's neighbourhood 'shop.' It thus seems that a distinction is made between the exchange relationship that is involved here and the personal relationship.

That the relationship between a shopkeeper and his customer in their respective roles as buyer and seller is kept separate from the personal relationship between the two is amply illustrated in an incident I personally observed during the course of my fieldwork in the community.

On a very warm summer afternoon one of my informants and I were visiting some kinsmen of his who resided in a neighbourhood different from his own. As the weather was quite balmy with not a trace of fog about, my friend suggested that it would be a fine opportunity to go 'out behind' on the barrens for some target practice to help him limber up for the approaching partridge season. He borrowed his cousin's shotgun, but as there were no shells about, it was necessary for us to purchase them along the way.

However, my friend and the shopkeeper down the road

from his cousin's house were 'not speaking' as a result of an incident which occurred some weeks prior that had left them in a relationship of enmity¹¹. The shopkeeper had done what virtually everyone in the entire community had felt was a grave injustice to my friend's brother, and hence, to his immediate family as well. If the two were to meet in public they would have been all but obliged to come to blows over the issue, so it was best for all concerned that they prevent such a distasteful outcome by simply avoiding each other.

This situation effectively prevented my friend from going into the 'shop' himself to purchase the shells, but the enmity between he and shopkeeper did not at all preclude his doing business with him if it could be accomplished indirectly. Without a second thought on the matter, he gave some money to one of his cousin's young sons to make the purchase in his stead. Although he and the shopkeeper were 'not speaking,' the exchange relationship was seen as somehow distinct from relating to the man in person.

BORROWING AND LENDING

Another interesting feature of the 'shops' in Black

Diamond Bay is that credit terms are very easily arranged between a shopkeeper and his customers, all of whom are very well known to him. If one sends a child to the 'shop' for a package of cigarettes, for instance, and one does not have the cash on hand to pay for them, one simply asks the shopkeeper to 'mark it down' and the transaction is made on a credit basis. When one later has the money, usually each payday, all such accounts are immediately cleared.

It should be pointed out at this time that in Black Diamond Bay all matters related to the lending and borrowing of money are not ordinarily a subject of outright discussion. This is true for both men and women, but it is even more particularly the case for men. Once again, this relates back to the important emphasis placed upon the ideals of independence and autonomy in defining manhood in Black Diamond Bay. A man, as a self-sufficient master of his own fate, really should not be forced to borrow.

Despite these ideals, however, we once more discover that actual social behavior tends to diverge, of necessity, from ideal norms. The borrowing of money (as well as the credit terms between shopkeeper and customer) is often necessary and is actually practiced

to a fairly large extent among friends within a close-knit 'crowd.' However, this divergence of actual behavior from the professed ideals is in a sense counteracted, or disguised, by a rigorous practice of secrecy and closed-mouthedness about borrowing and lending. Some ethnographic examples will serve to make the point clear.

One night while I was at one of the local 'clubs' with several Black Diamond Bay men, one of our 'crowd,' John Black, realizing it was soon his turn to buy a round of drinks, discovered that he had left his wallet, containing all his money, at home. He waited until I was the only person left sitting at the table and then quickly explained his predicament to me before the others returned, asking if he could borrow five dollars until he returned from work on the following evening. In true Black Diamond Bay style, I passed him the money under the table so that onlookers would not be aware of the transaction. The lending-borrowing relationship is deemed personal, so it should never be exposed before the public eye.

On another night Jim Brown, also a member of the same 'crowd' with which I was associated, entered one of the 'clubs' where we were gathered, waved his hello, but rather than join us, he stood alone at the bar,

chatting with the owner. I later stopped to 'pass the time of day' with him and in the process suggested he join us. He declined, explaining to me that since people were buying rounds of drinks and he could not afford to reciprocate, he would prefer to remain where he was. He did not want anyone to think of him as a 'bum.'

On yet another night, Wayne Green was hoping to borrow \$100 from the owner of the 'club,' a man who made it a practice to lend comparatively large sums of money, so that he could go shopping in St. John's on the following afternoon. He stood at the bar talking and exchanging jokes and gossip for a full two hours before he managed to get the owner of the place alone for a few minutes to borrow the money. He would not have considered borrowing the money under any other circumstances.

These examples serve to illustrate the general practice of borrowing and lending money as it occurs in Black Diamond Bay. It always occurs in a one-to-one situation as a personal interchange between two individuals and is kept as much as possible from the awareness of others. The two men involved in the exchange have very likely stood in exactly reversed positions vis-a-vis one another (i.e., the lender as

borrower and vice-versa), so there is no feeling between them that one party is in any sense dependent upon the other. To the parties involved the situation simply amounts to a case of friend assisting friend and nothing more. The transaction is kept from the eyes of others in so far as possible because of the possibility that others might interpret the situation differently. Borrowing money could possibly adversely reflect itself back upon a man's public image of independence.

The emphasis in such exchanges, and one might well include all other exchanges, whether of goods or services, is upon "balance" (Sahlins 1965, 1968, 84-85). As Chairamonte (1970) noted for Newfoundland's South Coast, most men keep a very careful internal ledger of all their debts and obligations, and usually repay their social and material debts at the first available opportunity. Most men like to say with pride and self-satisfaction: "I'm beholdin'/obliged to no one." At the same time, however, the emphasis on balance, despite its very important position, is to some extent disguised in public ideology. Most exchanges are treated as if they were actually "generalized exchanges," to again use Sahlin's typology. Most men give as if the thought of repayment simply never occurred to them, and

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in many cases, especially when the amount, object, or service is very small, would never consider directly asking for repayment, for repayment is the responsibility of the borrower. The temporary imbalance in a relationship through indebtedness is glossed over by de-emphasizing the fact that the borrower owes something to the lender.

This leads one to ask the question: what happens in the case that someone fails to repay a debt, either through forgetfulness or willful neglect? In the case of forgetfulness, my informants stated that they might hint at the debt as a subtle reminder of it, or that they would perhaps ask the borrower for of the same amount of money in hopes that he would then recall the debt and settle it. However, the failure to repay debts through forgetfulness rarely occurs because, though the men of Black Diamond Bay outwardly act very carefree with lending money, buying rounds of drinks at the 'clubs,' and so forth, they at the same time maintain a very careful assessment of the situation and where they stand vis-a-vis other men. Persons who show relatively consistent negligence by failing to repay debts, or by failing to return the generosity of others where drinks are concerned, are soon 'caught on to' (discovered) as

'cute' (sly or deceitful) and may very well earn the reputation 'bum.' I gathered from my informants comments that the term 'bum' holds meanings akin to "freeloader" or "parasite." It thus indicates a lack of independence and self-respect and the inability to stand upon one's own two feet, so it stands opposed to the qualities essential to manhood in Black Diamond Bay. It also indicates 'taking advantage,' a form of behavior that is considered morally reprehensible. The threat of gossip and the stigma of a bad reputation, then, serves as a very effective insurance that debts will be repaid, in most cases, within a reasonably acceptable period of time. Most men in Black Diamond Bay are concerned about maintaining their good 'names' amongst their fellows.

HOUSES AND OUTBUILDINGS

The houses of Black Diamond Bay tend to be clustered together in small groups, with a relatively greater distance between clusters than between the individual houses within a cluster. This settlement pattern results from a tendency in the past, as well as in the present, but to a lesser extent, for sons, and

occasionally daughters, to establish households in close proximity to their fathers and brothers, ideally within the same garden. This tendency towards patrilocality was a function of the utilization of agnatic ties in the traditional inshore fishery as discussed in detail by Nemec (1972). Today, however, with the decline of the traditional inshore fishery, there seems to be a small, but seemingly growing trend toward neolocal residence after marriage.

The houses themselves are primarily two-storey wooden structures, brightly painted, surrounded by a white-washed picket fence, and with a small vegetable garden in close proximity. Each has a front door leading into the hallway adjacent to the 'parlour,' and a back or side door which leads into a back porch directly adjacent the kitchen. The front door is very rarely used and quite often there are no steps leading up to it. The back or side door, simply called the 'back door' whether located at the back or the side of the house, is universally the main entrance.

Outside most of the older homes in Black Diamond Bay one still finds the old 'stores.' These are fairly large outbuildings which were essential to a household's very survival in the recent past. The 'stores,' as the

name implies, were necessary for the storage of meat and produce in the days when the community was all but self-sufficient in the production of items necessary for subsistence. Vegetables, fish meat, hay, and purchased items such as sugar, flour, tea, and molasses could not be procured on a day-to-day basis as they can today, so a household had to be sure to 'put up' large quantities of these products to ensure them a supply for the entire year. Failure to 'put up' sufficient supplies for the winter, when coastal navigation closed, would place a household, or possibly the entire community, in grave danger of starvation. Such a horrendous prospect faced the people of Twillingate, for instance, in the winter of 1894 following the collapse of the Newfoundland banks (The Daily News Dec. 24, 1894, 4).

The 'stores' are much less essential today when the community no longer approaches self-sufficiency, when purchases of food are made on a weekly, bi-weekly, or monthly basis, and when unemployment insurance and welfare payments stand as protection against utter destitution. Many of the 'stores' are now used to store only small quantities of food, their main function being as a storage place for old furniture, small boats, fishing gear, and so forth. Many of them have no current use at

all and have been entirely removed, or else have been allowed to fall into complete and utter ruin. These latter buildings, standing bare and grey with age, are a stark, lingering reminder of days gone by.

Very little of the traditional inshore fishery is now conducted by Black Diamond Bay men, so very few continue to maintain fishing rooms in a good state of repair. Those who do continue to fish do so from 'the cove,' a stretch of beach in a neighbouring community just a few miles away, and now have their fishing rooms located there. On the beach of Black Diamond Bay, just a matter of yards from the never ending crash of the surf, are scattered the ruins of old fishing rooms. Some still stand, grey with age and continuous deterioration from wind, rain, and sea salt, as recognizable, though deserted buildings. Of the majority of fishing rooms only the remnants of rotted posts rising a foot or so out of the sand and rock remain as a mute reminder of the times when the traditional inshore fishery and its accompanying social organization was a living, vibrant way of life - of the times when "cod was king."

Chapter II

Transformations

As has been the case with so many other rural villages along the vast expanse of the rugged Newfoundland coastline, the means by which the people of Black Diamond Bay gain their livelihood has been quite fundamentally altered in recent years, particularly since Newfoundland's entry into the Canadian Confederation in 1949. In assessing the data¹, one is drawn quite forcefully to the conclusion that there has been essentially a total transformation of the economic infrastructure.

CHANGING SOURCES OF LIVELIHOOD

Even a cursory examination of the census data shows very clearly that the mainstay of the Black Diamond Bay economy has been the inshore fishery, combined with the small-scale production of vegetable and animal products for household consumption, for by far the greatest portion of its relatively long history. From 1836 through to 1901 we find that the entire population of

the community were either directly involved in the inshore fishery, or else were directly dependent upon it for their subsistence. In fact, it is not until the Census of Newfoundland and Labrador, 1911 that we find this pattern beginning to change. At that time there is one person recorded as being employed by the government, and a total of eighteen (18) other persons listed as "otherwise employed." Indeed, the very use of a category with the cryptic title "otherwise employed" underlines the great importance of the inshore fishery at that point in time. The economy was at such a low degree of diversification² that a differentiation of categories other than that of fisherman was not at all necessary.

The importance of the Census of Newfoundland and Labrador, 1911 lies in that it marks the beginning of economic diversification in Black Diamond Bay, and correspondingly, the initial beginnings of a fundamental transformation of its economic organization. It must be very strongly emphasized, however, that the transformation proceeded at an exceedingly slow rate up until a scant few decades ago. Newfoundland's strategic position during World War II, and its subsequent confederation with Canada³ after the term-

ination of the war, were two major factors in accelerating the trend toward modernization of the economy and its concomitant economic diversification. Prior to the war the standard of living in Newfoundland had been only one half to one third that of the rest of English speaking North America (Cohen 1943:557), the incidence of beri-beri and tuberculosis was "appalling" (cf. Lord Ammon 1944:13), the cost of living was about 30% higher than in Canada (Houston 1943:279-280), and the gross per capita production of the Newfoundland fishermen was estimated at about a scant \$100 (Lodge 1938:480). British Commissioner Thomas Lodge described the situation in the following manner:

Certainly one-third, perhaps one-half of the population of the island are living under conditions for which it would be difficult to find a parallel outside the more squalid parts of the Balkans - underfed, ill-housed, scourged by tuberculosis and hopeless (1938:475).

For Newfoundland, World War II was a time of unequalled prosperity. Some 20,000 men were employed in the construction of military bases while the inshore fishery boomed as competition from the Scandinavian countries was eliminated by German occupation (Houston 1943:280). Furthermore, and perhaps more importantly, Newfoundlanders were exposed to the higher standards of living current

in Canada and the United States of America, and few had any desire to return to the hardships of the pre-war days.

In the Census of Newfoundland and Labrador, 1921 there were 125 persons listed as being directly involved in the catching and curing of fish in Black Diamond Bay. This figure is for a total 301 persons and represents roughly 42% of the entire population. However, 89 persons between the ages of 5 and 15 years were recorded in the census as attending school, so these may be subtracted from the total population to give a better idea of the total available population which would identify themselves as "fishermen." This comes to some 212 persons, of which the 125 persons engaged directly in the fishery represents some 58.5%. If we further subtract the number of "paupers" and the "crippled and disabled" the percentage rises to 62.5%. Finally, by accounting for the persons, both male and female, who were at that time too advanced in age to be participating directly in the fishery, or else were too young to either catch or cure fish or to attend school, we find that the degree of direct involvement in the fishery must have amounted to at least 80% of the available workforce. There can be no doubt, then, that at that time the trad-

ditional inshore fishery was indeed a very important component of the local economy.

Again, much the same conclusion may be drawn from an analysis of the data presented in the Census of Newfoundland and Labrador, 1935. At that time, however, no record was given as to the number of persons directly involved in the catching and curing of fish, so we must manipulate the figures which are provided in order to arrive at a reasonable estimate. At that time the total population of the community amounted to 384 persons, 266 of whom were older than 10 years of age. At the same time, there were 80 persons between the ages of 5 and 15 years who were attending school. Assuming that there were approximately equal numbers attending school in the 5-10 years and the 10-15 years age groups, the number of persons attending school in the 10-15 years category was about 40. These may be subtracted from the 266 to yield a total of 226 persons older than 15 years of age and not classified as school children. Subtracting from this figure the 6 persons listed as being either mentally or physically disabled, we are left with a total of 220 persons.

Now the data for 1935 lists a total of 34 dories and 20 motor boats in Black Diamond Bay. It is admittedly

Very difficult to estimate the number of persons directly employed in the inshore fishery from such scanty data, but we can nevertheless see very clearly that the figure must have still been quite large in relation to the total available workforce. If we estimate three fishermen for each of the motor boats and, in the 'shore crew,' one woman for each of the fishermen, then we have an estimated 120 persons involved directly in the catching and curing of fish. This figure represents about 55% of the 220 persons over 15 years of age and not classified as school children. Actual participation in the inshore fishery, then, must have been far greater than 55% since the figure makes no use of the information that there were 34 dories in Black Diamond Bay in 1935, and it does not account for those persons too advanced in age to pursue the fishery themselves. Thus, even a very cautious estimate would indicate that at the least some three-fourths, or likely more, of the workforce were at that time directly engaged in the inshore fishery.

The continuing importance of the inshore fishery during this particular period is attested to by the accounts of my informants who were themselves engaged in fishing at the time. The fishery in the immediate

vicinity of Black Diamond Bay was very rugged and arduous, particularly since the constantly rolling surf made the landing of catches difficult, but it was nevertheless quite productive. "Everyone was fishin' then," one of my informants claimed. People were even taking on sharemen from outside 'the place.'

The data presented in the Census of Newfoundland and Labrador, 1945 for the final year of World War II are also difficult to interpret. At that time, 20 dories and 25 motor boats were listed for the community of Black Diamond Bay, whose population had by that time risen to 422 persons. Thus, in a period of 10 years the population had risen by roughly 10%, while in the same period the total number of boats had declined by approximately 17%. However, the number of traps and nets in use in Black Diamond Bay had risen by about 19%, from a total of 31 in 1935 to 37 in 1945, and the total number of motor boats had increased by 25%.

As I have previously noted, the war years and the period immediately after World War II was a time in which wage-labour, for example, at the nearby American Armed Forces Base in Argentina, was more readily available than it had ever been in the past. Approximately 20,000 jobs were supplied at the peak of construction

(e.g., Houston 1943:280), while even into the 1950s the servicing of the bases could be considered Newfoundland's fourth largest industry (Time Magazine 60:45, November 17, 1952; New York Times, October 23, 1955:12). As late as 1958 the bases still provided employment for some 4,000 Newfoundlanders. However, as the census of 1945 indicates, the availability of wage-labour seems not to have significantly altered Black Diamond Bay's participation in the inshore fishery to any great extent. Many men from Black Diamond Bay, of course, took advantage of the opportunity to earn a cash income during the winter months at the Argentina base. Most returned to the summer fishery, at least initially, until a complete move to wage-labour became feasible. For many men, wage-labour seemed a much more attractive option than the rugged life of a fisherman. One man who had turned twenty during the early years of the war put it this way:-

Fishin' was no life, my son. My poor old father, rest his soul, spent his whole life at it and never had anything to show for it. We were better off than a lot of poor people, I suppose, because we always had plenty to eat and a good roof over our heads, but we all had to work from dawn to dusk for that much. And you should have seen his hands. They were so rough, boy, he could have sanded down a board with them.

Like many other men in Black Diamond Bay, this man remained involved in the inshore fishery until the opportunity of migratory wage-labour, supplemented by income from unemployment insurance, finally presented itself.

In the nine years that passed between 1945 and 1954 we find the most drastic alteration in the economic organization of Black Diamond Bay in its history. In 1954 (Head 1963) we find that a scant seven men from the community were involved in the full-time pursuit of the inshore fishery out of a total population of about 483 persons (Dominion Bureau of Statistics 1963). There were no figures available as to the breakdown of the population into age groups or other relevant categories, so it would be folly to attempt an approximation of the available workforce at that time. However, in comparison with the figures already presented, we see that the number of persons directly involved in the inshore fishery had been quite dramatically decreased, while the available workforce had likely increased at a normal rate⁴. Where participation in the inshore fishery had traditionally maintained a level of 80% or more, it had by 1954 decreased to a level of participation that was very

likely less than 20%. It is clear that at that point in history, the inshore fishery was no longer the mainstay of the local economy.

By 1961 the number of full-time fishermen had once again risen to a total of 41 (Head 1963), for a population which had by that time reached a total of 599 persons (Dominion Bureau of Statistics 1963). This does not represent a trend back to the dominance of the inshore fishery in the local economy, although participation did indeed increase significantly (a six-fold increase in seven years). Rather, the great resurgence of fishing activity was primarily a part of a temporary province-wide response to soaring unemployment in the late 1950s and into the 1960s (Wadel 1973:10-11). For many men, the fishery was no longer seen as the focal point of their yearly round, but rather as a source of livelihood which one could fall back upon when wage-labour was not available.

Finally, during the summer of 1977, the period in which I completed my fieldwork in Black Diamond Bay, only one crew from the community, a father and two married sons, continued to pursue the inshore fishery on a full-time basis. Of course, there was some speculation that the number of persons involved in the

fishery might very well rise during the next few years, especially since the fishery had turned out to be particularly profitable that summer. However, as one of the elderly men of the community put it,

It's a lot easier to say you're goin' fishin' than it is to go and get the gear and crew together now-a-days. The fishery had its day from what I can see of it.

Even if the fishery were to again increase in importance, which seems likely to be the case, its character will certainly be very different. Many persons pointed out to me that it is becoming increasingly difficult to put together a crew in the manner in which it had traditionally been done, namely, along agnatic lines (described in detail by Nemec 1972). Today a man interested in the fishery often finds that many of his close male kin, the category most logical (by local standards) to choose a crew from, have either moved away from the community, are simply not interested in fishing, or are already involved in some other type of employment, the security of which they may be unwilling to surrender in favour of gambling (in both physical and economic terms) on the fisheries.

In summary, the data thus far presented show very clearly that the economic organization of the village of

Black Diamond Bay has been quite fundamentally altered during the past few decades. From its genesis in production focused upon the inshore fishery, and with its long history of fishing as both a means of gaining a livelihood and as a way of life, the community has now entered a new era where the inshore fishery is but one element in a more differentiated economic base. If a regeneration of the inshore fishery is in store for the future, it will clearly be a new style of fishery, and with it a new style of life. The death knell has already been tolled on the traditional form of organization.

CASUAL AND "SPORT" FISHING

Although Black Diamond Bay's direct participation in the traditional inshore fishery has in recent years decreased to a point of comparative insignificance, fishing still plays a role, albeit a very minor one, in the local economic organization. We are here referring to the exploitation of the fishery resource, not for the market, but purely for consumption within the household unit, or the extended family.

Several men from the community, who indeed form a

very small minority, continue to maintain in a good state of repair at least a minimum of fishing gear which they put to use from time to time to obtain fresh fish for the table, and perhaps a small store for the winter months. In the evening, or on a Saturday when the weather is favourable, these men sometimes go out for a few hours jigging with their sons, a few of their male kinsmen, or a few of their friends. There are other men who maintain short trawls which they check for fish and re-bait each morning and again just before, or just after, the evening meal. In either case, the catch is generally quite small, but they enjoy the activity, despite the fact that some other people may be inclined to interpret it as an indication of poverty (a similar observation has been made regarding gardening and animal husbandry by Philbrook 1966:50), and it supplies them with fresh fish. Some of the men who maintain trawls acquire a supply of fish sufficient to last them through the entire winter, or a major portion thereof. One of the men engaged in such casual fishing informed me that the supply of cheap fish amassed in the previous season had been sufficient to allow his family two or three meals of fish per week all through the winter and into the next season. He noted with pride that this had been a

significant contribution to the family income, and he claimed that it had virtually paid for a deep freeze unit they had bought.

However, the number of men who continue to fish on a casual or supplementary basis is really very small, so the activity does not encompass a significant portion of the total population of the village. Of the men who do not participate in the activity, some claim that they simply do not have the time to become involved in casual fishing, while others claim that the time and hard labour involved is much too great to be offset by the benefits, unless, of course, one is driven to it by necessity.

Other fishing activities which contribute to the household economy, but which are primarily a "sporting" or leisure activity, are 'trouting' and 'catching salmon.' Both trout and salmon are considered 'delicacies', both being very highly rated as 'tasty' food. However, from my own observations and from the statements of many people in the community, I learned that 'trouting' and 'catching salmon' are no longer practiced to nearly the same extent to which they have been in the recent past. One of the major functions of these fishing activities in the past was that they provided men with

an opportunity to socialize with their friends in an all male atmosphere both before and after the fishing season. Whereas the inshore fishery was an activity undertaken by agnates (at least ideally) who were often of different 'races' (generations or age levels), 'trouting' and 'catching salmon' were activities pursued by age-mates who usually had little time to socialize together during the arduous fishing season.

However, most men today seem to prefer newer and less strenuous activities, such as simply remaining at home in front of the television set, or else going to one of the local 'clubs' for some beer and conversation. As indicated in the preceding chapter, the 'clubs,' in some respects reminiscent of "men's houses," have managed to supersede most other male social events in prominence. They have become perhaps the most important arena for male-male social interaction.

HUNTING AND GATHERING

The role played by hunting and gathering in the local economy of Black Diamond Bay is also greatly reduced from the role it seems to have played in the past. For many households its significance is quite

negligible, or else simply not a factor at all, while for some other households wild game foodstuffs continue to play a relatively important role as a supplement to the family income. However, the latter type of household is now far more the exception than the general rule, as today a greater proportion of the population has neither the time nor the inclination to take part in such activities.

The most productive way of discussing hunting and gathering activities and their reduced significance is to separately examine their major subcategories. These are: a) big game animals, b) small game animals, c) edible berries, and d) wood cutting.

a) Big game animals. According to most people in and around Black Diamond Bay, moose and caribou have always (although moose was not introduced to Newfoundland until 1908) been plentiful throughout the area. During my sojourn in the community there was a herd of caribou, estimated as numbering some 2,000 animals (but by now much larger), located in an area of the barrens a scant several miles from the community. The herd was a central topic of conversation throughout the area, and virtually everyone remarked upon its size, claiming that it was at least as big, or bigger, than any herd they had ever encountered in the region.

As for the incidence of moose, the reports tended to be conflicting. Some claim that they are not nearly as plentiful as in the past, while others argue that there is really no difference in the numbers of moose in the area now as compared to, say, twenty or thirty years ago. Despite the difference of opinion, however, the few men who continue to spend considerable time in the wilderness, and who were therefore more reliable, were all in agreement that moose were by no means scarce, and are perhaps even more plentiful than they have ever been. The sightings of moose, or of 'moose droppings' (feces), were reported to be very common, particularly in the 'Fall of the year.'

Despite the plentitude of these large game animals, there was a general consensus that the availability of the meat of these animals is now greatly reduced from what it had been in the not too distant past. This seems to be the result, essentially, of two interacting factors, namely, 1) the existence of increasingly stricter hunting regulations, and 2) the existence, in close proximity to the village, of a watchful enforcement body.

In order to legally bag a moose or caribou one must have a proper licence. Since these are distributed

throughout the Province in very limited numbers on the basis of a lottery, only a very small number are available to the men of Black Diamond Bay. Furthermore, to prevent, or to at least minimize the incidence of poaching, there are a number of game wardens who patrol the area, as well as an R.C.M.P. detachment located in a neighbouring community. Hence, the probability of one being caught poaching is rather high. Because the penalties involved in such cases may be very severe, even for a first offender, the presence of enforcing bodies in the immediate area acts as a sufficient deterrent to many would-be poachers.

That is by no means to say that poaching is not practiced in the area. On the contrary, poaching still occurs, but its extent is severely curtailed by the imposition and enforcement of legal sanctions. A man who has no hunting licence realizes perfectly well that there are game wardens and 'buckies' (R.C.M.P.) in the area who would quickly confiscate his rifle and bring him before court where he would likely receive a large fine were he to overstep the game regulations, so most men have very little inclination to accept the risk and illegally hunt game. But at the same time there are a

very small number of men who are willing to take the risks involved and who, in a sense, look upon the situation as something of a challenge, a fairly exciting game of "cat and mouse" with the authorities. Few persons hold such a point of view and already some have been caught and heavily fined, thereby adding weight to the deterrent by becoming well-known local examples.

Generally speaking, the scattered examples of the poaching of big game animals which I recorded seem to be based primarily upon circumstance rather than upon premeditation. A detailed example should be sufficient to outline the point I wish to make here.

After work one evening during the Fall of 1976, John Blue, a Black Diamond Bay man of about thirty years of age, had taken a young nephew of his into the barrens to do some 'trouting.' They walked to a pond lying about a mile and a half from the 'road,' where after a short time they spotted a large bull moose feeding on a point of higher ground at the opposite end of the pond. A short while later John feigned an upset stomach and told his nephew they would have to postpone their 'trouting' until another day.

Having deposited his nephew safely at home, John

immediately went to the home of his first cousin (FaBr30) and told him of the sighting of the moose on the barrens. Without even waiting to eat, they grabbed their rifles and quickly proceeded to the spot where the sighting had earlier been made. Just before nightfall they found and dispatched the animal.

Both men returned home, ate a quick meal, and then returned to the site of the kill with their fathers and one of John's younger brothers. Being careful to avoid detection, they moved the carcass from the barrens and relocated it to the 'store' shared by John and his father. The remainder of the night was spent in sawing up the meat, and on the next night it was divided up amongst the households that had taken part in the adventure.

The preceding example is generally very typical of most of the poaching stories I recorded in Black Diamond Bay. It is very rare that men will set out deliberately on an illegal hunting expedition for the risks involved are too great. For instance, long before the previous story had been recorded, an older man was telling me about the caribou herd in the region and said:

They (the herd) were all down by the side of the road today, just about two or three gunshots away. It'd be some tempting to go over there with a good .303 and knock one down, but the wardens are watching them like they was gold. And I tell you, my son, you'd be better put shooting me than one of them animals. You'd be out of jail a lot quicker for shooting a Christian.

Yet despite this and similar remarks upon the folly of poaching, incidents of the illegal taking of big game animals still occur, sometimes even by the very persons who speak out against it on other occasions. This seems to be due to the operation of yet another "principle," that of exploiting one's opportunities.

Moose and caribou meat are both very highly valued as food, and are both much harder to obtain today than they have been in the past. Furthermore, a relatively large quantity of meat obtained 'at the price of a shell' is a very significant addition to the household income. With these factors in mind, many men from the community would consider it indeed very foolhardy to pass up the opportunity of taking game illegally when it is easily at hand, and when the chances of being caught are minimal. As one man said:

Here we are paying a bloody fortune for meat when there's all kinds of it out bouncing around on the bog.

Lest I give the impression that most men take part

in poaching, and perhaps even "make" their own mitigating circumstances in which they would feel embarrassed by passing up the opportunity of taking a large supply of free meat, I should make a very important qualifying remark. In point of fact, the number of men who continue to go out on the barrens during the hunting season has been significantly reduced in recent years. The stringent game rules and their active enforcement offer a partial explanation, but much more seems to be involved. Once again, it seems that many men prefer to forego the activity in favour of newer, less strenuous ones.

b) Small game animals. Rabbits and various species of game birds still abound in the Black Diamond Bay region, but despite that fact, many men, both young and old alike, no longer show any real interest in hunting and trapping these creatures. In the past virtually all able bodied men of the community took part in the yearly hunt for birds, and in the snaring of rabbits. Today, in contrast, there is but a 'small crowd' who continue to spend any appreciable amount of time involved in such activities.

From conversing with people in the community I gathered that hunting and setting 'slips' (rabbit

snares) had been important male activities in former years. This is supported by the observation that men still take great pleasure in the opportunity to relate stories of strange or outstanding incidents that happened to them, or to someone they were accompanying, during such an activity. For example, one man was said to have come extremely close to cornering a weasel while checking his rabbit 'slips' shortly after dark one year.

In the first place, the hunting and trapping of small game was of considerable economic importance in that it provided the households of the community with a major supply of fresh meat. Given that few such items were available for purchase since few consumer goods were carried by the merchants (Wadel 1969:20), such forms of subsistence production were absolutely essential to survival.

In the second place, hunting and trapping also had important prestige components. For example, a man who was particularly adept with a shotgun, or at choosing good locations for setting his snares, was recognized for his superior ability and was rewarded for it by gaining a favourable manly reputation throughout the community. Even the stories, such as the weasel *

incident cited previously, all contribute to an image of masculinity, so add to the reputation of those able to tell the stories well and those of whom the stories are about.

In the contemporary situation, however, the role of hunting and trapping small game animals, like many other traditional pursuits, has been significantly altered. The men who continue to avidly pursue these activities still enjoy them and they are quick to comment upon the feelings of rejuvenation and peace one attains after spending a full day, or even an evening, walking around for miles upon miles on the desolate barrens. They claim that it is soothing, manly in an almost mystical sense, and that even the blisters, exhaustion, and leg cramps one sometimes endures, particularly during the initial part of the season, are well worth it.

At the same time, there are many more men who prefer to stay at home rather than tramp the barrens, gun in hand. To them the activity is nothing more than strenuous work, so they would sooner excuse themselves from it and involve themselves in some other activity in its stead. This is perhaps more especially the case, but by no means exclusively so, for the younger men, whose likes and dislikes often do not correspond with

those of their elders. In reflecting upon that point, one of the men of the community who was known as a good woodsman was drawn to remark:

Most of the young fellows in the place these days are not worth their salt. If you put most of 'em out on the mash (marshes and barrens) and spinned 'em around a few times, they wouldn't know which way home was. And even if they did spot a few partridge (partridge or willow ptarmigan), there's some wouldn't know which end the shot comes out of. All they want to do is drink beer and drive back and forth the highroad making a bloody nuisance of themselves. That's all they're any good for.

Although biased and exaggerated, the statement is correct in a number of respects. There were indeed several young men in their mid-twenties that I met who had never before fired a shotgun, and another who was a little fearful of trying. Many of the young people of the community, unlike their elders, have grown up with North American radio and television, taking them for granted, so have been more greatly exposed to the urban, middle class lifestyles depicted. For many of them hunting and trapping do not appear particularly relevant, or at least not as relevant as fast cars and popular music.

We once again encounter what becomes a general trend throughout the data. Values of the past are somewhat distinct from those of the present, and a

rift seems to have developed between the young and the old - what many (e.g., Colman 1966:10) have referred to as a "generation gap." We will begin to clarify this and place it in its proper perspective in the next chapter.

c) Edible berries. In days gone by, when Black Diamond Bay was generally isolated from the rest of the world, and when a major portion of local production was towards supplying households with all but those items which could not be produced in the community, edible berries were virtually the only source of fresh fruit. When the various species of berries ripened in the late summer or early fall, the members of the various households in the community would usually make a day's outing of the berry picking activity. Into the barrens they tramped with numerous containers for transportation of the crop, as well as food and the necessary accessories for 'boiling up' (cooking a meal outdoors)⁵. At the end of the day the members of the household returned home with their berries, which were later cleaned and 'put up' (made into preserves) by the women. Throughout the remainder of the year the supply of preserved berries would be utilized in jams, pies, and various other desserts, such as the traditional blueberry duff.

During my stay in the community there seemed to be little readily recognizable alteration in the traditional activity of berry picking. Most people rated berries very highly in both nutritional and gastronomical terms, so many households still tend to look forward to the berry picking outing. However, I did note that many of the young males; particularly those who were unmarried, were much more inclined to the eating of berries than to the act of picking them. Most of the young men did not bother to accompany the rest of the household into the barrens to pick berries, though they were later very interested in the size of the crop. This behavior appears to be at odds with that of the past, when berry picking involved all persons in the community who were physically capable of the activity.

d) Wood cutting. Another activity which was economically very important up until a few decades ago, but which is now all but entirely part of the past, was the cutting of wood for fuel and building materials. Today in Black Diamond Bay, though many homes are still without central heating, fuel oil has entirely replaced wood as a source of fuel. In addition, lumber companies now provide a ready supply of building material,

so there is no longer any necessity of wood cutting. To the men of the community this has been a blessing since cutting and drawing wood was very hard work, undertaken only because there was really no alternative.

Though men described wood cutting and hauling as very strenuous, labourious, and distasteful tasks, they were not entirely without a bright point, regardless how slight in light of the work entailed. Timber stands near the community were almost entirely decimated a very long time ago, so within the memories of most men, the cutting of a supply of wood for winter required a stay of several days' duration 'up in the country.' The task was cooperative, so this meant that a number of men were given an opportunity to socialize together at nights away from the watchful eyes of their womenfolk. Hence, their behavior 'up in the country' was licenced. Ribald songs were sung and stories told, local people not present were sometimes ridiculed and 'made fun of,' and after a hard day's work, 'home brew' (home made beer) and moonshine were often consumed. For many men it was these activities and not the long hours of drudgery which came most easily to mind. The yearly wood cutting activity at least provided a great store of amusing and exciting incidents to be told and retold for years after.

The eclipse of wood cutting has also meant the eclipse of an important seasonal gathering of males. However, none of the men of the community could be said to really miss the activity. One can still take advantage of the licence afforded by a trip 'up in the country,' but now under much more pleasant conditions since such expeditions are currently little more than pleasure excursions.

CULTIVATION

As I have already emphasized, just a few decades ago the goal of the household economies in Black Diamond Bay was to maximize self-sufficiency. Each household endeavoured to produce whatever it could, and bartered fish with the merchant to procure the necessities it could not produce itself. The production of vegetable foods was a very important component of the yearly round.

The extent to which cultivation was practiced in Black Diamond Bay is illustrated by the data supplied in the Census of Newfoundland and Labrador, 1945. In that year the production of vegetable foods included 1,794 bushels of potatoes, 332 bushels of turnips,

56 bushels of beets, 105 bushels of carrots, 9 bushels of oats, and 96,900 pounds of cabbage, all for a total population of only 422 persons. In 1945, then, Black Diamond Bay was clearly producing at least the bulk of its vegetable requirements.

In Black Diamond Bay today, the small scale cultivation of vegetables for household consumption still plays a relatively important role in the local economic organization, but not nearly to the same extent that it did even fifteen or twenty years ago. There are no detailed figures available on local production, so my conclusions are based exclusively upon observation and the statements of my informants.

Most homes in Black Diamond Bay have gardens immediately adjacent to them in which people grow a variety of vegetables (primarily potatoes, cabbage, carrots, and turnip), all of which serve as a relatively important supplement to the income of the household. Some of the younger married couples who consider themselves to be more "modern" do not bother with cultivation, but rather depend entirely upon their wages and the purchase of food. However, such couples are still very rare. The vast majority of households continue to meet at least part of their

consumptive requirements through small scale cultivation.

There is an ideological correlate to the cultivation of vegetable foods which both rationalizes it and propagates its continued existence as an economic factor in village life. One of the most important benefits derived from cultivating one's own vegetable garden, besides the obvious economic benefit, most people claim, is that 'grown vegetables' (those cultivated at home or in the general vicinity) are vastly superior in both taste and nutrition to 'bought vegetables' (those grown away from home, for instance, in Prince Edward Island, and sold in the area). Hence, in Black Diamond Bay there is little stigma attached to small scale cultivation as there seems to be in some other rural Newfoundland communities (cf. Philbrook 1966:50). In the majority of cases cultivation is more a sign of good taste than a sign of poverty.

Most of the people of Black Diamond Bay greatly prefer to have their own 'grown vegetables' accompany a meal. In fact, it is not at all uncommon that a relatively small quantity of vegetables are sometimes picked weeks before they are quite ready to be harvested and are included along with 'bought vegetables' in a meal. It is widely accepted that this greatly

enhances the overall flavour of the meal. Everyone participating in such a meal, especially guests, are expected to comment upon the superior taste of the home-grown product.

In a similar manner, the supply of vegetables cultivated by the household is in many cases "stretched" so that the supply will last for a longer time. Many people intermingle 'grown' and 'bought' vegetables, or alternate meals between 'grown vegetables' and 'bought vegetables.'

Hay is a commodity that most households also continue to produce, especially since little time and energy are required in the initial stages of its production, though it may very well prove quite bothersome at harvest time. Some households still maintain a few sheep which are kept on the barrens to feed during the summer months. In the winter they are relocated to outbuildings 'out behind,' and are fed with the hay gathered during the harvest at the end of the summer. However, even many of the households who no longer maintain sheep still produce hay. This is usually done either for the purpose of sale to someone who does keep animals or as part of a coop-

erative process between households linked by some type of kinship tie (often between father-son, or brother-brother, but sometimes also between brothers-in-law). For example, a man who no longer kept animals nevertheless grew hay upon a small parcel of land behind his house which he was otherwise not using. He informed me that after the hay was cut and dried it would be given to his cousin (FaFaBrSo) who owned a dozen or so sheep and could use the fodder. In exchange, it was recognized that whenever a sheep was slaughtered he would be given some of the meat in return for his favour.

The number of animals now kept by households in Black Diamond Bay has diminished greatly from the past. During my stay in the community I noted that very few families still owned sheep, none kept cows, and only three households still kept fowl. This represents a quite significant reduction from the numbers of animals recorded in the Census of Newfoundland and Labrador, 1945, just thirty-two years prior to my visit. At that time there were 118 sheep and lambs, 25 cows, 4 calves, and 1 bull, 147 hens, and 29 chickens for a population of 422 persons. It is also a very significant reduction from my own memory of the community during my visits there in the middle to late 1960s when domestic animals,

particularly sheep, were quite numerous. When specifically asked about this difference, people responded either that people were simply not interested in keeping animals any more or that it was too much trouble since people working for wages have little time to devote to animal husbandry. The latter may be closer to the truth since some people still keep sheep - these are generally considered to be less troublesome animals. As regards chickens and hens, it was pointed out to me on several occasions that the number of fowl one could conceivably, and almost surely, lose through the activities of dogs, cats, and small predators, as well as from the pranks of 'saucy youngsters,' would likely be very large. To most people, fowl are simply not worth the time, worry, and care necessary to maintain them.

Despite the lack of interest in maintaining animals, most people still readily claim that meat, poultry, milk and eggs produced in the immediate area are far superior in quality to 'bought' items. They will readily purchase these items from producers within the region when the prices are reasonable. Thus, the distinction between 'bought' and 'grown' seems basically a distinction between non-local and local production.

OVERVIEW OF TRADITIONAL ECONOMIC ORGANIZATION

In what we have been referring to as the "traditional phase" of its historical existence, essentially the period up to the early 1960s, the local economy of Black Diamond Bay was based upon what is, in Marxist terms, a system of small scale, independent commodity production. Productive units existed upon several different levels and the totality of the productive process was geared toward maximizing self-sufficiency. Only those items necessary to consumption requirements which could not be produced within the community were acquired from the outside world through the linkage with world markets supplied by the merchant.

At one level, the community as a whole constituted a single productive unit. This unit, however, was called into concerted action only on a very infrequent basis, and even then only under special circumstances, for instance, in the construction of a church. The major importance of the community as a unit was in the production of rituals, such as marriages, baptisms, funerals, and the traditional 'times.'

At the next level, several households (generally one to three) combined together to form the productive

unit necessary to the prosecution of the inshore fishery. These households were ideally linked by ties of agnatic kinship, utilized a division of labour based upon the lines of age and sex, and were geared toward the production of a surplus product, beyond the subsistence requirements of those involved, which could later be bartered in exchange for items which could be procured in no other way. This unit utilized all its available manpower in its two main functional subdivisions, the 'fishing crew' and the 'shore crew,' and it necessitated the early socialization of children, by graduated steps, into the productive process. A very concise statement of the "career cycle" of fishermen is provided by Nemec (1972:31).

On the last level, we have the individual households of the community as productive units involved in the cultivation of vegetable foods, in the production of animal products and by-products, in the supplying of fuel, in the making of clothing, and in all other activities necessary to the subsistence and continued functioning of a household. Once again, a division of labour by age and sex was utilized, as well as the maximal use of available manpower. In contrast with the productive process of the inshore fishery, however,

production was in the case of the household most commonly geared toward subsistence rather than to the creation of a surplus product for sale or exchange on the market.

We see, then, that although the rural villages of Newfoundland might be referred to as 'fishing villages,' their ecological adaptations were rather more multiplex. Fishing was indeed very important and it did indeed hold a special position in the structure of the local economy, but it is important to realize that it was but one activity out of many, the entire complex of which was essential to maintaining a satisfactory level of subsistence in the face of very harsh circumstances. It is also important to realize that despite the central role of the fishery it was, at least in Black Diamond Bay, a seasonal activity restricted to the short summer season. Overemphasis of the fishery and the social relations of production it engendered tend to be misleading because they devalue other activities and other sorts of social relationships. This is very clearly seen, for instance, in Nemec's (1972) analysis of agnatic ties as used in the construction of 'fishing crews.' One of the very important points made in the essay is that agnatic ties, which are

here also social relations of production, are seasonal in nature. Each year as the inshore fishery comes into being and passes away, so too do the relations of production which constitute it.

Because the many activities surrounding the rugged and dangerous inshore fishery were important markers of masculinity, the fishery was ideologically very important to males. In fact, from many of the statements I gathered it was apparent that the passage of a young male from the 'shore crew' (which was associated with women) to the 'fishing crew' (which was exclusively male) was a very important movement in the male life cycle in terms of social identity and prestige. It did not mean a full movement into adult manhood because that was largely a result of marriage and the formation of a separate household, but one did become what was referred to as a 'hard boy' (or 'hardy boy'), an intermediate category, the members of which were more than boys, but less than men. The fishery, then, was central in defining male social status. In that case an overemphasis of the fishery would be to some extent to conduct an analysis in terms of ideological or "emic" categories.

My final point in this respect is simply that although there was a tendency for men to refer to

themselves as 'fishermen,' which is also the primary category of the early official census material, the term nevertheless tends to be misleading since it masks the fact that actual occupations were rather more multiplex (Wadel 1969:45). Fishing was a single part of a very diversified yearly round which could be conducted in most areas for only three to four months of the year.

CHANGING ADAPTATION

In the "contemporary phase" of Black Diamond Bay's historical existence, which we may roughly date from about the early to middle 1960s to the present, we find numerous contrasts with the past. In broad terms, the distinctions have emerged from the fact that small scale, independent commodity production has given way to the growth of industrial wage labour. Where once a complex adaptation focused upon the pursuit of the inshore fishery prevailed, now only an insignificant number of persons in the village continue to fish. The majority of persons in the village today are now involved in some phase of the wider Canadian wage labour system. Many work at a large fish plant located in a nearby community, others upon one of the deep sea

trawlers operated from there, and still others are involved in migratory labour elsewhere in Newfoundland or on the mainland of Canada. The remainder of the community is dependent upon Unemployment Insurance benefits or else upon Welfare payments. Additionally, many of the women of the community have been virtually removed entirely from their previous major role in the local economy, becoming, as seems generally the case in rural parts of the island (e.g., Colman 1966:12), Newfoundland versions of the typical North American housewife.

The implications and details of this fundamental change in local adaptation are numerous, as may be seen from a brief examination of Figure 2 in the Appendix. It will perhaps be beneficial to discuss these changes in a point by point manner before entering into a general discussion of them as a whole.

First, as we have already seen, the traditional pursuit of the inshore fishery involved numerous productive units that were small in scale. A few households, ideally with agnatic links between them, pooled their resources in concerted productive activity to form a 'fishing crew' and a 'shore crew.' Thus, the basic productive unit usually consisted of a maximum of about

three households. By way of contrast, while the fishery is still the major employer of men in the community, the scale and the nature of production is now much different from what it ever was in the past. Most of the men from Black Diamond Bay who continue to fish now do so from one of the large stern trawlers which operate on the Grand Banks (interestingly, they now refer to themselves as 'draggermen' rather than 'fishermen'), while most men are employed within a large fish plant which employs upward of 300 persons. Hence, the current productive unit of the fishery is clearly much larger, and it is organized very differently, than it was in the traditional phase.

Second, arising directly from the first consideration, production, which was in the past carried out within the kinship unit, is no longer based upon kinship. As already pointed out, the traditional inshore fishery was ideally based upon agnatic ties, so that, generally speaking, the relations of production common in the fishery were at the same time kinship relations. It goes without saying that a large, industrially organized fish plant operation is in no way simultaneously a kinship unit. While employed by the fish plant, a person works side by side with persons from

kinship networks other than his/her own, and even with persons from communities other than his/her own, some of which had only limited connections with his/her own community during the traditional phase. We may venture to say, then, that the work situation has to a large extent been depersonalized with the advent of "modernization." It amounts to a change of emphasis from ties of "status" to ties of "contract" (Maine 1977).

Third, the division of labour is no longer based upon the divisions provided by age and sex, but upon a functional division of activity. In the past the division of labour was quite simple - men fished, women and children prepared or 'made' the fish on shore (the 'shore crew'), and the very young and the very old, along with the infirmed, largely stood outside the productive process. Today, however, the division of labour within the modern fish plant operation is much more complex. There is an office staff, a first aid staff, dragger crews, fish cutters, foremen, and so forth. Even within the major divisions there are generally further subdivisions based upon functional duties. For example, a dragger crew requires a 'skipper,' an engineer, a navigator, and so forth to perform its work properly, and indeed, to even reach the fishing

grounds.

Fourth, in the traditional phase the producers both owned and operated the means of production - the small boats, the nets and jiggers, and all the other implements necessary to acquiring and preparing the final product for barter. In the contemporary situation, in contrast, the workers simply operate means of production owned, not by themselves, but by the large corporation for which they work. In a sense, they have even become part of the means of production since as workers they are but elements in the corporate machinery (elements which are dispensable when more efficient technology becomes available).

Fifth, there is correspondingly a separation of the producer (cum "tool") from the product s/he produces through the application of his/her labour. Where in the past the final product of the combined labour of the productive unit was owned by the productive unit itself, each member having rights in the total product (whether by kinship or by labour, as in the case of sharemen), today the final fishery product is owned entirely by the corporation and not by the producers who have caught, cleaned and processed the fish. Consequently, from the point of view of the worker, labour has been separated

out as a "thing," something distinct from the person who applies it, a commodity which, like a pound of butter, is bought and sold on the market.

This leads to a sixth, and very significant, point which must be strongly emphasized. That is, the complete change in the nature and interpretation of labour in the Black Diamond Bay context.

As we have already noted, during the "traditional phase" of the community's existence, the productive unit of the inshore fishery tended to be simultaneously a kinship unit. Labour, therefore, occurred within the context of kinship, in a "familial mode of production" (cf. Sahlins 1968:Chapter 5), and was thus a fundamental and inseparable part of social life in general, and of kinship obligations in particular. In the "contemporary phase" one's labour in the industrial productive process is removed from one's kinship network and from the general social life of the community. It is no longer part of one's "self," one's persona, but is rather a depersonalized object. As Sahlins has argued, "work" and "life" inadvertently become two separate compartments. Where work was once part of "life," it now a means to "life," which is in turn something which occurs after "work." One "goes out to work" to acquire the

money one needs to "live one's life."

Furthermore, people now recognize two distinct types of labour, personal and impersonal, though they do not make a linguistic distinction between the two. The first is recognized as "work," but at the same time it is seen as "not really work" since it is a function of one's status, part of one's personal obligations. For instance, though she labours all day, a housewife will usually respond, "No, I don't work. I'm a housewife." When questioned further she will respond, "Well, yes, I do work around the house, but I don't really work. I mean, I don't have a job." Working for wages is seen as something entirely distinct from working for oneself or for one's family.

Seventh, authority in the "traditional phase" arose also from the kinship context and was generally of a very informal nature. The suggestions of older and more experienced members of the 'fishing crews,' (or the 'shore crew'), or of members of recognized ability, were usually respected and followed. Generally speaking, following the directives and suggestions of the 'skipper' meant fulfilling one's kinship obligations by showing respect and deference to a senior kinsman. Authority, then, was exercised within a personal

relationship. However, in the contemporary work situation there are distinctively drawn lines of formal bureaucratic authority. The directives of one's superiors must be followed or punitive action, such as temporary or permanent dismissal, may be taken by the employer. Once again we see that the two situations are quite different. In the new work context authority, like labour, has been depersonalized and snatched from the web of kinship rights and responsibilities.

Eighth, in the "traditional phase" the productive unit was itself responsible for establishing its own work habits, working times, and so forth. These were most usually geared toward natural conditions and natural time divisions. For example, heavy fog or a severely rough sea would result in a 'fishing crew' deciding to stay ashore for the day, perhaps to spend the time mending boats and gear, doing other chores, or spending the time in some leisure activity. In any case, all such decisions were to be made by the productive unit, based upon their own personal readings of situations, the requirements of necessity, and community pressure to live up to the ideal of the "hard-working man." In contrast, industrial labour occurs within an artificial time scale. Work commences and ends at specified times

each day, and the nature of the tasks to be performed by the productive unit each day, or segment of a day, is the decision of company management, and not the workers themselves. The workers of industry are in that sense more like productive materials than productive actors.

Ninth, the socialization of persons into the productive process during the "traditional phase" was not at all distinguishable from a person's socialization into his/her kinship group, or into the community at large. The productive duties one began to learn at an early age were in fact part of one's kinship obligations, since production in a "familial mode of production" is by definition kinship based. For a boy, learning to fish was simply part of learning to become a man, and the same was true for a girl learning to 'make' the fish; it was part of learning to become a woman. Again, labour and life were not strictly separate and compartmentalized. In the "contemporary phase," however, the socialization of a worker into the plant workforce is quite distinct from socialization into the kinship group, or into the community in general. It occurs in the limited context of the plant, and most commonly occurs after the age of majority has been reached.

Furthermore, when one is socialized into the fish plant milieu, one begins to work side by side with 'strangers' from a number of different communities in the region. As a result, socialization into the world of work can no longer be considered a part of early childhood education and personality formation. Instead, it occurs after childhood when the basis for personality has already been laid.

AN OVERVIEW

It is useful to present a relatively concise overview of the local economy on which the social formation rested prior to the disruption which occurred with the introduction of wage labour as a viable alternative.

In the first place, the local economy might be said to have consisted of two distinct (yet clearly inter-related), differently oriented modes of production, one directed inward toward the production of "use value," the other directed outward toward the production of "exchange value" (the terms are defined fully in Marx 1954, particularly Chapter 1). As 'liveyers' (a Newfoundland term meaning, roughly, settlers), the people of Black Diamond Bay were ultimately concerned

with making a living for themselves, i.e., with the production of useful and necessary items for the consumption of the household. This form of production was essentially a household activity with the household as the focus of attention, although this in no way precluded cooperation, labour exchange, or sharing, all of which were practiced when necessary. The "use value" production of households included such diverse tasks as cultivation, hunting and trapping, the raising of livestock for milk, meat, butter, and wool, the raising of poultry for eggs and meat, independent fishing, and the collection of edible berries. At the same time, given the limitations of the climate and the existing technology, there were a number of items (e.g., salt, sugar, molasses, tea) which were either directly necessary, or at least desirable, and which were essentially beyond the productive capacity of the village. These were procured through the production of "exchange value" in the inshore fishery. Hence, the inshore fishery, with its emphasis upon agnatic organization (Nemec 1972), was virtually the only aspect of economic activity directed outward from the community toward the creation of a surplus product, beyond immediate consumptive needs, for exchange on the

market. Since the fishery was seasonal, and since it was one aspect of a multiplex adaptation, it follows that the articulation of the Black Diamond Bay local economy with the world market, though very important and very influential,² was nevertheless in a sense a partial articulation. The emphasis on and the necessity of subsistence production was a result of the working of the profit motive among the Newfoundland merchantry. Where people produced as much of what they needed to survive as they could, the merchant's capital outlay was smaller, and profits consequently higher (Wadel 1969:20). Though ultimately inter-related with and dependent upon the world markets, the people of many rural Newfoundland villages maintained a global orientation that was directed simply toward the maintenance of culturally acceptable standards of subsistence.

GROWTH OF A REGIONAL IDENTITY

One of the major and most obvious impacts of the change from small scale, independent commodity production with a focus upon subsistence to industrially organized wage labour has been the creation of new

social and cognitive categories which cross-cut and weaken some of the categories of the "traditional phase." This problem is best approached through a combination of the Marxist (e.g., Marx 1977; Marx and Engels 1976) and Durkheimian (e.g., Durkheim 1933) perspectives, both of which supply us with different, yet inter-related, insights.

In the Marxist perspective, the formation of social groups is seen as both an objective and a subjective process occurs through opposition and integration in terms of the means of production. In other words, the subjective integration of a social grouping is a function of its awareness of its objective unity in opposition. The movement of 'fishermen' away from independent commodity production and into wage labour has created a proletarianized labour force, in this case largely concentrated in a single industrial setting. As men from different communities are drawn together in a more expansive productive process where they work side by side, there has been a corresponding tendency for these same men to become more aware of their active involvement in a much larger social aggregate than their own communities. Consequently, there has been a notable and very significant widening in social identity.

As we have already seen, during the "traditional phase" communities were basically territorial aggregates of fishing units. That is to say, simply, that a community was a place of common residence for several 'fishing crews' and their respective 'shore crews.' The community itself, as an identifiable social grouping, was very rarely called into concerted action in relation to the process of economic production. When action on the part of the community was called for, it was most usually of a ritualistic nature, primarily in the signification and witnessing of some important social transformation, such as marriage, birth, or death. Thus, at least in terms of the productive process, the community was essentially composed of a number of independent productive units, each of which was a virtual mirror image of all the others. Each productive unit of the inshore fishery possessed comparable personnel, in the exact same division of labour, and with possession of virtually the same skills and knowledge necessary to successful production. In the "traditional phase," then, the community was a collection of "mechanically" inter-related parts in the sense outlined by Durkheim (1933).

Much the same could be said for the entire region in which Black Diamond Bay lies. Each separate community was

very much like any other community in terms of its composition, production, ritual, and social life. The basic difference between them was essentially a distinction of geographical location. However, in contradistinction to the community level, the regional level had almost no overriding umbrella structure of concerted action, either ritualistic or otherwise, which would serve to create unifying linkages between its constituent communities. Thus, it is not surprising to discover that in the past, since there was no solid cohesive force in operation, rivalry, and in some cases even enmity, existed between certain communities in the region.

Such a situation of conflict existed between the village of Black Diamond Bay and another community lying some ten to fifteen miles from it. The enmity between the two communities existed in full bloom until a scant few years prior to my fieldwork, so there was no shortage of stories and anecdotes about various illustrative incidents. From the accounts of people in both communities the following picture has been abstracted.

As the people I spoke with put it, the people from the two communities in question simply could not find it

possible to 'get along.' They did not know each other as well as they did persons from communities nearer their own, and there were few, if any, recognized links between them. The absence of strong mediational relationships meant that there was less emphasis upon the avoidance of conflict, and that the escalation of conflict, sometimes even to the point of physical violence, was much easier than was the case when one met with persons from communities nearer to home. In general, one group mistrusted the motives of the other, so their interactions were often characterized by mutual misunderstanding. To make the matter as brief as possible, each of the two groups saw themselves as being in the right, and the other as being in the wrong. As far as either group was concerned, the other was little more than a collection of 'savages' with no better sense than to go about causing needless trouble to sensible and peaceful people like themselves. The fact that relationships with other communities were not nearly as conflictual supported the supposition. As a result, one group tended to avoid the other as much as possible, so open and violent conflict was thereby minimized, while at the same time suspicion and mistrust went unalleviated. As one man from the other community put it:

Whenever you ran into someone from Black Diamond Bay you could be sure a fight wasn't to far behind, so we'd keep clear of them if we could. I remember when old Johnny Robin opened his club over in /a nearby community/. If a bunch of us went over there for a few beers we'd have a look first to see if any cars from Black Diamond Bay was outside before we'd venture to go in. If they were in there we'd likely just go home out of it, not because we were afraid, just because we didn't want no trouble, and that's all it meant. They were some rowdy bunch.

Stories all but identical to this one are also told in Black Diamond Bay, with only the antagonists and protagonists reversed, so there is little doubt but that the situation was one in which the only real villains were the lack of trust and lack of mediating social relationships between the two communities.

It should be noted at this point, however, that the major combatants in the rivalry between the two communities were the younger men, and more particularly, the unmarried ones. These persons were much less inclined to avoid trouble and sometimes actually sought it out, not by directly starting a fight, which could reflect unfavourably on both the provoking individual and his immediate kinsmen (since one who starts fights raised improperly - a 'savage'), but by placing themselves in a situation where they might be able to take offence at some word or action on the part of the other.

group. In terms of the local code of conduct, they would thereby be in a "legal" position to fight, i.e., standing up for oneself in the face of provocation is considered manly. The opportunities to create such situations, however, were not very numerous, so the number of actual battles remained small, though they were, and are, a source of stories.

The reason for the lack of careful avoidance measures on the part of the younger unmarried males will be outlined in more detail in a later chapter. For the present we will let it suffice to note that it seems to be derived from two interrelated factors: the defining features of the category of unmarried men itself, and the need to establish for oneself a favourable reputation as a man.

From the statements of a number of people in both communities, it appears that the beginnings of the end of the conflict between the two villages can be dated to about the early 1960s. At that time there a number of men from both communities involved in migratory labour 'on the Labrador,' in Goose Bay, Labrador City, or Churchill Falls. Many stories were related of how men from the two communities became friends while away from home in this new work situation. Because they were

from the same region and often had friends or acquaintances in common, there were more potential linkages between these men than between either of them and men from other regions. They were thus thrown into a situation in which the few existing linkages between them were emphasized in comparison with the lack of such linkages with other people. The force of the emphasis was sufficient to create bonds of friendship. When returning home after a period of migratory labour 'on the Labrador' the friendships thus formed were by no means cast aside or simply forgotten. The men remained friends, and through these germinal linkages between the two communities further social relations were forged. With this turn of events there was, as would be expected, a corresponding decrease in mutual distrust and hostility. The broadened social horizons of the industrial work world had established the basis for the emergence of a regional identity.

By the time my fieldwork had commenced in the community of Black Diamond Bay the process had been about complete due to the additional impetus of the organically interrelated productive process of the fish plant into which men from a number of different communities have been thrust. In contrast with any of

my previous visits to the community, it was even noted that many of the younger men wore printed t-shirts which sported, in bold print, the name of the region. In addition, two members of one of the local 'crowds' with which I was associated resided in the very village with which there had been so much rivalry and ill feeling in the past. Such a turn of events would have been unheard of even a scant ten years earlier.

But that is not to say that conflict, rivalry, and hostility are now entirely absent in the area. The case is, rather, that ill feelings have been transferred toward a relatively large community which is located in a neighbouring geographical and socio-political region. It is toward this new target that mistrust and ill feelings are now directed.

When I asked him to tell me what people were generally like around his own region, one man stated:

There's a fine bunch of people around here, boy. They're no different from people in the place really. They're friendly, and there's nothing they wouldn't do for you. Some'd take the last bite out of their mouths to give you if you were hungry, and there's nothing too much out of their way.

Similar sentiments were expressed by many other persons, both in Black Diamond Bay and in other nearby villages. Most people generally agreed that, although there were

indeed some undesirable characters around the region, as one will find anywhere, the population was primarily honest, hardworking, generous, hospitable, and friendly. However, in relation to the large community in the neighbouring region, sentiments tended to be of an entirely opposite nature. They were described as belligerent, uncivilized, and violent people. Incidents were readily recalled to "prove" the point, for instance, describing how these people had sometimes turned up at a dance and had turned it into a virtual brawl shortly after their arrival on the scene. One man claimed, expressing the sentiments of many,

You know enough about us people over here by now to know that we don't go in for that stuff. We only go to a dance to have a good time like sensible people.

Another man showed me a large scar near his elbow which he claimed was inflicted when he was forcibly thrown to the ground by a 'dirty savage' from the community in question. Such incidents are accepted as sufficient proof that 'those people' are overly aggressive and basically untrustworthy, unlike people 'over here.'

Near the end of the summer an R.C.M.P. Officer was sent to hospital after receiving a beating in the community in question, and the incident was repeated numerous times as the penultimate verification of all

the disgusting features of their rivals which they had so frequently, and with so much detail, described to me. Though many regard the R.C.M.P. warily, as often meddling in affairs which are none of their business, it was nevertheless automatically assumed in this case that the rivals were at fault. In relation to the incident one man was drawn to comment:

Now what did I tell you about that bunch over there? They'd kick the shit out of a priest if he ever got in their path. And the Buckies /a local term used either for the R.C.M.P. or the Game Wardens/ are always prowling around over here. They'd be a lot better off spending their time over there with that bunch of savages keeping their eyes on them. We don't cause no trouble over here. 2

It is very likely that the enmity existing now is due primarily to mistrust and misunderstanding as it was in the past, but for our purposes here that is not the question. The essential point here is that social and economic changes have resulted in the emergence of a broader social identity. Where in the recent past community identity was one's major social identity, in the present regional identity has become of considerable importance. This largely corresponds with the emergence of a regional workforce, and consequently, the rise of new relations of production which span the entire region.

Chapter III
Dimensions of Social Organization in
Black Diamond Bay

In this chapter we shall examine the various ways in which people are grouped in Black Diamond Bay for the purpose of ordering social interaction. The term "dimensions" has been selected for a particular reason, namely, because a social formation appears in a variety of different guises depending on the perspective one takes toward it, on the way in which particular situations are defined. J. Clyde Mitchell (1966; 1973), for instance, has proposed that there are at least three distinct "orders" of social relationships, the structural, the categorical, and the personal, all of which exist simultaneously. The general point is very well taken since the multi-dimensional nature of social reality sometimes gets lost in the shuffle of social analysis. Black Diamond Bay, for instance, "looks" different when we focus our attention upon either neighbourhoods, 'crowds,' the generations, or the sexes. It is therefore very useful, if not essential, to examine all the different dimensions along which people are categorized

and to investigate the ways in which the dimensions are interrelated to form a relatively consistent, ordered whole.

KINSHIP

In traditional anthropological fashion, the first system of social relationships to be discussed are those defined by kinship. However, I wish to direct attention to this sphere of social life not to elucidate the system of kinship, which largely lies outside the terms of reference of this thesis, but merely to make a single, important point.

In Black Diamond Bay, as in other areas of rural Newfoundland (e.g., Charaimonte 1970; Faris 1972; Firestone 1967; Nemec 1972), there is a notable tendency toward a pattern of patrilocal post-marital residence in Black Diamond Bay. Small neighbourhoods, or distinct sections of larger neighbourhoods, are either composed exclusively of a single surname group, or are else composed of two or more surname groups which are focused upon relationships linking all to a central surname group. I have recorded several instances, for example, where a group of young men of up to three different surnames


were actually referred to in the collective by a single surname, such as 'the Green boys.' In all such cases the person making the comment was perfectly well aware of each of the individual surnames, but nevertheless chose the central surname as a short hand reference. This indicates that the tendency toward a form of "patrilocality" is locally recognized even where several actual surnames are involved. Figure 3 in the Appendix illustrates the case with reference to a representative neighbourhood in Black Diamond Bay.

However, it is not enough to simply accept this formal neighbourhood structure at its face value alone. We must ask two further questions: (1) What is the internal structure of the communication networks which create the neighbourhood? (2) What is the implication of the seasonal nature of the brother bond as noted by Nemec (1972)? It will be seen that in providing answers to these questions an important feature of neighbourhood organization emerges, the implications of which are perhaps more far-reaching than they at first appear.

In the first place, it is interesting to note that while neighbourhoods are formed through the idiom of patrilineal kinship, their actual structure, i.e., the communication network which makes a neighbourhood a

whole, seems more a function of affinal ties between women. As indicated in the brief analysis accompanying Figure 3 (Appendix), father/son and brother/brother communication within a neighbourhood frequently occur through the mediation of their wives. As a result, within the neighbourhood the mother-in-law/daughter-in-law and sister-in-law/sister-in-law relationships are often central, and indeed, even define the limits of a neighbourhood or section of a neighbourhood. The work of Chariamonte (1970) and Stiles (1972) similarly processes at work elsewhere in rural Newfoundland.

In the second place, Nemec's (1972) important observation of the seasonal nature of the brother bond is highly significant in this context. Agnates, his data show, are increasingly brought into association as the summer fishery approaches and reaches its peak, but increasingly dissociate as the summer fishery wanes and finally comes to a close for the year. Hence, it is the summer fishery which is the "centripetal force" (cf. Sahlin 1968:78) which crystalizes the agnates into an actual group. For the remainder of the year, when the fishery is no longer an important activity, agnates are drawn outward from the group by the centrifugal force of peer group networks. Agnates, then, form an actual



group during the fishing season, but are primarily only a category for the remainder of the year.

Nemec's observation is particularly useful in its application to Black Diamond Bay since the eclipse of the inshore fishery there indicates a corresponding eclipse of the centripetal force drawing agnates together as a functioning group. This is indeed verified by my observations. Relationships between brothers, with the exception of the two brothers who were still engaged in long hours of fishing with their father, while usually cordial, were generally not very close. In the vast majority of cases, brothers were observed to belong to different 'crowds,' so unless they were still living in their natal households, they had little association together beyond casual encounters or special family occasions. It was further noted that, perhaps significantly, four of five recorded cases of actual physical fighting in the community had involved brothers. Brothers tend to stand in something of a competitive relationship (e.g., sibling rivalry, inheritance from the same source, etc.) and at the same time have a stake in each others reputations since behavioral traits are seen as genetically transmitted, so run in families. At the same time, their relationship does not involve the

same emphasis on impression management that is so pervasive in most relationships between men in the community (Szwed 1966b). In short, the relationship between brothers is potentially conflictual, but does not allow for the easy avoidance of conflict. Hence, brothers are more inclined to form relationships of sociability, i.e., friendships, with their peers.

This, of course, has wider implications. It tends to indicate that men and women are differentially related to the kinship/neighbourhood formations of the village. The relationships of women tend to be encapsulated within the neighbourhood formed in terms of the geneological relationships and statuses of their husbands, whereas men are drawn outward from the neighbourhoods by ties to their peers. Hence, most of a woman's social interactions occur within the context of the neighbourhood and household; while interactions between men often occur in more public, "neutral" locations (Chariamonte 1970), such as the evening gatherings at the shops in Cat Harbour (Faris 1966), or the evening gatherings at the 'hang out' or the 'clubs' in Black Diamond Bay. The ties between women are largely focused inward, while those between men are largely focused outward.

5

FORMALITY/INFORMALITY IN
SOCIAL INTERACTION

The first important categories of persons we shall examine are rather broad in character. These include: (1) the immediate family or household, (2) 'friends and neighbours,' (3) the elite (a term I have chosen to cover an unnamed category of special persons such as a priest, or teacher, or member of the R.C.M.P. who stand in a social position which sets them apart from the egalitarian mass of the community), and (4) 'strangers.'

The first social category, the immediate family or household unit, includes all of those persons who reside under a common roof. Ideally, an individual household should consist of a single nuclear family, but the vagaries of reality often deny the realization of the ideal, so there are in actuality many variations on the nuclear family to be found within the households of the community. The following outlines of the actual composition of several households may be taken as rather typical of the variations and will serve to illustrate the point. In each case the recognized household head will be referred to as "Ego" and all other members will be listed in terms of their relationship to him.

HOUSEHOLD 1:

Ego, Wi, FaMo.

HOUSEHOLD 2:

Ego, Wi, So₁, So₂, WiMo.

HOUSEHOLD 3:

Ego, Wi, So, Da, MoSi.

HOUSEHOLD 4:

Ego, Wi, Da, So₁, So₂, So₂Wi.

Each of the above households, as well as other similar types of household composition, are actually encountered in Black Diamond Bay. Thus, while the nuclear household type is recognized as the ideal, it is by no means the most common household formation. Ideally, a man should wait until he is able to form his own household before he marries, but realistic considerations sometimes prevent this. For example, as in the case of Al White, a pre-marital pregnancy and consequent community pressure were sufficient to necessitate the couple's marriage before they had managed to save enough money to start their own independent household. They had no choice but to take up residence in Al's natal household until such a time as they were able to set out on their own (Household 4).

In another case, Don Green was saving money with a view to getting married and establishing his own house-

hold. However, when his father's father died he was able to get married and move into the house to care for his recently widowed father's mother. In exchange for caring for her in her old age, the newly married couple will inherit the house (Household 1).

In still another case, Tom Brown married a girl from a neighbouring community and established an independent household at the end of his father's garden. Several years ago his wife's father died, and her mother, who had no one else to care for her, moved to Black Diamond Bay to live with Tom and her daughter (Household 2).

Finally, in Household 3, there was a nuclear family residing in the household along with an aging spinster aunt of the husband, i.e., his MoSi. Apparently, she had lived alone for many years until the limitations of age finally necessitated that she reside where care was more readily available.

The cases which we have briefly examined are fairly typical of many households in Black Diamond Bay. When questioned as to the ideal, most people will readily inform the questioner that a couple should wait until they are able to set up house on their own before they get married, for in that way they will be independent and 'beholding to no one.' Upon examining the real-life

situation, however, we find that the ideal situation is, in actuality, rarely fully realized. The realistic consideration of economic factors, as well as one's moral obligations to one's kinfolk, in other words, the impingements of necessity, have to be taken into consideration and the ideal accordingly adjusted to the real.

The second category, 'friends and neighbours,' includes practically all of the remaining population of the community, whether kin or non-kin, who are well-known to the members of a household and who are more or less on an equal footing with them in terms of social relations and of social and economic status. They are, essentially, the remainder of the egalitarian mass of which the individual household is a part¹.

The third category goes unnamed by the people of Black Diamond Bay, but for the sake of convenience I shall refer to it as the "elite." This category consists of all those persons within the community or the immediate area who are well-known to the residents of the community, but who occupy some special social position which distinguishes them from everyone else and thus places them apart from the egalitarian mass of the village. The most common examples in the present, and in the recent past, are the priest, the nuns who reside

at the local convent during the school year, the doctor who periodically visited the community and held his clinic there, the M.P., the M.H.A., Magistrates, Welfare Officers, and members of the R.C.M.P. Many of these persons are relatively well-known to the people of Black Diamond Bay, but they are nevertheless outsiders who stand in a "higher" social position, and are thus considered worthy of displays of respect and deference. The elite category is clearly distinct from the category 'friends and neighbours' because it is obviously not part of the egalitarian mass of the village. Neither can they be regarded as 'strangers' since their status and their business is public knowledge. They are often well-known to the people of the community and they certainly play a role, albeit formal, in community life. It is for that reason that they form a separate, somewhat anomalous category; they are, in a sense, simultaneously "outsiders" and "insiders." They are connected with the community, but as formal representatives of outside institutions.

The final category is that of the 'stranger,' a figure which has traditionally tended to elicit a mixture of fear, awe, and hostility from the people of Black Diamond Bay. This arises, it seems, from the very

enigma of the category.

Like most other rural communities in Newfoundland, Black Diamond Bay traditionally has been very isolated, and hence, relatively closed in upon itself. By far the vast majority of social contacts and social relations that a person traditionally entered into were with persons with whom s/he was intensely familiar. Practically all of the people one encountered in day to day life were kinfolk, or friends and associates of long duration, people one had known for a life-time. Thus, interactions usually, and very generally occurred with people who held between them a large body of common knowledge and experience, who knew each other's mannerisms and idiosyncracies intimately, and with whom a set style of interaction had been gradually built up over the years. The "intimacy" and "familiarity" by which Firestone (1967:112) characterized social interactions in the Savage Cove area equally characterize the Black Diamond Bay region. The communication code used was, and still largely is, "restricted" in the sense of exhibiting a high degree of lexical predictability (Bernstein 1966).

Interaction with 'strangers,' then, stood in very sharp contrast with the most usual mode of interaction to which the people were accustomed. The 'stranger' was

an unknown quantity in an area of social life where intimate knowledge was the general norm, and where behavioral predictability was the ideal (e.g., Paris 1972; Firestone 1967). Thus, when dealing with 'strangers' one was at an understandable loss in so far as the restricted code of everyday use was no longer functional. 'Strangers' were so rarely encountered that there was no set pattern of interaction specified for dealing with them. In the absence of a more "elaborate" communicative code, interaction with 'strangers' was stressful in that it had to be approached with caution since there were really no rules of interaction beyond a general emphasis on formality.

It should be noted that today interactions with 'strangers' are more common in the Black Diamond Bay area than they were in the past because communication with the world beyond the boundaries of the community has been considerably expanded, particularly where the younger generation is concerned. However, the meetings of residents of the community with 'strangers' are still usually characterized by some initial shyness or reserve. For example, one day I walked into one of the local 'shops' in a neighbourhood with which I was not, at that time, familiar. A child, hearing the bell above the door

ring as I closed it behind me, came running into the 'shop' from the attached house to make the sale. When she saw me, a person with whom she was not familiar, a 'stranger,' she stopped in her tracks and retreated back into the house calling, "Granny, it's a stranger." An elderly lady shortly entered the 'shop' to serve me, while the child stood back, carefully watching the transaction through the open doorway. The presence of a 'stranger' had made her visibly nervous.

In short, the mysterious 'stranger' is still a figure of some prominence in the ideology and "mythology" of Black Diamond Bay. It is a figure still used to scare children, and which continues to evoke some confusion and initial shyness in encounters within the village, primarily amongst the less travelled members of the community. However, a large number of the men of Black Diamond Bay have worked away from home, both in other areas of Newfoundland and in the mainland provinces of Canada, where encounters with 'strangers' have been common, unavoidable, and necessary. Methods of interacting with these 'strangers' have been developed so that the strangeness of 'strangers' is much less bothersome to them. Add to this the fact that the number of tourists entering the area in the past few years, although

still not very great, has nevertheless risen dramatically, and we see that the community is far less closed in upon itself today than it has been all through its history. In fact, it seemed to this observer that the vestiges of the 'stranger' phenomenon which remain today are primarily due to the importance of the phenomenon in the past, the frequency with which the 'stranger' appears in folktales and anecdotes as a forbidding personage, and the extent to which the 'stranger' is still used to this day as a threatening figure in the disciplining of young children (Paris 1968:53-54).

Perhaps it would be of value at this point to relate a particularly interesting 'stranger' story which I collected in Black Diamond Bay. I describe it as particularly interesting because the central character of the story is a person both 'strange' and dead, hence, doubly forbidding. The story was well-known throughout the community by both old and young alike indicating by its very prominence its importance in the local ideological system. It was initially related to me by an elderly woman, some eighty-six years of age, who claimed to have witnessed the events described in the story while she was still a child.

'CAP'N QUICK'

The events surrounding the appearance of Cap'n Quick and the subsequent activities that his appearance brought about are said to have occurred some seventy-five to eighty years in the past. By all accounts of the story, that year had been a very good one for the fishery, most men having been quite successful. The weather had been generally good, so they had lost few days fishing on that account.

There was one particular day during that summer, however, when the more experienced men of the community, whom long years in the inshore fishery had made very sensitive to even relatively minor changes in weather conditions, sensed that a storm was brewing, so it was decided all round that the various 'crews' of the village should forego their fishing activities for that day and stay ashore. All the men remained in the community for the day, most of them being kept quite busy with the repair of fishing gear and other sundry tasks which oft-times had to be postponed when the weather was good enough to permit them to 'get on the water.'

For most of the day the weather remained calm, warm, and sunny, but towards the evening the sky was quickly

darkening with clouds, and just before nightfall the wind began to blow, soon heightening to gale force. The storm raged all through the night and into the wee hours of the morning before the winds and rain finally abated.

The weather on the next day was again warm and sunny with only a gentle breeze blowing 'down the pond' (out toward the sea, a sign of fogless weather) and the sea 'almost as smooth as a looking-glass' (a mirror). But despite the favourable weather, the men did not fish that day, choosing instead to busy themselves by tending to minor damages to roofs, fences, and other property caused by the preceding day's storm.

Before the day had progressed very far, someone had spotted what appeared to be a small boat, a dory, out in the bay. Most of the people began to gather together on the beach to see what was a-foot as news of the sighting spread through the community. Shipwrecks were relatively common occurrences in the area, and given the ferocity of the previous night's storm, it was possible that a ship had gone down in the vicinity. The onlookers thought that there may have been survivors out there on the ocean, or that there might be valuable and useful debris from a ship to be salvaged. Even to this very day there are few household in Black Diamond Bay which cannot

boast of possessing some unique articles which had been washed ashore from ships sunken in the area or obtained during salvage operations. One of the prominent local landmarks quickly pointed out to the inquiring visitor is a long arm of jagged rock jutting out into the sea which has itself claimed countless vessels. Some people even referred to the offshore area as 'the graveyard of the Atlantic.'

In any case, the dory remained relatively motionless out in the bay, rising and falling with the water, and slowly approaching the shore, but still too far away for much detail to be seen. Several of the 'crews' whose boats were at hand entered the water and made their way to the small craft with a view to providing assistance to any survivors who may have been aboard. The remainder of the villagers remained on the beach, waiting and watching with intense curiosity. All conversation had by that time ceased.

As the men approached the dory they noticed that it was for some reason strangely listing to one side. As they came nearer to the craft the gruesome reason soon became apparent. From one of the oarlocks there hung the body of a man, attached to the dory by only the collar of his shirt. It seemed that he had drowned during the storm

and that only the coincidental catching of his collar as he had started to slip overboard had saved his corpse from being swallowed up by the sea. To make matters even more eerie and unnatural, the men who found the corpse and took it out of the water all swore that three lobsters had attached themselves to the body.

The body of Cap'n Quick, as he was later named by the people, was brought ashore and taken to the Church Hall where the local priest, the religious and oft-times secular leader of the village, had called a general meeting of the community with a view to deciding about the proper disposal of the corpse which circumstance had deposited on their doorstep. The major circumstances of the case as seen by those concerned were as follows.

Cap'n Quick had arrived in the community a nameless creature that had been saved by chance or destiny from a watery grave. No one knew whether he was a fisherman or a seaman, or even whether he was a Newfoundlander or a foreigner from one of the many nations which fished the island's fish-rich waters. And furthermore, there was really no way of telling whether the man had been a Roman Catholic or a Protestant, or for that matter, whether he had even been a Christian. Simply put, he was a 'black stranger' of the nth degree, a totally unknown

quantity.

Given this deplorable state of affairs, one of the major questions facing the villagers was: What do we do with the corpse? It was clear that for 'the sake of the poor man's soul' a Christian burial was desirable. But several persons raised a very disturbing issue: Do we want the body and bones of this man, a 'black stranger' not even known to have been a decent Christian, to be interred side by side with the body and bones of our dead kinsmen? Would that not be disrespectful, perhaps even blasphemous?

With those doubts in mind consensus was finally reached to give the body a 'decent Christian burial,' but to locate its final resting place outside the fence which separated (and still separates) the sacred ground of the community's cemetery from the profane world outside it. Cap'n Quick, a stranger and outsider in life, remained a stranger and outsider in death.

Today there is some mixed opinion about the events surrounding the disposal of the remains of Cap'n Quick. Most of the older people believe that a fitting and proper decision had been reached, and that little else could have been done given the peculiar facts of the case. In contrast, some of the younger people believe

the situation to have been an amusing illustration of 'superstitious nonsense.' As a man of about twenty-seven years of age put it:

The whole thing was nothing but a lot of old foolish rigamarole if you ask me. They've all got the same six feet of dirt up there on the hill, so it doesn't make much difference in the long run. The fence is only on top of the ground, not underneath it. The earth's all the same down below and the few words some priest muttered over it won't change that.

But despite the outer skepticism and scorn some of the younger persons heap on the situation, Cap'n Quick is nevertheless still shrouded in an air of mystery and awe. For example, even some of the more 'modern thinking' people will, in other contexts, indicate that the cemetery is an eerie, supernatural, and forbidding place, and there are indeed few who would wander around in its precincts after dark since supernatural occurrences are more commonly experienced there, particularly in the vicinity of the mysterious Cap'n Quick's final resting place.

That such feelings are still prevalent among many of the younger people is indicated by an interesting incident which was related to me on several different occasions, by several different persons.

One night five or six years prior to my visit to the community a group of teenage males were drinking beer

down by the beach. In the course of their conversation the strange events surrounding Cap'n Quick were brought up as a subject of speculation. One of the young men was particularly scornful of the story and was quite vocal in expressing his opinion that the disposal of the body outside the cemetery was essentially nonsensical. From that the conversation turned to the topic of ghosts and to the supernatural in general. The same young man, by now coming more under the influence of the beer he was drinking, continued to heap scorn on the fears people have of the dead, or of burial grounds, or of the supernatural. Finally one of his comrades said, as a dare, "Well, boy, if your so brave about it all, why don't you go and pay Cap'n Quick a visit right now."

After having said so much in scorn, the young man in question could not very well back down without a very serious loss of face. The story of his failure to accept the dare would likely follow him for years to come. Thus, he agreed to accept the challenge and promised to return when he accomplished the feat with a piece of Cap'n Quick's wooden grave marker as a proof of the visit. He then returned home, borrowed his father's axe from the back porch, and proceeded to the cemetery to complete the dare as he said he would. As a result of this

incident, the burial site of Cap'n Quick remains unmarked to this day, and will likely remain unmarked in the future, eventually to be forgotten with the passage of time.

The essential point here is that if the younger members of the community actually had no dread of the supernatural in general, and of Cap'n Quick in particular, as many of them claim, then the dare would have been entirely meaningless, so would never have been made in the first place. Likewise, there would be very little point in the relatively frequent telling of the story of the dare today. The fact that the incident is used in establishing the reputation of the young man in question as a daring, and perhaps even foolhardy, person is itself mute testimony to the fact that the incident is seen as particularly significant. Thus, regardless of what some of the young people may say to the contrary, the personage of Cap'n Quick continues to hold an important place in the thought of local people.

I have related the story of Cap'n Quick at this point, not to discuss beliefs about the supernatural, but rather to relate it to the concept of the 'stranger.' Cap'n Quick's importance, in this respect, is that he is an exaggerated version of 'strangers' in general.

'Strangers' are outsiders, exempt from the social, emotional, and physical ties of community shared by all the inhabitants of Black Diamond Bay. They are persons of an unknown background, one which may be vastly different, and perhaps even at odds with their own.

In a life situation in which all the actors are well-known to one another and are entangled in a dense web of ties of kinship, friendship, and residence, and in which there is shared a large body of common knowledge, memories and attitudes, a 'stranger' is a particularly enigmatic figure, whether living or dead. The blackness of the night and the metaphorical 'blackness' of the 'stranger' are comparable. The 'stranger' is like a person masked, like a mummer, in that little about him/her is shown. Similarly, night transforms the known into the unknown by impeding visibility.

SOCIAL CATEGORIES AND

HOUSEHOLD SPACE

Leach (1954; 1977) has argued that all human behavior occurs simultaneously along two dimensions; the instrumental and the expressive. A particular item of behavior may be either more instrumental or more

expressive, but the opposite feature is never fully absent. In other words, all human behavior both "does" something and "says" something.

This has been shown to hold true for the organization of household space in a wide variety of social and cultural settings². The basic premise is that while the construction and subsequent utilization of space within a home has an obvious functional value (e.g., it must provide adequate shelter and a living space), the particular way in which it is organized expresses cultural values. This seems to be particularly the case in those societies in which the relationship between the various spatial areas within a household are predetermined by a long standing tradition from which there is very little variation. The concrete relationship between spatial categories provides a convenient means for metaphorically expressing the relationship between other, less concrete categories.

The idea becomes clearer when we are provided with a working definition of a metaphor. Essentially, a metaphor "...is the predication of a sign-image upon an inchoate subject" (Fernandez 1974:20). The process of creating and using metaphors is basically a means of substantiating abstractions. It is an attempt to transform the unseen

into the seen, the ephemeral into the corporeal, through the process of equating concrete and graspable distinctions with distinctions which are not concrete and which are not as easily grasped (Fernandez 1972:43-44). Leach (1977:37) has compared the process to the use of pencil and paper in working out a problem in mathematics.

When we claim that the socially conventional use and organization of space functions expressively as well as instrumentally, we are simply claiming that spatial distinctions are sometimes used to order and express distinctions which are not directly accessible to the senses, in much the same way as the "organic analogy" has been used, whether implicitly or explicitly, to order and express social data which are only indirectly accessible to the senses. In either case, data not subject to direct sensible investigation are at least made subject to indirect investigation through the medium of something which is similar and more accessible. A brief example of the use of space in the church should suffice to make the point quite clear.

The church in Black Diamond Bay, like all Roman Catholic churches, is organized in such a manner that the priest stands at the front, on a slightly elevated platform, while the congregation is located facing the

front and stretching to the back of the building. Thus, the priest and his "flock" are clearly distinguished in terms of concrete spatial orientation. The essential feature here is that the distinction between the priest and ordinary persons is by no means an obvious distinction arising from the peculiar physical characteristics of the persons involved. Rather, the basic distinction is one which is based upon social convention, or social definition, so it is in that sense quite arbitrary, a creation of the culture. By clothing the priest distinctively and by ordering him distinctively in space during the ritual of mass, the culturally created distinction is given material reality. By juxtaposing priest and congregation in concrete, spatial terms, the abstract, contrived distinctions between the two social categories are also being juxtaposed in spatial terms. One can actually observe the status distinction through differences in space and dress. Hence, the concrete distinction represent the more abstract, unobservable distinctions. The process is therefore metaphorical.

With this in mind we are now in a position to examine the expressive use of household space in Black Diamond Bay. However, it is first necessary to establish the

spatial setting by providing a brief description of the typical structuring and orientation of space within a representative home in the community.

The majority of homes in Black Diamond Bay are two-storey wooden structures built in an architectural style that is quite common throughout the entire region³. Some people today construct homes in the more modern, bungalow style, as found in the suburbs of St. John's, for instance, and there are even a few people in the region who have in recent years purchased mobile homes. The latter few persons are literally marveled at by the majority, however, who claim that while a mobile home may be more economical in other areas, a solid, non-mobile home with much larger interior space could be built in the Black Diamond Bay region for a lower total cost. Given the circumstances, they consider the purchase of a mobile home to be nothing less than foolhardy. The number of new bungalows, however, was still very small, and the number of mobile homes even smaller (in fact, there are none in Black Diamond Bay itself). The traditional two-storey, wooden frame structure remains by far the most common house type.

As the reader will note in Figure 4 (Appendix), the typical home in Black Diamond Bay has two entrances.

Regardless of which way they are actually facing, and indeed the two doors are often facing the same direction, they are generally distinguished as the 'front door' and the 'back door.' The important feature distinguishing the two entrances is the area into which a particular door enters. The 'front door' enters either directly into the 'parlour' (sometimes called the 'front room') or, most commonly, into a small hallway directly adjacent to the 'parlour.' In contrast, the 'back door' enters into a generally large porch directly adjacent to the kitchen and pantry.

The most interesting feature here resides in the different usages to which these two entrances are put. The 'front door' is very rarely, if ever, used^h, and in many cases does not even have steps leading up to it. It is thereby often rendered useless as a means of entrance. It is the other door, the 'back door,' that is by far the most common entrance to homes in Black Diamond Bay.

In keeping with the previous observation, it must be noted that in Black Diamond Bay it is the kitchen and not the 'parlour' or living room which is the centre of activity within the household. The kitchens are usually relatively large rooms (in most cases the largest

room in the house) and are often connected to the adjoining dining room by an archway rather than an ordinary doorway. The dining room is perhaps best considered an extension of the kitchen rather than as a dining room as such. This is supported by the observation that in a number of homes the kitchen sink was located in one room, the oil range in the other.

Near the entrance into the kitchen from the back porch there is in all cases a couch or small bed, locally called a 'day bed,' as well as several chairs, all seemingly positioned for the convenience of household members and guests since the kitchen is the primary spatial area in which social interaction occurs. Ordinary visitors are never entertained in the 'parlour,' but are rather entertained right there in the kitchen. In fact, on numerous occasions I have even observed people sitting in the kitchen to watch a television set located in the 'parlour.' They would sit around or about the kitchen table to view their favourite programs through the doorway of the 'parlour.' It seemed not to occur to them to enter the 'parlour' itself to continue their viewing. In the local conceptual system the 'parlour' is simply not an area where ordinary social events occur.

The 'parlour,' in a sense the "inner sanctum" of the household, is a special room which is generally given very little usage in day-to-day life. The room is usually carpeted, contains the best furniture of the house, and is kept immaculately clean. As I have already indicated, even though the 'parlour' is very often the location of the household television set, the room is very rarely used for actually watching the television programs or for any other such mundane events. In fact, it was observed that in many households there was a plastic runner leading from the television to the entrance of the kitchen to reduce the amount of wear and tear on the carpet as people walk to and from the television to switch the set on and off, or to change the channel.

The 'parlour,' then is clearly not an important spatial area in terms of the daily activity of the household. Rather, its importance is derived from its existence as a special area, and hence, from its contrast with, or opposition to, the kitchen. Where the kitchen provides an area in which day-to-day social life is played out, the 'parlour' is the stage upon which more outstanding social dramas are cast. For example, the 'parlour' has traditionally been the setting for wakes

in the community.

Upon dying and receiving the "Last Rights" from the priest, a person's body is 'laid out' in the 'parlour' of his/her household to be constantly watched over by kinsmen and friends until his/her remains are finally interred in the local cemetery ('on the hill'). During the wake friends, neighbours, and kinsmen are ushered into the 'parlour' to pay their last respects to the deceased and to offer their condolences to the members of the deceased's household. This is doubtlessly a quite dramatic and emotional social event, so its status as a special 'occasion' is marked off from the ordinary flow of social life by setting the scene in a special place, the 'parlour.' The opposition between kitchen and 'parlour' is readily apparent. The latter is the spatial area in which special events occur, while the former is the setting for ordinary events. In that manner, the concrete spatial distinction, 'parlour'/kitchen, may be seen as a symbolic expression of the more abstract distinctions between special events/ordinary events, the sacred/the profane⁵.

For our purposes here, however, we are primarily interested in the use of spatial distinctions in expressing the distinctions that exist between categories

of persons. Now that we have established the general importance of the nature of the most important spatial distinction within the typical household in Black Diamond Bay, we may go on to show how the spatial metaphor relates to the four broad categories of persons outlined at the beginning of the present chapter.

In the first place, we have the most immediate category, the members of the household itself. Their particular relationship to household space is quite straightforward and obvious - to them the house is their "home territory." Unlike the members of other categories, they live within the household and make full use of its space. To that extent, "home" and "family" are almost equivalent in conceptual terms.

The next category, 'friends and neighbours,' includes, as we have seen, a broad range of persons from close kin residing in other households, to people from one's own neighbourhood, to friends and equals from the community and the general area. Interactions with persons in this category are conducted very informally with an emphasis on egalitarianism⁶. 'Friends and neighbours' simply walk straight into the kitchen and sit themselves down on the 'day bed' or one of the available chairs located near at hand for their convenience. They never knock at

the door before entering or otherwise announce their visit. In fact, it would be a breach of etiquette for them to seriously knock before entering, for to do so would be overly formal in regard to their relationship vis-a-vis the members of the household. Informality is essential in that it emphasizes equality, the defining feature of the category 'friends and neighbours.' To knock or to act ill at ease is to act as a 'stranger,' so is entirely inappropriate.

However, one can use a knock to initiate a joking interaction. For instance, one day I accompanied a man to the house of a friend of his 'just up the path' from his own home. Being something of a 'character' (a local term which designates an amusing person), when we arrived at the house he stood at the door, carefully keeping out of view from the kitchen window, and instead of simply walking straight in as he would normally do, knocked. A few moments later the door was opened by his friend's wife to whom he said, 'talking grand,' "Excuse me, m'am, but is Mr. John-Joseph Blue at home tonight?" She immediately burst into laughter when she saw his exaggerated display of formality and responded in kind, likewise 'talking grand,' "I'm sorry, but Mr. Blue is busy right now, I'm afraid Mr. Green, but you're

welcome to come inside and wait, if you please." Both participants in the exchange found it very amusing and kept the pretence up for several minutes before tiring of it. The humour of the situation arose from the fact that they were exchanging behavior from an entirely different context, one at odds with the relationship in which they actually stood.

It must be emphasized that the very strong cultural emphasis upon informality and openness in social interactions between 'friends and neighbours' tends to mask a situation of very careful impression management, an observation made also by Szwed (1966a). As Szwed noted, for instance, houses are constructed in such a manner that visitors have to pass a kitchen window in order to pay a visit, so the visit is usually announced visually if not by a knock at the door. Even darkness fails to provide the visitor with appreciable cover. Since electricity has been introduced to the community the area around the 'back door' is usually well illuminated from nightfall to bedtime. As a result, household members almost always have at least a few moments to put on their public faces before a visitor enters.

Putting on a public face, i.e., impression management, is very important in Black Diamond Bay. Indeed,

while the kitchen is a focus of family life (Charlton 1970:13), the most comfortable room in the entire home (Philbrook 1966:49), it is also, and perhaps most significantly, a public area, a centre of public activity (Stiles 1972:52). Hence, when one enters the home of a 'friend and neighbour' one is not actually going "backstage" (Goffman 1959), but is rather remaining in the public arena. The kitchen, then, is to some extent a household's "showcase" to the world outside its walls. Behavior there in front of visitors is generally guarded to transmit an image of respectability, harmony, well-being and equality.

The third category I have referred to, the elite, like 'friends and neighbours,' are usually well-known to the members of any given household, but unlike 'friends and neighbours,' one knows them on a formal level since they stand apart from the egalitarian mass of the community as special persons. In most cases they hold themselves at a distance (Szwed 1966b:22), so they are by no means members of what Parés (1966:248) has termed the "moral community." Their special status, like the special status of dramatic social events such as wakes, is often expressed in spatial terms.

If a member of the elite, such as a priest, has

become fairly familiar with the members of a particular household and has visited them on a number of occasions, he may dispense with knocking at the door before entering and instead choose to walk right in. However, even when this is the case the visit is usually anticipated well in advance. One can generally depend upon one's 'friends and neighbours' for advance warning, giving the lady of the house sufficient time to rush through a last minute check to ensure everything is tidy. Since the members of the elite partake of a different moral community, that of the outside, dominating world, it is considered essential to meet them on their own terms. Since the local community is subsumed in the larger society, it seems equally clear that the household will be evaluated in terms of the standards of the wider society, so emphasis is placed upon the transmission of a suitable image.

The arrival of a visiting member of the local elite, then, is met with much more pomp and formality than is the case for 'friends and neighbours.' Considerably more care is taken with impression management, sometimes even to the point of taking more care with the articulation of words, or 'talking grand' as it is sometimes called. People do not continue in whatever

activities they are engaged in as they are inclined to do when 'friends and neighbours' visit, but rather direct their attention wholly to the visitor and to his/her comfort. If at all possible, such visitors are ushered in the 'parlour,' itself a symbolic expression of their special status, where they are served tea and sweet treats, such as cookies or cake, from the very best china in the house. If such a guest stays for a meal, s/he is seated at a table covered with a white table cloth and set with the best china and cutlery that can be offered, things which are otherwise never used. In short, the abstract distinction of status, as well as the formal relationship of the visitor to the community are translated into the concrete idiom of space and of objects located in space.

The final category is that of the 'stranger,' persons whose statuses are unknown, who have no known linkage to the community, and who are entirely unfamiliar to the inhabitants. Such persons are spatially distinguished in that they rarely have any access whatsoever to household space. 'Strangers' seldom enter even the garden in which a home is located, and on those very infrequent occasions when they do, they always knock. A knock, in fact, itself symbolizes the personage of

the 'stranger.' In correcting naughty children, as Paris (1968:54) also noted, parents will sometimes knock and say, "Here comes the stranger."

'Strangers' are not commonly encountered in the Black Diamond Bay region, their numbers being comprised primarily of the small volume of tourists who visit the area during the summer months, and an occasional salesman or government official. The tourists have contact primarily with some of the local shopkeepers, the owner of one of the local 'clubs,' and the employees of the Provincial Park, so their interactions with Black Diamond Bay households are essentially non-existent.

As a result, interactions between a household and 'strangers' are very infrequent in the community, and those few chance encounters which do occur usually proceed along the lines of the following example. They are generally characterized by: (a) formality, (b) the involvement of some type of business transaction or attempted business transaction, (c) are localized at either the doorway or the garden gate, and (d) are of very short duration (they rarely last more than a few minutes).

For instance, I was sitting in the kitchen of a home in Black Diamond Bay one afternoon when a loud

knock was heard at the door. The lady of the house went first to the kitchen window before answering the door, and looking out, she commented, "My land, its a 'stranger.'" With that she fixed her hair, removed the apron she was wearing, and then went to the door. Carefully articulating her words, or 'talking grand,' she stood in the doorway and inquired into the business of the 'stranger,' who had by this time been joined by a friend. She found that they were members of the Mormon Church and that they wanted to speak to the family about their religion. She briefly and politely explained to them that she and her family were all devout Catholics and were not interested in discussing the topic. With that the interaction had ended.

The encounter of a 'stranger' with a Black Diamond Bay household is in some respects similar to an encounter with a member of the elite. However, the formal tenor of the meeting is generally more rigidly adhered to. Though members of the elite stand outside the nexus of egalitarian relationships which in a sense define the community, or at least the "moral community," they are at the same time a known quantity with known formal linkages to the community. The local people at least know their general business and have a

general familiarity with their personalities, so there is at least a broad idea of what to expect from them. The 'stranger,' however, is an anomaly who, at least initially, is totally unknown. A 'stranger' is a person who must first be carefully 'sized up' (studied or observed) before one learns how to best approach him/her. Hence, the guiding principles are caution and formality.

It appears that the four general categories outlined in some detail in this section may be put into a logical order showing the relationship of each to all the others. In this particular case the organizing principle is centered around the two dichotomies: association with the 'place'/non-association with the 'place' and informality/formality. Figure 5 (Appendix) provides a visual ordering of the categories presented thus far. A brief explanation of them follows.

Interactions are generally more formal with 'strangers,' i.e., persons not associated with 'the place,' than they are with persons associated with 'the place.' This is essentially because one has knowledge of the latter, but not the former. One holds a variety of experiences and knowledge in common with people who are associated with the community, even the members of the small local elite, and this allows for some "relaxing"

during the course of social interaction. In contrast, one "knows nothing, not even the title or the name, of a 'stranger,' so very little may be taken for granted during social encounters. Such encounters are therefore much less "relaxed."

The importance of knowing a person in Black Diamond Bay is easily supported with reference to the ethnographic data I collected during my stay in the community. Persons particularly astute in observing and impersonating local people by focusing on their personal idiosyncracies of speech, behavior, or attitudes attain strong reputations throughout the community for the ability. The best of these impersonators could imitate virtually any person associated with the village with such accuracy that the "audience" could easily identify all the characters being imitated (Szwed 1966b:98 also noted the importance of imitation). Needless to say, the ability to effectively mimic local people adds a great deal of impact to the art of story-telling, so it contributes to one's reputation as a story teller as well.

The important point here is the demonstration of how well people in the village know one another. Each person is familiar with even the subtle mannerisms of

other people, particularly one's age mates, including members of the elite. Hence, most interactions, even to some extent with the elite, are characterized by the detailed knowledge one has of the other. Interactions with 'strangers' sharply contrast with "normal" interactions because such detailed knowledge is entirely absent.

That interaction with a member of the elite is more formal than interaction with 'friends and neighbours' goes almost without saying, and follows directly from the defining characteristics of the two categories. 'Friends and neighbours' are by definition equals, while members of the elite stand in a special status vis-a-vis members of the community. Interactions with a 'friend and neighbour' therefore focuses upon the equality of the relationship, whereas interaction with a member of the elite focuses upon the distinction in status. Hence, the former is more informal, the latter more formal.

Finally, interaction with a 'friend and neighbour' is clearly more formal than interaction with a member of one's own household. This is due to the fact that a household is required to reflect a respectable image in order to maintain itself on an equal footing with all the other households constituting the community.

Interactions with persons outside the household, and Chiaramonte (1970:13) has claimed that even brothers are often seen as outsiders, necessitate the management of one's impression, so are to that extent more formal, though I would not go as far as Paris (e.g., 1968:53), who depicts social relationships within Cat Harbour as characterized by a "rigidly temperate and reserved facade."

In summary, the movement outward from one's household to 'friends and neighbours,' the elite, and finally 'strangers' corresponds to a scale of ever increasing formality (see Figure 4, Appendix). In spatial terms, it in turn means decreasing access to household space.

MEN VERSUS WOMEN

In Black Diamond Bay, as in perhaps all human societies, one of the most important and fundamental social distinctions is that which is made between men and women. Some of the major distinctions involved here are as follows: (a) men and women are anatomically distinct. (b) women are distinct from men in that they alone are "producers of the producer," and

(c) men and women are distinct in behavioral terms in so far as they play different roles in the productive system. The latter distinction was particularly prominent in the "traditional phase," particularly the pre-Confederation era. The contrast between the 'fishing crew' and the 'shore crew' was essentially a contrast between men and women, for even though the 'shore crew' contained both very young and elderly males, it was primarily associated with women.

Though the division of labour is in some respects not as sharp as it was during the height of the small boat fishery, a behavioral distinction between men and women in terms of the productive process persists. Life for most women is "insular" (Stiles 1972:52), especially now that many of them have been transformed into housewives since the beginning of the community's dependence upon wage labour. Some women are employed at the fish plant, but it is nevertheless men who make up the bulk of the work force. Where women were once as active as men in the productive activity of the fishery (Murray 1979, especially Chapter 2), they now primarily work in and around the home, within the bounds of the neighbourhood. Furthermore, as Chariamonte (1970:9) noted for the South Coast, women very seldom

leave the community, whereas men frequently leave it, primarily for the purposes of employment.

Rosaldo (1976) proposes an interesting dichotomy of social and cultural activity which is of considerable heuristic value in collecting and organizing data on sex role behavior, as well as on the ideology of sex role distinctions. Basically, Rosaldo's thesis is that any social system may be divided into two broad, interacting sectors of social activity, one of which is most closely associated with females, while the other is most closely associated with males. These are, namely, the female dominated domestic sector, and the male dominated public sector. The dichotomy attains its most exaggerated expression, perhaps, in such societies as that of the Mundurucu of South America (Murphy, and Murphy 1970) where the females live in separate, individual domestic units, while the males, for the most part primarily inhabit a large, public men's house. Whether or not the dichotomy is universal (which is essentially Rosaldo's position), it is quite useful in examining the social structure of Black Diamond Bay.

The domestic sector of activity refers to the sphere of social and economic activity which occurs in and around the household, and in which the household is the

focus of the activity. It involves activities necessary to the continued maintenance of the household unit over time. In contrast, the public sector of activity refers to the sphere of social and economic action in which the individual households are linked into larger social wholes. Thus, it includes all those activities necessary to the maintenance over time of social units larger than the household.

In the traditional economic organization of Black Diamond Bay women were clearly more closely associated than men with the domestic sector of activity. With the exception of the duties performed in the 'shore crew,' most of the daily activities performed by women (e.g., cooking, baking, making and mending clothes, tending the household vegetable garden, etc.) occurred in and around the home. In contrast, the daily activities of men (e.g., fishing, mending gear in the 'fishing rooms,' hunting, gathering fuel) for the most part occurred outside the home, and oft-times outside the community itself. Hence, the distinction between culturally defined male activities and culturally defined female activities is at least partially demarcated in spatial terms.

In the "contemporary phase" the spatial dichotomy has

become even more pronounced. As was noted in the last chapter, the industrial wage labourer "goes out" to work, while, in most cases, his wife stays home to care for the home and children. Hence, the distinction between men's work and women's work is heightened in spatial terms.

We may take the same basic discrimination yet a step further. In the traditional socioeconomic organization, and to an even larger extent in the present context, women were to a much larger degree than men restricted to the physical boundaries of the community. In the past, men went out on the open water in their small boats to fish, they went into the barrens to hunt, and they went into the forest to draw wood for winter fuel. In contrast, the excursions of women outside the community were usually of very short duration, primarily involved only a social visit to a neighbouring community, and were almost always conducted in the presence of men.

The situation has changed somewhat in recent years with a few women from Black Diamond Bay now working for wages outside the home and the community, but primarily with an increasing number of young women going away to university, trade school, or to train in nursing. However, the distinction between men and

women in this regard still remains strongly evident. Most adult, married women in the village have never resided in either another region of the island or outside Newfoundland, although there were a few who had been away for short visits. One older lady had been away to southern Ontario twice, once to visit a son and daughter-in-law who have moved there permanently, and again to attend the wedding of a younger son who was marrying a girl from Ontario. The lady in question stands out because she is one of the few women of Black Diamond Bay who have ventured outside Newfoundland.

Black Diamond Bay men, in contrast, are very well travelled in comparison with their women folk. It is no exaggeration to state that virtually every adult male in Black Diamond Bay has spent some period of time, usually in periods of three or four months duration, working away from the village, and often away from the Province. The men of Black Diamond Bay have lived and worked in Argentia, St. John's, Baie D'Espoir, Grand Falls, Stephenville, Goose Bay, Labrador City, and Churchill Falls. Outside of Newfoundland they have lived and worked in northern Quebec, northern and southern Ontario, Manitoba, Alberta, and British Columbia. Hence, men, as opposed to women, are both

travellers and migratory workers, especially in the post-Confederation era. They have frequently ventured far afield into the world outside the village, while women have, for the most part, remained confined to the community and surrounding region. It is, in fact, a sign of the beginning of the process of coming to maturity when a young man leaves, as most young men eventually do, for his first stint of migratory labour. In contrast, a young woman who had gone to Montreal to find work was seldom even mentioned. Her behavior, to many people, was virtually disgraceful.

The central point here may be represented by a brief series of binary discriminations:

men:women::public:private

men:women::'out around':at home

men:women::outside world:'the place'

The importance of these relationships will be arrived at by examining in a little more detail some of the categorical associations thus far presented. When these spatial associations are combined with some of the data previously presented we will be able to reconstruct a particular segment of the Black Diamond Bay ideology relating to men and women, and at the same time obtain a glimpse of how it all fits together into a coherent

system. It is our aim here to uncover some of the ways in which the people of Black Diamond Bay view the distinction between the sexes as something more than simply a difference in anatomical construction.

For the sake of clarity and precesion, the major spatial areas involved in the following discussion are presented schematically in Figure 6 (Appendix). Whether or not the people of Black Diamond Bay can be said to have more or less consciously "internalized" such schemata is a question well beyond the scope of this thesis and entirely irrelevant to it. It is presented merely because it is analytically useful in presenting and explaining the data as a logically unified whole.

In Black Diamond Bay the distinction between the outside world and the place seems to be roughly equivalent to the distinction between "uncivilized" and "civilized," "wild" and "tame." 'The place' is the domain of 'friends and neighbours,' persons one has come to know intimately through a lifetime of association and interaction, with whom one shares a large body of knowledge, lore and sentiment, as well as ties of blood, marriage and friendship. The outside world, in contrast, is much less well-know, and consequently makes less overall sense. It is particularly interesting to note

that the term 'dirty savage' is widely used in reference to persons who overstep the social and moral code of the community. For example, a mother seeing her young child busily 'pelting' (throwing) rocks at another child, or at a neighbour's home, will likely shout to the child, "Put down those rocks you dirty little savage." Basically, a 'dirty savage' is one who does not behave like 'one of us.'

A more specific example involves the initiation of an avoidance relationship between two household units.

One day a young man from the community was down on 'the flats' doing some reckless driving while under the influence of alcohol. Basically, the young man was spinning the car tires and throwing rocks every which way into the air. A local shopkeeper, rather than call the young man's father to settle the matter, turned it directly over to the R.C.M.P. Although the young man's behavior was considered bad, most people believed that the shopkeeper's action was even worse. It is widely believed that local disputes should be resolved locally wherever possible without recourse to outside institutions, so many people believed that the shopkeeper had behaved in an entirely inappropriate manner. In fact, the young man's wrongdoing was virtually for-

gotten in the face of the other man's serious lack of tact in dealing with the situation. Discussion in the aftermath of the incident often saw the shopkeeper referred to as a 'savage' and the young man as a victim. Appealing to an outside authority to intercede in community affairs is thought to be morally unjustified, so the shopkeeper had, at least temporarily, stepped outside the moral community.

For our present purposes, the outside world may be subdivided into two broad components, the natural world and the world of humans. The natural world is composed of the land and sea, both of which are wilder, more untamed, than the comparatively sedate world of humans. The sea, in particular, is seen as wild and unpredictable, the land being tamer in comparison. The sea is both the giver and taker of life, a bountiful provider, yet a furious destroyer of life and property, calm and serene at one minute, yet ragingly omnipotent at the next. Many stories are told of disasters or near disasters at sea, and many of the more dramatic events are immortalized in song (e.g., the sinking of the Southern Cross, the wreck of the sealing vessel the Newfoundland). In speaking of the power of the sea there are many people who still refer to the Titanic, nodding

their heads knowingly, saying, "They called her the unsinkable." Practically every home in the community has a number of items which have been salvaged at one time or another from ships which have sunk in the area, and this itself is mute testimony to the power of the sea and the dangers inherent in a seafaring life.

The land, with its barrens and forests, is relatively tame in comparison with the sea, but in comparison with the human world it too is wild and dangerous. People, even very skillful woodsmen, sometimes get lost in 'the country' and some have been known to perish there, as the occasional cross one finds here and there in 'the country' to mark the scene of a fatal accident clearly testifies. 'The country,' too, as some people still maintain, is the abode of the 'little fellows,' or 'fairies,' who may lead an incautious person astray, perhaps to their destruction. Finally, 'the country' is a place where the social restrictions imposed by life in the community are temporarily released, where the morality and strictures of village life are neither as rigidly enforced nor as binding. As one man commented,

In the summertime a lot of the boys here likes to go up in the country for a spell. There's some beautiful spots for trouting in the country over there across the pond, you see, and there's plenty of trees over there, not like over

here in the place. Some of the boys have camps over there too; I got one half finished meself.

It's not so much for the troutng you goes over there, but that's good sport too, mind you. Half the time we does more drinking than troutng. Sure young Wish Red was over there for a spell on his holidays a while back, and I'm sure he never ventured outside the camp first nor last. He was into the beer before they were half way across the pond and never let up until they were half way back.

As the comments of many men indicate, much of the fun of going into 'the country' arises from being able "to get away from it all." Rules of appropriate social behavior are relaxed and one no longer has to worry about keeping up appearances or accomodating oneself to others. As another man described it:

You can come and go as you please with no one minding your business but your ownself. You can stand up in the door of the camp and tell the whole world to bugger off if you got a mind to.

The sedentary influences of organized social life in the village are at a minimum 'in the country' and many men enjoy the opportunity it affords them to relax, and if they please, to go wild for a short time. Faris (1972:31), too, has noted the behavioral licence allowed men while away from the watchful eye of the community. Hence, 'the country' compares to 'the place' as wild does to tame.

As for the human world outside the village, it too is perceived as somewhat wilder than 'the place,' it being the unfamiliar territory of 'strangers.' However, it is well to note, as we have seen in the last chapter, the definition of 'the place,' though still referring in particular to the community, is in many situations expanded to encompass the region. The region is familiar territory, full of familiar faces, so it is seen as less potentially threatening than the outside world. When men from the region work away from home, but within the confines of the Province, in Labrador City for instance, there is a tendency for them to stick together, feeling more comfortable in their own company. However, when working away from Newfoundland, a person's national or ethnic identity as a Newfoundlander often becomes particularly important.

In Black Diamond Bay, Newfoundlanders are seen as being very different from the larger category of Canadians generally referred to as 'Mainlanders.' The people of Black Diamond Bay claim that Newfoundlanders are primarily a friendly and open people, while the 'Mainlanders' are often closed, suspicious, and generally unfriendly. Newfoundlanders are seen as having an easygoing, 'come day, go day' way about them, while

'Mainlanders' are much more pushy and aggressive, and are always in a rush. "They even tell you to hurry up and wait," one man commented sarcastically.

To top it all off, 'Mainlanders' are seen as having a superior attitude toward Newfoundlanders. They tell insulting jokes and they avail themselves of every opportunity to have a laugh at the expense of a Newfoundlander. If a 'Mainlander' and a Newfoundlander make the very same mistake on the job, for the former it is simply a mistake, while for the latter the mistake is attributed to his being a 'stupid Newfie.' In short, the mainland of Canada is seen as more threatening than Newfoundland. In comparison to Newfoundland, it is a hostile, unfriendly area, for the most part inhabited by hostile, unfriendly people. As one man remarked:

I was working in Alberta for six months last year and I'm sure I never saw a person smile out on the road until I got back to the auld rock /The island of Newfoundland/.

Though doubtlessly exaggerated, the remark reflects the general perception that Black Diamond Bay people hold of the mainland of Canada.

Many of the men from Black Diamond Bay who have gone 'up to Canada' to work, or who have gone away to work elsewhere in Newfoundland, have been employed in remote

areas, particularly in mining towns. One of the key features of such work situations is the nature of the labour force and the social organization of the newly created towns in which such operations are generally located. A brief description⁷ of some of the general features will suffice to make the point.

Being of relatively recent origin, many of the mining towns of the Canadian north have very little, if any, indigenous population, so it follows that virtually the entire work force has to be shipped into the area. The remote locations of such towns fail to make them very attractive to persons already established in occupations elsewhere in Canada, particularly when they have friends and relatives in their area, even when the financial rewards for moving there are made attractive. Hence, a large number of the workers attracted to such a location are young, unestablished, and interested only in transient labour. This leaves the towns with only a small stable population intent on settling there permanently. As a result, private accommodations such as apartments are in very short supply, so most of the temporary work force is billeted in company-operated bunkhouses where they subsist on mass produced food prepared in a company-operated cafeteria.

Eventually, the poor working and living conditions, the long hours, the lack of female companionship, the loneliness and isolation leave tempers short. Many men spend practically all their spare time drinking beer and liquor and gambling, and in such situations outbreaks of violence are not at all uncommon. In short, the situation is one of relative anomie. Men return from these places with numerous stories of fights, of people losing large amounts of money playing cards, and of the general wildness of the atmosphere. As Faris (1972:46) noted for the men of Cat Harbour, this is frequently the only context in which they have ever experienced such continuous extremes of indulgent behavior, and consequently, many seem to think it rather typical of 'the outside.'

Clearly, then, the social organization of many of the communities in which Black Diamond Bay men have worked has been very different from that of their own community. They have worked in a great variety of locations across Newfoundland and across the rest of Canada, but have perceived most of these places, at the least, as very cold and unfriendly, or at worse, as outrightly hostile and licentious. Hence, the comparison between 'the place' and the outside world tends to be analogous to a comparison between the sedate and the hostile, or the

sensible and the indulgent.

As we have seen at an earlier point in this section, women are to a far greater extent than men limited in their excursions outside the community. While in the context of the community women are associated with the domestic sector and men with the public sector, in a broader context women are associated with 'the place' and men with the outside world. On that basis we arrive at the following related binary discriminations:

men:women :: public:private,

men:women :: 'out around':at home,

and.

men:women :: outside world:'the place.'

Since we have now found that in the conceptual world of Black Diamond Bay:

outside world:'the place' :: indulgent:sedate,

then it would seem to follow logically that:

men:women :: indulgent:sedate.

An examination of the data verifies that that is exactly the case.

In Black Diamond Bay one of the most important and fundamental differences believed to exist between the sexes is that women are much more 'sensible' than men, 'sensible' in this case meaning responsible, domesticated,

sedate. It is believed that if left entirely to their own devices, most men will be largely inclined to indulgence ('carrying on,' or 'getting on with their auld foolishness,' as women sometimes say), much the same as if they were still boys. Women, in contrast, right from the time when they are still young girls, are conceived of as more responsible and domesticated.

The ideology of sexual differences here arises, at least in part, from the differences in the ways in which boys and girls are socialized. From a very early age girls are given the responsibility for certain household tasks, performing more and more of them as they grow older and their capabilities increase (see also Paris 1972:76). Girls wash dishes, iron clothes, help their mothers with the housework, take care of younger siblings, and so forth. Hence, they mature relatively slowly and smoothly into women. By the time they have reached physical maturity they are already doing women's work, as culturally defined. In a sense, for many women the change from single to married status involves essentially a change from tending on one's father and brothers to tending on one's husband and sons.

Boys, in contrast, are generally given much less responsibility, so are primarily free to play and run

wild. As children they are physically incapable of performing much of what is considered 'man's work,' so they are responsible for little more than the running of errands and occasionally assisting their fathers. Hence, while girls are working side by side with their mothers, boys are 'as wild as billy goats,' and are expected to be just that way. The simple statement, 'boys will be boys' is often called upon as an explanation of their 'rowdy' behavior and their numerous pranks. Such behavior is considered entirely natural and entirely typical of boys.

Marriage brings with it more of a change for men than it does for women in so far as it represents a move to full adult male status. The difference is reflected in the saying:

A man is a man when he takes a wife,
A woman is a woman all of her life.

As outlined in a previous chapter, the ideal of manhood in Black Diamond Bay is focused strongly upon independence and autonomy, both of which are essentially unavailable to a man while he still resides as a subordinate member of his father's household. Upon marrying and setting up a household unit of his own, a man attains the basic prerequisite of full manhood. This contrasts sharply with the case of women, for whom the arrival of full womanhood

comes largely with physical maturity.

Another element involved in the association of men and women, respectively, with the indulgent and the sedate, is the consumption of alcoholic beverages, an activity that is almost exclusively the domain of men (Paris 1972:74; Szwed 1966a:436). Very few women consume alcohol, and most look upon the practice as a social ill, one which cannot be totally erased, so must be coped with. They see drinking as simply 'foolishness,' as a waste of hard earned money, as a cause of lateness and absenteeism at work, and as a prime cause of death and injury in car accidents. They also complain about its ill effects in more minor situations, such as when a husband or son arrives home visibly intoxicated and three hours late for a meal. "What kind of a house will people think we're running here," is the comment sometimes made to the culprit who threatens the respectable image of the household by creating the potential for adverse 'talk' (gossip). The consumption of alcohol and the concomitant reduction in inhibition it produces are generally seen as an expression of the inherent indulgence of menfolk.

As was noted briefly in a prior chapter, Black Diamond Bay now has two public drinking establishments, locally referred to as 'clubs.' For six days of the week these

'clubs' are the exclusive territory of males. From just after the evening meal until closing time, between 10:00 p.m. and midnight (there is no specified closing time - the proprietors essentially open and close when they feel like it) men gather at the 'clubs' to talk, drink and play pool. The unmarried men gather there on virtually every night, while the married men go there when they get the opportunity to do so.

Although men are seen as the outright heads of the households in Black Diamond Bay, it is not at all uncommon to discover that it is the woman who holds control over the family finances (Murray 1979:24 makes the same observation). In all the cases at my disposal, with only a single exception, the husband would pass the money he earned over to his wife, keeping only a small amount of pocket money for himself. The wife is considered the person best capable of handling household finances since she has the best idea of exactly what is needed and how the money should be best spent. She is seen as much more sensible and responsible in these matters. As a result, many married men have little opportunity to go to the 'clubs' in the evening times because in order to do so they often have to first 'coax' some money from their wives. Hence, the married men get out to the 'clubs' for

a few hours perhaps a couple of times a week, but they do not make it an almost daily practice as do many of the unmarried men.

The big social event of the week in Black Diamond Bay is the Saturday night dances at the local 'clubs,' the one time during the week in which women are found in attendance at the public drinking establishments. Here too we find evidence of the distinction we have outlined between men and women. At the dances there is often some tension between the two sexes in that many of the men, particularly the married men who ordinarily have less opportunity, are out 'to have a good time of it' and to indulge in a little drinking, while the women do their best to prevent, or to at least limit the amount of alcohol their husbands will consume. However, given that the dances are major social events where people get the opportunity to meet with friends and kin they do not see every day, the women often relax their constraints over their men. Many men leave at the end of the night under the influence of alcohol, at least to the minor extent of 'feeling good.' At the end of the night women upbraid the husbands, and sometimes their sons too, for overindulgence and for any embarrassing incident they may have been author of. Both overindulgence and the creation

of embarrassing scenes, particularly those which threaten the respectable image of a household, are attributed as evidence of the fact that men are naturally more indulgent and careless than women.

Finally, in Black Diamond Bay it is primarily men who drive cars. Cars play a relatively major role in the world of men, particularly of younger men who have grown up since cars have come into common usage in the area. Cars have become a means of gaining prestige among one's peers in the form of a community-wide, possibly even region-wide, reputation.

To indicate the closeness with which men are associated with their automobiles, I need only mention that throughout the area men are often identified in conversations in terms of their cars. That is to say, that when a particular person comes up in conversation he is often identified, or "placed" as it were, by briefly reciting some of the specifications of his car, such as make, year, engine size, carburetor type, type of exhaust system, and/or any particular feature which makes the machine unique in the area. If the participants in the conversation cannot readily place the person in question, they can usually place the car once it is appropriately described and thereby arrive at the person through the car.

A fairly typical example may proceed as follows:

A- When I was out in town ~~/St. John's/~~
yesterday I took up with John-Joe Wren
from over there in Blue Jay Point.

B- John-Joe Wren? Is he the fellow with
the red and white '74 Camaro, 350, 4 barrel?
Tall, foxy-headed ~~/red haired/~~ fellow?

A- No, that's his brother Mick, though.
John-Joe's just as foxy. John-Joe is the
young fellow with the '71 Ford pick-up.

B- Yes, boy, I knows him now.

As one might assume, such a close association of man and
machine indicates the use of cars as "status symbols."

This is indeed the case, but there is another equally
important dimension that should not be overlooked.

Social relationships throughout the entire area are
characterized by a strongly held "ethos of equality"
(cf. Nemec 1972:30), so we are dealing here, at least on
the level of ideology, with a society of peers. It is of
value in this context, then, to make use of the concept
of "reputation" as outlined by Peter J. Wilson (1969; 1973).

Hence, cars are as much markers and/or creators of
"reputations" as they are "status symbols." Status
distinctions are vertical distinctions, distinctions of
rank, which locate persons in social space in terms of
their position above or below other people. In contrast,
distinctions of reputation are horizontal. People are

located in social space in terms of distinctive attributes which do not imply rank order. This will be discussed in greater detail in Chapter VI.

In short, big cars, fast cars, and unique cars all stand out in the minds of men in Black Diamond Bay and the surrounding area. Since car and owner are so closely associated, the owner of a car that is well-known will be equally well-known. It follows that obtaining such a car will increase one's "visibility" and will likely add to one's reputation among one's peers.

However, it is not only the character of a man's car that influences his prestige and reputation amongst his peer group, but also the way in which he handles the car. This is particularly true of the younger unmarried males, but is also to a much more limited extent true among the older, married males. Besides merely possessing a big car, it is also important for a man to occasionally show off the power of the machine, as well as his skill as a driver. Practically all men who drive cars talk of the short periods of time in which they have driven to St. John's, often citing witnesses who were in the car at the time and who could verify the story. To reach St. John's in record, or near record time is a source of prestige since it is an expression of

manly, risk-taking behavior.

Accidents resulting from fast and sometimes reckless driving are relatively commonplace in the area in which Black Diamond Bay is located. Many cars have been totally demolished, quite a number of persons have been injured to varying extents, and there have been several fatalities. It is interesting to note that small crosses, virtually identical to the sort which mark the scene of fatalities 'in the country,' are often used to mark the location of fatal automobile accidents. They stand as testimony to the dangers of driving, an activity which, as we have noted, is almost exclusively the province of males. Again, the activity is characterized by indulgence, recklessness, and danger.

UNMARRIED VERSUS MARRIED MALES

During my stay in Black Diamond Bay it became clear that all male residents of the community could be located in one of three broad categories which generally correspond to three distinct phases of the life-cycle. These were, namely, 'boys,' 'young fellows' (sometimes 'hard boys') or unmarried men, and 'men' proper or married men. In regard to the latter two categories, it

was further noted that there seemed to be essentially two dimensions along which manhood is defined: (1) the perceived natural qualities of manhood, for convenience, the natural definition, and (2) the perceived social qualities of manhood, again for convenience, the sociological definition.

As we have seen in some detail in the last section, the natural definition of manhood seems to both reflect and reinforce the traditional and contemporary division of labour by sex in so far as men and women tend to be metonymically associated with the spatial locations of their work. As a result, people are inclined to conceive of women as essentially more domesticated, sensible, and sedate than men, who are by nature inclined to indulgence and to be 'as wild as billy goats.' Women are conceived of as responsible, stable homebodies, whereas there is a tendency to conceive of men in terms of the old Irish song, still sung in the village, which begins:

I've been a wild rover for many a year,
I've spent all me money on whiskey and beer.

Men are lovers of action, excitement, and the sometimes rowdy company of their peers. Women are content with home and the community, whereas men like to 'get out and

around," as Newfoundland-born author Gordon Pinsent put it in his movie The Rowdy Man. Such a conception of the basic male/female dichotomy seems to me to explain why, in rural Newfoundland cats, regardless of actual sex, are referred to as female, while dogs, also regardless of actual sex, are referred to as male (Paris 1972:73-74). Cats, like women, are most frequently found around the home, whereas dogs, which are very rarely kept as pets, given as they are to roaming about in groups, are most similar to men.

The sociological definition of full adult manhood in Black Diamond Bay is relatively straightforward. As in rural Ireland (Arensberg 1950) or rural Wales (Rees 1961), a man in the full sociological sense of the term is a household head, a representative of one of the smallest social units to the community at large. He is ideally an independent social actor, autonomous, and 'beholding to no one.' A man is responsible for the continued survival of his household.

Again there is a metonymical relationship involved here, but in this case the focus is entirely different. In the case of the natural definition, as we have seen, the community is seen as a collection of individuals divided primarily along the lines of sex (though age

differences are also important). In the case of the sociological definition, the community is conceived of as a collection of households, kin groups, and neighbourhoods. From this perspective a man signifies a household in much the same way as a maple leaf may be said to signify Canada, or a crown, a kingdom. Hence, from this perspective only the household head is fully a man⁸. Other adult males fail to live up to the very important ideals of independence and autonomy since they are subordinate members of households, so strictly speaking, they are not fully men. There is obviously room here for ambiguity, but it seems that it is the very ambiguity of ideological categories which gives them the illusion of corresponding to social reality (e.g., Ronald Fernandez 1972).

It should be rather clear at this point that the two definitions of manhood encountered in Black Diamond Bay tend to stand in opposition to one another. On the one hand, a man is conceived of as something of a wild, reckless, carefree, and indulgent character, while on the other, he is sober, responsible, and dependable. However, during the ordinary course of social life the two opposing definitions seldom come into open contradiction. Circumstance usually dictates which of the two standards

of evaluation will be in operation at a given moment in time.

In addition, the contradiction between the two definitions of manhood in Black Diamond Bay is to some extent "worked out" by what we may characterize as a process of further elaboration. That is to say that the sociological definition is most closely associated with married men, who are household heads and who, because of the consequent responsibilities, most closely fit the ideals entailed. The natural definition of manhood is most closely associated with the unmarried men, i.e., the 'young fellows,' who, because they lack the many responsibilities of the married men, and because they are but loosely attached to households, are better suited to fulfilling the ideals entailed in that definition. The point is aptly illustrated in the following account taken directly from my field notes:

Last night at the usual Saturday night dance at one of the local clubs there were five young men, in about their mid- to late-twenties, sitting at one of the tables, drinking quite heavily, talking loudly, and behaving in a generally rowdy manner. This morning I was listening to two ladies chatting over a cup of tea when they brought the incident up. One of the ladies said: "My land, wasn't it just scandalous the way one of the five young men was getting on last night. You'd think he'd have more sense than that, now."

The comment struck me as being of particular interest because the behavior of only one of the five men, and then not even the loudest, or 'the ring leader' of the group, was singled out for comment. The only feature which really distinguished him from his comrades was that he was married while they were single. His friends' behavior had passed without comment, while his identical behavior became a subject for 'talk' (gossip).

On another occasion I was asking one of the married women of the community about the 'clubs.' She responded,

Well, I suppose it's better than having them go up the bay to have a bottle of beer, but sometimes it's hard to tell the married men from the young fellows now-a-days.

The point that emerges here is essentially this: that behavior considered appropriate for a man tends to vary with his marital status. Married men are in many circumstances expected to behave in a "respectable" manner, inappropriate lapses from which will be chastized by gossip, i.e., 'talk.' The 'young fellows,' in contrast, are allowed, and in many cases are even expected to behave in a somewhat wilder, less respectable manner.

However, the dichotomous evaluation of male behavior is here over-simplified since it is made largely from a female perspective. The male perspective, though in many respects similar, varies in a significant manner. Men,

too, will hold that marriage brings with it increased responsibility and thus necessitates a more responsible, i.e., "respectable," attitude. However, it remains equally necessary to 'get on with the boys,' i.e., to maintain a manly demeanor and a favourable 'name' among one's peers. Thus, while chronic drinking, neglect of family, or overinvolvement with the peer group on the part of a married man will be severely chastized by the men of the community, a married man is nevertheless expected to occasionally 'carry on,' drink and socialize with the 'boys,' and have 'a few laughs.' To do otherwise would be to act in too respectable a manner, not unlike the outside service people (e.g., the R.C.M.P.) who maintain, in most cases, their social distance (Szwed 1966b:22), so would in reality be the social equivalent of refusing to accept one's membership in the community (Szwed 1966b: 108). Too much respectability, then, would likewise create adverse talk. A man exhibiting such behavior may be typified either as a classic example of the "hen-pecked husband" or, and worse yet, as 'putting on airs' ('thinks he's grand' or 'thinks he's too good for the likes of us'). Failure to become reasonably involved with one's peers, i.e., in the male social world, is often interpreted as an indication of pretensions toward superiority,

a denial of the very basic "ethos of equality" (cf. Nemeo 1972:30) which underlies social relationships between 'friends and neighbours.' As both household heads and members of male peer groups, married men must orient their behavior between two extremes.

The young men, however, are more heavily involved with their peer groups, so they orient much of their behavior in that direction. The position of an unmarried man is in a sense interstitial. He is in the process of moving out of his natal household, but has not yet taken on the responsibility of the household he will form upon marriage. Since the peer groups too stand largely "outside" the household structure of the village, such men are consequently drawn outward by their peers and are subjected to greater influence by them. Marriage leads to a re-integration into the household structure, and thereby to decreasing involvement with the peer group.

Some of my informants verbalized the distinction between married men and the 'young fellows' in terms of the different positions in which they stand vis-a-vis women. Basically, a married man is one in close association with a woman and her domesticating influence. Women are said to 'catch' a man, as men are said to 'catch' wild animals, and they 'get him to settle down.'

As one of the women of the community described her son:

He's a bit of a laddie right now, I'm afraid,
but one of these fine days he'll meet a nice
girl and she'll settle him right down.

Among women themselves a very high premium is placed upon the ability to keep a man in line. Of a woman whose husband is a virtual paragon of respectability it might be said: "I'd love to know her secret, maid," while of a woman whose influence over her husband is slight or non-existent, it is sometimes said: "I pity the poor soul." Men may well agree with the latter evaluation, but in the case of the former they may consider the husband less of a man for surrendering his autonomy to his wife.

The interesting feature here is the emphasis upon the influence of women. Many of my informants spoke as if it were only upon marriage and the consequent influence of a wife that men become settled and responsible persons. The situation is seen as somewhat more the case of a woman somehow convincing a man to keep his behavior in check than of a man maturing and taking up responsibility.

One afternoon I had the opportunity of witnessing a conversation that three women were having about a fourth woman and her husband. The topic of conversation was initially the behavior of the fourth woman's husband at the prior Saturday night dance. He had had virtually

nothing to drink and had ended up the night as the only fully sober man at the table. Rather than praise the man's self-control, the women were quick to admire his wife's control over him. One of the women commented:

I'd like to have her secret - he hardly ever takes a drop. But I tell you, whatever it is, I haven't got it. You might just as well talk to the leg of the table as waste your words on my old fellow. I'm after finding out that at the time ~~the dance~~ the other night he was up getting a rum and a beer every time he went to get a beer, and drinking the rum at the bar on the sly. But it'll be a long spell before he gets another drink, maid.

As far as some of the men in the community were concerned, I was later told that the man who exhibited sobriety at the dance "can't open his mouth with her, boy." The point here is that the man's decision not to drink at the dance was attributed by both men and women to action on the wife's part and not to his own volition. In terms of the local philosophy, a man is essentially an indulgent creature, so when the indulgence is not being expressed, there is usually some exterior influence keeping it in check.

To briefly sum up, in Black Diamond Bay the differences between men and women, beyond the obvious physical differences, are conceptualized as a difference between the indulgent and the sedate. Similarly, the difference

between unmarried and married men is seen in a like manner, arising from the different relationships they hold to women. Married men are associated with, and under the influence of, women and are for that reason, in addition to the greater responsibilities they have, less indulgent and more sedate than the unmarried men.

'RACES'

Another means of social categorization utilized in Black Diamond Bay is the classification of persons on the basis of relative age. The age sets thus formed are referred to as 'races,' a term also noted by Paris (1972:70). Persons of about the same relative age and belonging to the same generational group are said to belong to the same 'race.' Similarly, persons of different age groups or generations are said to belong to different 'races.'

The term 'race' is used rather loosely in Black Diamond Bay in distinguishing persons on the basis of relative age. This arises, perhaps, from the fact that there is no definite line of demarcation that separates one 'race' from another. Chronological age is an important factor, but as one 'race' blends into another,

the boundaries are never entirely clear-cut in that respect. Furthermore, use of the term varies somewhat with the context in which it is used. For example, a man with two sons, one age seventeen, the other twenty-five years of age, spoke of the younger son's 'race' as being generally brighter than the older son's 'race' when it came to school work. In another context, however, the same man described his own 'race' as enjoying quiet, sensible music, not the 'auld noise' that his sons' 'race' enjoyed. The first context placed his two sons in different 'races,' while the second placed them in the same 'race.' This seems to be a reflection of the fact that there are two general uses of the term 'race.' One focuses upon the broad distinction between entire generations, as in the second example, and the other focuses upon distinctions between age groups within the generations, as was the case in the first example.

The idea of 'race' has some functional significance in the social organization of Black Diamond Bay in so far as it loosely defines and acknowledges the primary peer group to which a man belongs, and by which a man is most influenced. A person's 'race,' in the most common use of the term, is composed of all those individuals of approximately the same age who grew up together, played

together, went to school together, made their first Confession and Communion together, and who in general passed through the same life cycle stages at approximately the same time. These persons are known more intimately and have more in common with one another than they do with older persons, who were teenagers or adults while they were still children, or with younger persons, who were children while they were teenagers or adults. A man's 'race' generally includes all his closest friends and associates.

The division into age sets or 'races' is obviously of significance in the social life of Black Diamond Bay. The 'race' into which a man is born is the category from which he will later select friends, and it is also the group in which he will have to establish and maintain a favourable 'name.' In that sense, a 'race,' though neither a clearly defined nor a clearly visible group, is indeed an important category of persons. It is the category in which the parameters of peer group pressure are established. This is particularly important when we consider that in rural Newfoundland age differences tend to be emphasized in virtually all contexts except the inshore fishery, where they are generally ignored (cf. Nemeo 1972:27).

The similarity between the system of 'races' in Black Diamond Bay and the age-set systems recorded, for instance, among East African peoples is readily apparent (e.g., Evans-Pritchard 1940: Chapter VI). Although not formally organized in Black Diamond Bay, the age-sets there seem to fulfill some of the same functions. The ties of 'race' and the consequent peer group sentiment and pressures toward conformity that they engender serves to counterbalance the tendency of the village to segment into separate kinship units. Allegiance to one's peers and the preference that men have for socializing with age-mates (a factor noted also by Nemec 1972:22) draw men outward from their kinship groups. Hence, as already noted, the allegiance of men is essentially dual. On the one hand, they are segmented into separate kinship units, while on the other, they are unified in peer groups, or 'races.' As Beattie (1966:47) has argued, one of the fundamental functions of age-set systems in general is to establish important social contacts which transcend the more limited bounds of kinship.

'CROWDS'

To complete the picture, one more means of social

categorization used in Black Diamond Bay must be outlined in some detail. That is, the use of the concept 'crowd.'

In the first place, it is important to note at the outset that 'crowd' is generally a variable or situational term, having no specific, predefined referent (Paris 1972:65). That is to say, that there is no one specific social group or formation that is exclusively referred to as a 'crowd.' Rather, the term is used to signify a group of people distinct from, or contrasting with, like groups. This is demonstrated through the following examples of its usage:

Young John got home last night, you know.
That's all of John-Joe's boys home now. Its
the first time in seven or eight years that
the whole crowd was together.

Here 'crowd' refers to a particular group of agnatic kinsmen as distinguished from other agnatic groups.

Yes, boy, there's all sorts of foreigners out there on the Banks. We seen hundreds and hundreds of boats, off as far as you could see in one direction or the other. The Portuguese and Spaniards are a good crowd - right quiet, hardly says a word, they do. But the Russians, now, that's a hard crowd for you. I wouldn't trust the buggers as far as I could pitch them. Why, I wouldn't be at all surprised if they got something to do with the "Cape Broyle" /a Newfoundland trawler lost at sea in August 1977/. They might have run into her in the fog, and then high-tailed it out of the waters without bothering with survivors so they wouldn't have to own up to it. The Portuguese wouldn't do nothing like that. They'd likely risk their own neck trying to haul them out.

Here, of course, the term 'crowd' is used to distinguish between nationalities.

Our crowd is just as smart Both physically and mentally alert as any of them fellows. If you ask me, the reason we're not getting more medals at those games Canada Summer Games of 1977 hosted in St. John's is that we haven't got a big enough crowd to choose from. Jesus! I believe there's more people in Hamilton, let alone Toronto or Montreal, than there is in all of Newfoundland.

Here 'crowd' refers to all of the residents of one province in contrast with other provinces.

They're a tough crowd over there in Robin's Cove, boy, regular savages. Give them a couple of bottles of beer and they're at each other's throats, or off starting a big racket somewhere. The mounties should be left over there all the time to keep the peace. We don't need them over here because we takes care of our own affairs.

Here 'crowd' is used in contrasting communities in the region.

The whole crowd of us are relations over here on the hill, but I'm not sure if I have any relations down on the flats. Lar, are we related to any of the crowd on the flats?

Here 'crowd' is used in making territorial or residential distinctions within a single community.

Its the younger crowd what goes to the Younger club. Us older folks don't like the auld rock and roll, so we goes to the Elder for the auld-time music.

Here 'crowd' is used when distinguishing between

generations, or 'races.'

As the preceding six examples clearly show, 'crowd' is a situationally specific term that is used to distinguish a particular group of people from other groups of comparable size and composition. Depending upon the particular context in which it is used, it may refer to a group of people as small as several brothers, or as large as a nation, or to anything in between. In general, a 'crowd' means a category of persons grouped in relation to some particular criterion they share which serves to distinguish them from similar groups.

In the present section, after having outlined the variability in the usage of the term 'crowd' I wish to direct particular attention to one more specific use of the term. In the remainder of this thesis the term 'crowd' will be taken to refer to a loosely organized, informal male social grouping. It is generally composed of a small group of close friends and kinsmen of the same age-set, or 'race,' who socialize together on a continuous basis. It has no clearly defined boundary, as all men are interrelated in a vast web of ties and cross-cutting ties of kinship, friendship, and residence. The 'crowd' may be to some extent conceptualized as an "intimate network" (cf. Boissevain 1968:547) of age-mates.

who socialize together on a frequent basis. However, the concept "network," although of great heuristic value, goes too far in Boissevain's "non-group" direction, stressing as it does the importance of dyadic ties and focusing on a central ego. This tends to obscure the actual "polyadic" (cf. Schwartz 1974) ties between core members of a 'crowd.' A 'crowd' is actually something more than merely the sum of its members dyadic relationships. Walter Goldschmidt's term "overlapping groups" (1959:71) is perhaps more to the point since it acknowledges both the "groupness" of the 'crowd' (with its estimated 3-7 members) and the vast network of linkages which connect various individuals and 'crowds.' It also helps us avoid extreme conclusions such as Szved's (1966b:85) contention that social ties between more than two persons in rural Newfoundland are possible only through some form of "sponsorship."

The following incident selected from my fieldnotes shows that 'crowds' are acknowledged social groupings, even though they go by no specific and unique title other than the situational term 'crowd.'

One Sunday evening I encountered Wayne Blue, and during the ensuing conversation I asked him where he had been on the previous Saturday night, as he had not gone

to the dance at the Younger 'club' where the men he is usually seen with were. He replied:

I was up at the Dory /ā 'club' located in a nearby community/, but I should have gone to the Younger with the boys. I would have had a better time if I did.

I asked him who he had gone there with and he answered:

Me and Ken went up there with Mick and the boys, but it wasn't much good at all. They're not really the same crowd as us, you see. I mean, we associate with them, but we don't really go around with them. Do you know what I mean? It's not the same as if you're with your own crowd. We got the feeling like they didn't want us around - I suppose they gets the same feeling from us sometimes too. That's the way it is.

As the comment of the man indicates, 'crowds' are at least relatively distinct social groups that are generally distinguishable with little difficulty by members of the community. One 'goes around' with a particular 'crowd,' 'associates' with others, and has little to do with still other 'crowds.' 'Crowds' are not simply open-ended networks, but are rather loosely bounded groups.

The existence of 'crowds' may be found among married as well as unmarried males. My observations showed that upon becoming seriously involved with a woman, or upon marriage, men tend to socialize much less frequently with their peers, for as Nemec (1972:22) noted, friendship becomes something of a "luxury" after a man takes

takes on the responsibilities of married life. However, ties with the peer group, and particularly with one's 'crowd,' are rarely, if ever, severed. Most married men tend to spend some time during the week at one of the 'clubs' with their friends, though they rarely do so on the almost daily basis of the unmarried men. To be married and to continue to maintain the same level of involvement with one's 'crowd' as would a single man, if one desired to do so, would very quickly create adverse 'talk.' I have even recorded a few cases in which men were forced to 'intercede' in the behavior of a wayward brother who was beginning to neglect his wife and children in favour of 'the boys.' In one case, it was noted, the outcome was physical violence when a younger brother refused to 'listen to sense.'

However, most men in Black Diamond Bay are indeed very concerned with the well-being of their families, so do not let involvement with the 'crowd' interfere with this primary responsibility in any way. The household unit is usually close-knit and the husband/wife bond relatively strong (e.g., Chairamonte 1970:17; Szűcs 1966a:83), so the 'crowd' is generally secondary. Hence, involvement with the 'crowd' is also normally secondary, with the exception of a small number of deviant cases.

Though the members of a 'crowd' are sometimes kinsmen to one another, 'crowds' are not kinship groups. Kinship is only one basis for 'crowd' membership and seems to be largely incidental to it. On numerous occasions I have heard people say, "We're all relations in the place when you get down to it." A similar observation was recorded by Szwed (1966a:60). Though kinship ties beyond second cousin are not normally recognized in the area (Nemec 1972:12), one can nevertheless claim to be a relation, whether through blood or marriage, to virtually any other person in the community, though only a few of the older residents are able to specify some of the exact relationships involved. However, 'relations' are socially equivalent to non-related co-inhabitants, so the term seems to be as much a territorial as a kinship designation. Hence, when one discovers kinship relationships within the structure of a 'crowd' they are often of little social importance as kinship relations. The important point is that they are friendship relations.

Another factor to consider in this regard is that even in those cases in which all the members of a 'crowd' are simultaneously kinsmen, there are always other equally or even closer related persons of the same 'race' who are non-members. For example, one man of my

acquaintance was a core member of a 'crowd' along with his FaSiSo and his FaFaSiDaSo, while another of his FaSiSos of the very same 'race' was a core member of a different 'crowd,' one not at all closely associated with his own. Numerous other examples of a similar nature all point in the same direction. While the members of a 'crowd' may be kinsmen, kinship seems not to be itself the determining factor.

Residential proximity also has some relationship to 'crowd' formations, though it was perhaps a more important consideration in the past when mobility was more limited than it is today. While most members of a given 'crowd' tend to reside in the same territorial aggregate or in contiguous territorial aggregates, there are nevertheless many exceptions. Today, in fact, some of the 'crowds' contain members from outside the community. The relatively recent increase in mobility and communication throughout the area seem to have vastly altered peoples' conceptions of what constitutes "home territory," so the influence of territorial proximity on the choice of friends is also rapidly changing.

The relationships between 'crowds' and kinship, and between 'crowds' and residence begin to make a little more sense when we complete the circle by examining the

relationship between kinship and residence (e.g., Paris 1972:64; Schwartz 1974:81). Ties of residence in Black Diamond Bay strongly influence the reckoning of kinship relationships, making the kinship system much more complex than it initially appears to be. A much deeper analysis of kinship than the size and scope of this thesis allows would be necessary to arrive at a thorough description and full understanding of its many intricacies. Thus, I will be obliged, as it were, to merely touch upon "the tip of an iceberg."

The essentially fascinating feature of kinship and territory in Black Diamond Bay is that the two sets of ties appear to stand in a complex dialectical relationship to one another. Simply put, while ties of kinship, on the one hand, influence peoples' choices of residence, common territorial residence, on the other hand, has an effect on the way people actually perceive kinship relations. That is, that physical proximity influences peoples' perceptions of the closeness of kinship relations.

In effect, there seems to be two kinship systems operating side by side in Black Diamond Bay, the ideal system and the system as it actually operates in reality. If persons in the community are asked to recite

genealogies, or to specify the kinship relationships they stand in vis-a-vis specific individuals (e.g., John is my father's sister's husband), they do so to the limits of their knowledge and the investigator is eventually able to construct a very neat and formal composite picture of the kinship system. People will provide general rules, for instance, such as the fact that a first cousin is a closer kinsman than a second cousin, that it is not permissible to marry a first cousin, and so forth. However, upon closer examination we find that the way persons actually perceive the closeness or distance of kinship relations to particular persons may be somewhat at variance with the formal system. It is here that territorial ties come into the picture as an important variable. A brief example will help to clarify the matter.

In the example used to illustrate the lack of close correspondence between kinship and 'crowds' it was noted that one particular man was a core member of the same 'crowd' as his FaFaSiDaSo, while at the same time one of his FaSiSos of the same 'race' was a core member of a different 'crowd.' In that particular example the FaSiSo resided in a different neighbourhood, while the FaFaSiDaSo resided in Ego's own neighbourhood. In

formal terms, the PaSiSo is clearly a closer kinsman than the FaFaSiDaSo. To use Radcliffe-Brown's (1950) terminology, the first is a relationship of the third order (i.e., is counted through two people), while the second is of the fifth order (i.e., counted through four people). However, in terms of actual behavior, attitudes, sentiment, and reciprocity, Ego both felt and treated his FaFaSiDaSo as a closer kinsman than his PaSiSo. On numerous occasions it was noted that he was inclined to refer to the former as his 'cousin,' and on other occasions referred to the latter merely as a relation. Thus, the closer kinsman in formal terms was treated as a person with whom kinship was not a significant factor. After all, people often say, "We're all relations in the place when you come down to it."

In general, except for biologically very close kin, such as brothers who reside in different neighbourhoods, both kinship and locality seem to interpenetrate. The perceived closeness of a kinship tie with either of two persons to whom one is equally related in the biological sense often varies in the sociological sense with their respective places of residence. In other words, it seems that physical proximity strengthens a bond of "blood," while physical distance tends to

weaken it. To that extent kinship appears to be primarily an idiom through which social relations are expressed, rather than a rigorous organizing principle itself. This is essentially the position on kinship recently taken by Godelier (1975:4; 1977:37; 1978:765) and Meillassoux (1973:198; 1978:321-325).

'Crowds' in Black Diamond Bay are essentially "polyadic" (Schwartz 1974) friendship groups, the members of which are all of the same 'race.' Through a very dense network of cross-cutting ties of kinship and co-residence all the 'crowds' of a particular 'race' overlap to form the 'race' itself. Hence, the 'crowd' is the specific social vehicle through which peer group pressure, i.e., pressure towards conformity to the expectations and ideals of one's 'race,' makes itself felt. The "peer group" is rather diffuse, abstract, and not clearly visible, whereas the 'crowd' is more concrete and directly perceptible. The 'crowd,' then, is in a sense the embodiment of the 'race.' 'Races' rarely, if ever, mobilize for concerted action, whereas 'crowds' do so on an ongoing basis. Hence, the influence of the 'race' operates through the 'crowd.'

'Crowds' are of greatest importance to the male residents of Black Diamond Bay because of their orien-

tation outward from the domestic sector of the village. Many of the social relations between women are, in contrast, encapsulated within the neighbourhood. In fact, though formally defined in terms of a dominant patriline, the actual communication networks which constitute a neighbourhood are most frequently delineated by relationships between women (Chariamonte 1970:14; Stiles 1972:52). Hence, we may say that in terms of neighbourhood women are oriented centripetally, men centrifugally. This is particularly true of the 'young fellows' who stand in a social position that is largely interstitial - between their natal households and the households they will form at marriage. No longer children, i.e., social "nonpersons" who come and go as they please, used as important sources of information (e.g., Chariamonte 1970:12; Faris 1966:239; 1972:76-77; Szwed 1966a:436; 1966b:100), but not yet fully men with the responsibility of their own homes and families, the 'young fellows' generally spend a great deal of their free time in their own company at either the 'hang out' or one of the local 'clubs.' They are, therefore, the social category most influenced by the peer group. Married men do continue to go 'out around,' but do so much less frequently. When they do, the elder men, at

least, are much quieter and far less outspoken, though they do occasionally overindulge. By the time a man is 30-35 years of age he has usually already established his 'name' (reputation) among his peers, so in normal circumstances there is little necessity for him to have to prove himself since he has perhaps already done so while he was younger. However, all of the men to whom I spoke thought it highly desirable, if not outrightly necessary, to protect one's 'name' among one's peers. As one of the older men observed:

In this world, my son, the poor working man hasn't got much more than his own good name, so you might as well hang on to that much.

IN SUMMARY

In the present chapter we have examined some of the most important ways in which people are categorized in Black Diamond Bay, and the ways in which these categories are related to social action. A brief summary provides a useful overview of the situation.

In the first place, people may be located into several broad categories in terms of their relationship to any given household. These are: (1) the members of the household unit itself, (2) the remaining egalitarian

mass of the community, referred to as 'friends and neighbours,' (3) persons standing outside the nexus of egalitarian relationships by virtue of their special, formal relationship to the community and its inhabitants, and (4) 'strangers' holding no known relationship to anyone in the village.

In the second place, an important social and ideological distinction is made between men and women, men being conceptualized as inherently inclined to indulgence and irresponsibility than the more sedate and sensible females. Furthermore, there are two sorts of men, those who are married and under the socializing (or "taming") influence of women, and those who are unmarried and left to their own indulgent devices. These distinctions seem likely to be both abstractions from and explanations of social reality. In terms of kinship and residential units, men seem relatively more centrifugally oriented and women more centripetally oriented. Hence, the pull of the peer group and consequent peer group pressure seems more pervasive in the male social world.

In the third place, the community is divided into age-sets, or 'races,' on the basis of relative age.

This is essentially a peer group phenomenon, so it is

again relatively more important to men. One's peer group is essentially one's 'race,' so it is from this group that peer group pressure emanates.

Finally, within each 'race' men are further divided into small polyadic friendship groups called 'crowds.' This is the collection of men with whom one socializes most frequently and with whom one feels most comfortable. It is the 'crowd,' therefore, that has the most immediate effect on a man's behavior, and from which comes the greatest pressure toward conformity.

Chapter IV

Continuity in the Midst of Change

One of the first, and perhaps most outstanding features of social life one notices upon initially encountering Black Diamond Bay is the relatively marked distinction that exists between the older 'race' and the younger 'race.' It is not possible to point out a particular cut-off point between the two groups as the line of demarcation is by no means unambiguous. One group seems to blend into the other, the transitional area consisting, roughly, of those persons of between about twenty-five and thirty years of age. In general, the older people are more traditional in their behavior and attitudes, while the younger people pride themselves in being more "modern." Thus, at least for the time being, the situation may be referred to as a "generation gap," but as we shall see, the term "gap" is perhaps inappropriate. The idea of the "generation gap" and exactly what it consists of will become apparent in the course of the following discussion. For the present we will let it suffice to note that the "generation gap," though not referred to by that name, is acknowledged by local people.

THE 'CLUBS'

As we noted in the second chapter, Black Diamond Bay now has two public drinking establishment, or 'clubs,' one lying inside the physical boundaries of the village, the other, though still considered part of the community, lying outside the physical boundaries, and is, in fact, located within a neighbouring community. On week days the two 'clubs' are frequented primarily, and virtually exclusively, by men. It is usually only on Saturday nights, when the weekly dances occur, that women are seen in either establishment.

The Saturday night dances, held at both 'clubs' simultaneously, are very important social occasions in the lives of the people of Black Diamond Bay and of neighbouring communities. In this respect, most of the local people acknowledge that the dances have replaced the traditional 'times' of days gone by. Virtually the entire population of the community, young and old alike, will be sure to attend one or the other of the dances. They are seen as a very welcomed form of entertainment and as an opportunity to meet socially with 'friends and neighbours,' some of whom one does not often find the time to see during the rest of the week.

It is in this important and transcendent social context that a fundamental expression of the "generation gap" is made. The opposition of the older and younger 'races' is given concrete expression through the Saturday night festivities. The dances become, in part, a statement of the differences between the two groups, and perhaps between the traditional and contemporary social situations.

For the purpose of clarity, the two public drinking establishments have been given pseudonyms which both distinguishes them and simultaneously links them, in a relatively concrete manner, to the groups that frequent them. The 'club' within the community itself, the one frequented on Saturday nights by the older and more "traditionally minded" adults has been referred to as the Elder. In contradistinction, the 'club' lying physically outside the community, the one frequented by the younger 'race,' has been referred to as the Younger.

The Elder is owned and operated by Tom Burgundy and his wife, both of whom 'belong to' Black Diamond Bay, though they lived on the mainland of Canada for a while before returning and establishing their family enterprise. They are middle-aged, have acquired the 'club' in recent years, and have made it a fairly profitable operation.

In contrast, the Younger is owned and operated by Jack Brown, an unmarried male of twenty-three years of age. Jack acquired the 'club' from an uncle (FaBr) of his who had owned it prior to his take over. His uncle, it seems, had decided to get out of the business, but preferred to keep the establishment in the family. The 'club' attracts a fair amount of business from the young men of the area and it is a popular location for wedding receptions.

Being of a considerably younger age than the Burgundys, Jack Brown has been exposed to a very different set of influences during his formative years. While the Burgundys were still children, Newfoundland was a separate dominion, not part of Canada, but a distinct British colony in its own right. Jack Brown, in contrast, was born in the post-Confederation era. Thus, during the formative years of the Burgundys, the outport community was still in its traditional phase. The village isolated and more self-contained than it is today, almost everybody still lived by fishing, and poverty, disease and hardships were practically local institutions. There were very few roads, no electricity, and little communication with the outside world except for the 'wireless' and the infrequent visits of the mail boat.

It was possible to get to St. John's, of course, but the trek was much too arduous to travel there on anything approaching a frequent basis. In short, the Burgundys' childhood occurred in relative isolation from the mainstream of North American life.

Such was not the case for the milieu into which Jack was born and raised. During his lifetime Newfoundland has undergone, and is still undergoing, numerous fundamental changes. Radio and television are now very common, taken for granted items, and a trip to St. John's, once difficult and time consuming, is now merely a matter of a few hours drive by automobile over an asphalt road. The ravages of disease and poverty have been very significantly reduced through upgraded medical and social welfare programs; and where once "cod was king," wage labour is now a common adaptation. Many of these changes have occurred since Jack was a child, or even before. All he knows of the 'hard times' of his elders is derived from stories he heard as a child. Whereas the Burgundys can vividly recall the way things were in the past, Jack Brown and his age-mates can scarcely remember when things were different.

The difference in the socialization of the two 'races' is reflected, in part, in their preference for

different musical styles. The style of music preferred by the Burgundys and their age-mates may be placed in two broad categories, namely, "Country-Western" and "Newfoundland and Irish Traditional." These are also the types of music the Burgundys prefer to provide at their Saturday night dances. It is not at all surprising to discover that persons from the immediate area preferring those same styles of entertainment attend dances at the Burgundy 'club,' the Elder. For the most part, these people are of the same general 'race' as the Burgundys.

In contrast, the styles of music preferred by Jack Brown and people of his age group may be classified as "Pop Music," "Rock and Roll," and "Disco." Each of these musical styles is given considerable air time on radio and are sometimes presented on television as well. Jack tends to book bands, from the St. John's area when possible, who specialize in such music. Persons in the immediate area who prefer the same musical styles are likewise attracted to Jack's 'club,' the Younger, for the Saturday night dances. Again, it is not at all surprising to discover that these are primarily members of the younger 'race.'

The basic difference in musical preference goes still

a little deeper. While the older 'race' enjoys its favoured style of music, the younger 'race' not only enjoys 'modern music,' but is additionally involved in the North American pop music culture. To the former, "It's good to hear a good band play the auld-time music once in a while." The younger people, however, want more than that from their music. They are additionally interested in radios, tape recorders, and stereophonographs, in buying recordings and posters of their favourite bands, and with keeping up to date with the latest gossip about prominent popular music figures. Hence, the difference between the two 'races' involves more than simply a difference in taste. Rather, attitudes toward music and its cultural role are different.

A further distinction one notices between the older and younger 'races' during the Saturday night dances concerns style of dress. Generally speaking, the patrons of the dances at the Elder tend to dress in a more formal and traditional style than the patrons at the Younger. The style of dress in many cases is that which has traditionally been distinguished from normal apparel and which is generally reserved for social 'occasions' of the sort described by Faris (1968), including the Sunday masses. Many of the men wear dark suits, white

shirts, and ties, while women usually wear their best dresses. In contrast, a much more casual and less "special" style of dress is generally the norm for the dances at the Youngen. Persons of both sexes tend to wear blue jeans or corduroy slacks, and in general, brighter colours are worn by men and women alike. One can say that the style of dress here is more "modern" in that it resembles contemporary styles of dress depicted in television programming and in advertising.

The dichotomy in styles of dress worn at the Saturday night dances at the Elder and the Younger again illustrate the difference in taste of the two 'races.' Older persons are drawn more toward the more traditional styles of their own culture, while the younger 'race' is very much more influenced by modern North American fashions.

The distinctions we have been discussing are more than merely physical distinctions existing between the patrons of the two 'clubs' and their respective weekend festivities. Beyond their mere existence the distinctions between the 'races,' particularly as illustrated at the dances, are rather frequently brought up during social discourse since they form a relatively common topic of conversation for both the younger and older 'races' alike.

The very frequency with which generational differences are discussed strongly indicates that they play an important role in local cognition of the social order. The relatively minor physical differences become important on the conceptual level as symbolic expressions of all the major differences people believe to exist between the older and younger 'races,' and perhaps also between the traditional and contemporary social orders.

During the course of my fieldwork I was on many occasions given the opportunity to sit in on conversations, often as a silent observer, amongst members of the older 'race' concerning the Saturday night dances at the Younger. It was soon noted that in a broad sense the conversations tended to follow a "formula." That is, that they normally followed the same general course of development, almost as if the conversations were following a loosely constructed outline or script. The conversations would usually reach essentially the same end point through variable, though broadly similar, means.

Such discussions are typically initiated by a comment about one of the distinctive feature, most often the loud music, of the dances at the Younger. Often someone will relate an incident in which they

were attending a dance at the Younger and were forced to leave because they contracted a headache, or because their ears began to hurt. One man once said:

Last time I was over there I thought I was going to go mad. The music was all bad enough, but they had red lights, and blue lights, and green lights all flashing every which way. I don't know what's the matter with them.

It is generally agreed among the members of the older 'race' that the bands one typically hears play at the Younger do not play 'real music,' but rather just produce a 'lot of auld noise.' Then, of course, the comment is usually made that such 'noise' is virtually impossible to dance to. All members of the younger 'race' do is 'jump around and shake their arses,' and everyone agrees that that is not 'real dancing.' 'Real dancing,' many people believe, is the waltz, or the surviving traditional dances, such as the Irish step dance or the organized 'lancers.'

As a general trend, such conversations as these often take a slight turn and begin to centre upon the many differences between the younger and older 'races,' and upon the topic of social change. People comment upon how easy the younger 'race' has things these days. They talk about the hardships of the past and the comparative

softness of the present. The following comment is somewhat typical:

Sure take John-Joe Green's young Billy. Only seventeen and just out of school and he's already bringing home \$150 a week. And he not even a man yet. It wasn't that long ago when the men of the house couldn't bring that much in in a month, let alone a week. When his father was that age he never saw that much money from one end of the year to the other.

Yes, boy, that's what's wrong with the younger crowd these days. They've no appreciation for anything because they never had to do without, or to work hard to make ends meet. If they had to blister their hands for what they got they'd appreciate it.

It should be noted as a point of fact, however, that most working members of the younger 'race' do indeed, in the majority of cases, work very hard for the money they earn. Most of them, particularly the fish cutters and the trawlermen, do indeed sport bruises, blisters, and scars on their hands, and there are even some who have lost a finger. During the peak of the fishing season, primarily the summer months, huge quantities of fish are brought to the fish plant by the inshore fishermen of the entire area, and the several draggers operating on the Grand Banks are continually unloading fish there. During that time the employees of the fish plant are required to work a six day week and may additionally be required to work overtime hours during weeks when the

volume of fish to be processed is particularly high. The work is routine, tiring, and generally unpleasant. As one young man described it:

It's bad enough just to have to stand on your feet all day with the smell of rotting fish-gut enough to turn your stomach.

The comments of the older informants on the easy, highly pampered life styles of the younger 'race,' then, are not quite correct. However, the comments do indeed make perfectly good sense when considered in historical perspective. Right from the very earliest days of settlement life in the numerous rural villages which dot the Newfoundland coastline was by no means easy. From about the last half of the 19th century Newfoundland was characterized by rapidly increasing population coupled with a general decline in fish prices as fierce competition priced Newfoundland fish out of the most lucrative markets (Hiller 1971:10). As early as 1864 a St. John's newspaper described "pauperism" as a "permanent institution in Newfoundland (cf. Creighton 1964:206-207). Life in the outports was very hard, and the circumstances persisted with little change right up until the "boom-times" provided by the construction of bases during World War II. During the winter of 1932, for instance, there were a staggering 70,000 people, one quarter of the

total population of the island, dependent upon the paltry government dole (Wadel 1973:6) where the common fare was maggoty flour and sour molasses. By 1939 the number of people on relief had risen to about 80,000 persons (Houston 1943:279). The gross per capita production of the fishery during those 'hard times' was only about \$100, and when production costs and the profits of the merchantry were subtracted, most fishermen ended their season in further debt (Lodge 1938:480). Combined with the intense poverty were "squalid" living conditions (Lodge 1938:475) and an "appalling" incidence of disease (Lord Ammon 1944:13). People worked very hard and for very long hours, struggling just to meet the basic requirements of their families subsistence needs. Money was rarely seen, and scarcely a single family went untouched by the ravages of tuberculosis.

Young men indeed work very hard in Black Diamond Bay today, but the fact remains that their hardships are paled in comparison with the memories of some of the older residents. The younger 'race' may sport blisters but there is no doubt that the global conditions of life have certainly improved for those old enough to remember the 'hard times.'

From the "pampered" life style of the younger 'race'

such conversations as these frequently turn to the world in general, and in particular, to the many changes which have occurred in the community and in the region. Some of the older 'race' are concerned with the rapidity with which the world about them has been changing. Many things have changed for the better, but some of the more pleasant features of days gone by have also changed. My informants were concerned about the way religion has changed, about the seemingly growing loss of religious devotion on the part of youth, about the lack of respect for age, about the reduction of visiting between households, about the lack of cooperation between people today, about the use of 'hoochie' (marijuana) by some of the 'young fellows,' and about many other things they see as having changed for the worse. Such conversations usually come to an end with some comment to the effect that, "The world's gone mad, boy."

It is well to note that the distinctions which exist between the generations in Black Diamond Bay are not a topic of discussion for one group only. On the contrary, the younger 'race' also has a clear awareness of the differences between themselves and their elders and frequently discuss them. Members of the younger 'race' generally see themselves as being far more

sophisticated and cosmopolitan than their elders. Likewise, they see the older 'race' as very 'old fashioned' and behind the times. They realize that the 'old fashioned' ways of the older 'race' result from their having been raised in 'the olden times,' as they sometimes call it, and many believe that they should try and live a little less in the past and instead accept the world for what it is right now. However, they tend to view the 'old fashioned' ways of the older 'race' not as shameful or disgraceful, but as rather more "quaint." In a similar manner, they have a tendency to portray some of the smaller, more traditional communities still involved in the inshore fishery as equally "quaint." Some of these communities were described to me as if they were relics of better days gone by, survivals of the past.

In a sense, then, there is quite a bit of pride taken in the 'old fashioned' ways of the elder 'race.' Though they have sometimes been the object of ridicule for some of the peculiarities of speech, attitude and behavior that some of them have, the older 'race' is nevertheless appreciated for just those things. It may be said that the past is generally romanticized by many persons of the younger 'race,' even though they have all heard stories of the 'hard times.'

Conversations among members of the younger 'race,' particularly while trouting, jigging, or tramping the barrens (all traditional activities) oft-times centre upon the 'olden times' and the way they believe life to have been in the 'olden times.' Generally speaking, the "past" that forms the central topic of such conversations seems to be only vaguely and tenuously connected to the actual historical past. It tends to be a highly romanticized version of the past, partially derived from stories told by members of the older 'race,' but fleshed out with a very large dose of imagination. The many hardships and deprivations endured by their forefathers become to a large extent transformed into quasi-mythological hardships.

At this point it is worthwhile to point out that the distinctions we have initially drawn between the older and younger 'races,' though very often exaggerated by both groups, are by no means complete differences. On the contrary, there are factors regarding music, for instance, which indicate that they are clearly linked into a culturally unified whole despite the distinctions.

Virtually all persons, with very few exceptions, young and old alike, strongly maintain their identities

as Newfoundlanders, and are very proud of their heritage and cultural traditions. Consequently, all persons enjoy what they consider a 'good old Newfoundland band' playing traditional Newfoundland music. This is illustrated in the following example.

One of the Saturday night dances at the Younger during my stay in the community featured a Newfoundland band that was very popular throughout the entire area. The coming entertainment was known about for several weeks in advance, and was the talk of the entire community. Young and old alike spoke of what a good band it was, and how everyone always managed to have 'a real good time' whenever they played. "It puts you in mind of the times we used to have over in the school," one elderly man commented.

On the actual night of the dance the Younger was full well beyond its rather large seating capacity. The people there ranged in age from the teens to the seventies, and came from many communities around the area. There was also a dance that night at the Elder, but reports later had it that no more than a small 'handful' of people showed up for it, and most of those left very early for the Younger. In fact, before the night was over, even the Burgundys, the owners of the

Elder, had even come to the Younger. They had closed their own 'club' earlier than usual, which had seemed just as well since the place was all but deserted by 10:00 p.m., to be able to take in at least part of the entertainment at the Younger. Later in the week, in fact, one man claimed that the Burgundys had told him that they would never have scheduled a dance for that same night if they had known before booking their entertainment that such a popular band would be performing in the village.

If outward appearances are any valid indication, all the people involved had a very good time on the night of the dance. People clapped their hands and stamped their feet in time to the music, men did solo step dances at the sides of their tables or out in the middle of the dance floor, and couples danced jigs and reels, as well as 'the old fashioned waltz.' The night was later given unanimous acclamation as a 'real time,' and was intermittently a subject of conversation for weeks to come.

Another indication of agreement between the younger and older 'races' in this respect was observed at a small "party" primarily attended by males in their mid-twenties. The party initially commenced with loud, American rock music, but as the evening wore on someone happened to

slip a tape recording of the musical group "Ryan's Fancy" into the eight-track player. This immediately altered the entire tenor of the evening. What was originally a fairly typical expression of mainstream North American youth culture became more of a traditional Newfoundland 'spree.' Several persons began to sing along with the music, as virtually all of the men there knew all the words of the songs. After a slight prompting from the audience, one young man who was considered a particularly good traditional dancer began a solo step dance right in the middle of the kitchen floor, and before long another man was playing spoons in accompaniment. For the remainder of the night traditional Irish and Newfoundland music predominated. For the most part it was provided by two local men, one playing guitar and the other harmonica.

On a number of occasions I questioned a variety of the young men about their musical preferences and about their attitudes toward the traditional musical culture of Newfoundland. All of them agreed that although the contemporary music of North America was fine, there was still nothing that could match the 'auld time music,' as some of them called it, especially where good times and dancing are concerned. They particularly liked groups such as "Figgie Duff," whose "electrified" versions of

traditional songs and instrumental pieces they held in very high regard. They also spoke with a great deal of pride of several of the older men of the community who could 'really step her out' (dance) or who could 'really play.' The general attitude toward the traditional music may be summed up in the words of one of the young men:

There's not a man born yet that can keep his feet still when some fellow is belting out "Mussels in the Corner" on the accórdian.

Other traditional songs, such as "Hard, Hard Times," which expresses the difficulty, poverty and indebtedness which was the lot of the traditional inshore fishermen, or the "Southern Cross," which tells of lives lost in a disaster at sea, are all equally well liked.

While at first glance there appears to be a large "gap" between the older and younger 'races,' a closer examination reveals that there is really a considerable convergence in their attitudes. Members of the older 'race' sometimes say, "The world's gone mad," and point to the past as a time when, despite countless hardships, people were nevertheless more 'sensible,' and many aspects of life were 'better' than they are today. Similarly, the younger 'race,' while more involved in the trends and fads of mainstream North American mass culture, and while con-

graduating themselves on their "modernity," also tend to look to the past, albeit through a romantic lens, as a period of better times. While they have become fans of contemporary North American music, they nevertheless maintain a strong interest and sense of pride in the traditional music and dance of their own cultural heritage. This seems to be increasingly the case as vestiges of the cherished past recede further and further from sight.

RELIGION AND ATTITUDES TOWARD RELIGION

The inhabitants of Black Diamond Bay and the immediate area are exclusively Roman Catholic. At about the centre of the community, its spire rising above all surrounding buildings, stands the church. It is prominent as a geographical marker, a place of worship, and as a traditional centre for concerted community action. Its existence in the community is noted as far back as the Census and Return of the Population, etc. of Newfoundland, 1869 (Queen's Printer 1870).

Contemporary religious behavior and attitudes vary somewhat from that of the past. As a general comment, we may say that there has been a significant decline in ritualism in recent years. This may be approached from

a variety of different perspectives, but first it is necessary to outline very briefly the ritualism of the recent past.

In the first place, up until the mid- to late-1960s the Roman Catholic Church, as an international religious institution, placed far more emphasis upon ritual than it does today. For instance, mass was traditionally said in an archaic foreign language, Latin, which was understood by very few Roman Catholics. Masses for each day of the week throughout the year were outlined in word-for-word detail in the Missals, or 'Prayer Books,' and the only real spontaneity and personal input allowed even the parish priest was the construction of the sermon. These highly formalized and ritualistic features of the religious services were practiced in Black Diamond Bay as well as in other Roman Catholic churches throughout the world.

In addition to attendance at masses, there were also a variety of other religious rituals to be performed on a prescribed basis. At a set time in the morning and the afternoon people were required to say the 'Angelus.' In the evenings, particularly during the religious seasons of Lent and Advent, the family gathered to say the 'Rosary.' Before and after each meal the head of the household or

one of his sons recited prayers. When something was lost people recited a prayer to St. Anthony to aid in its recovery. People wore medals of St. Christopher, the patron saint of travellers, blessed by the priest to aid and protect them while travelling. Medals, crucifixes and scapulars, also blessed by the priest, were universally worn by men and women and children, were attached to boats for protection at sea, and were often even attached to stoves to protect the home from fire. Special masses were said to assist the fishermen locate and land fish when catches were low. A blessed stone was (and still usually is) placed in 'the swim pond' each summer to prevent drownings. The list could go on and on, but the data thus far presented should be sufficient to establish the point that virtually the entire scope of day-to-day life was permeated with religious symbolism and religious ideology.

Part of the reason for the prominence of religion in the life of the people of Black Diamond Bay and its environs during the "traditional phase" almost certainly involves the hardships, dangers and uncertainties encountered in the pursuit of the inshore fishery. Every household had at least one member out fishing on the omnipotent and unpredictable sea. Many women and children spent many an anxious hour ashore filled with fear, hope, and dread as

their fathers, husbands, sons, and brothers returned home hours later than expected, or else not at all. Thus, strong religious belief and an emphasis on ritual very likely aided people in coping with the many fears and uncertainties engendered by the rugged exigencies of the local economic organization.

The parish priest also played a very important role in both the social and religious life of the community. From one perspective, his superior education, as well as his contacts with the world outside 'the place,' left him in the important position as mediator, or broker, between Black Diamond Bay and the outside world, between the world of 'strangers' and the world of 'our own.' The power he held was illustrated in Chapter 2 where we saw that an elderly priest effectively prevented the opening of a 'club' in Black Diamond Bay during his lengthy period of service there.

The formal role of the parish priest as religious leader of the community also placed him, at the very same time, in the position of mediator, or broker, between the impotent world of human beings and the omnipotent world of God. It was the parish priest who was depended upon to intercede with God on behalf of his parishioners. He was thus a very powerful figure indeed, one who inspired

the residents of the community with faith, respect, fear, and awe.

The elderly parish priest previously mentioned is the most well-known and most spoken of example. He spent some forty-five years serving in Black Diamond Bay, and upon his retirement many persons were very sad to see him leave. Over the many years of his service in the village the local population had developed a very deep respect and admiration for the man and an intense belief in his goodness and spiritual power. Though now getting on in years, he continues to return to the community for visits whenever the opportunity arises. Most people like to see him coming, and when possible, are willing to go out of their way to acquire and prepare the special treats, such as eel, they know he enjoys and now misses while living in a nursing home in the city.

Even many of the more skeptical persons who sometimes say, "I was never too fussy about the man meself," will nevertheless attest to the "spiritual power" of the elderly priest, and will often cite several examples of his 'curings' to back up their statements. Any adult in the community can readily describe situations, whether involving themselves directly, or else members of their immediate households, in which the old priest effectively

cured some physical or emotional illness. With little difficulty a hundred or more examples could be produced, so often were such stories told. However, a few brief examples should be quite sufficient for our purposes here.

During a conversation one day a young man told me that he had been cured by the old priest. It had all happened when he was a child, he claimed, so his mother and father would have a more detailed version of the story since all he knew of the incident had been told to him by them. The following anecdote was recorded from the man's mother:

When Philip here was a little infant he had a big red mark on his leg. About this size it was /she indicated a circle of two or three inches diameter with her forefinger and thumb/ and hard as a rock and right red too. So I was real worried about him, him being only a little infant at the time.

It was wintry then, and a little bit blowy out-a-doors. I called the priest up on the phone and told him about Philip and said I'd go over to see him when the weather cleared a bit. "No, Mary my dear," he said, "It's no weather out for an infant. You stay where you're at and I'll go over to your house about 4:00 this afternoon."

Well, no man was ever as punctual as himself, so when he said he'd be there at 4:00, you knew he'd be there at 4:00 and not a minute later. Sure enough, when 4:00 came in he walked through the door. He took off his coat and said, "Mary, where's the baby?" So I pulled the blankets up off of Philip and he took a long, hard look at the mark. "That looks like it might be serious to me, Mary," he said, "You should take him to the doctors first chance you get."

"Certainly I will, Father," I said, "But I'd feel better if you crossed him in the meantime."

So he made a cross over the mark and knelt down and said a few prayers. In two days the mark was gone, and not a sign of it left. I didn't have to take him to see the doctors first nor last. Now, isn't that something.

The next example involves the first hand experience of one of my informants:

One time I was in the General Hospital out in town /St. John's/ and, boy, I was in some way. All full of pain and I couldn't move. No, boy, I didn't even have bathroom privileges, I was that bad.

I was there about seven weeks and getting no better when the old priest come in to see me one Wednesday.

"How are you, Tom?" he said.

"Not too good, Father," says I, "I'm not able to move. I can't even get out to the bathroom."

"You'll be all right my son," he said, "Don't be worrying yourself over it too much." Then he crossed me and said a few prayers for me. And before he left he said, "I think you'll be up by Friday at the latest."

Well, Friday come and I was still no better. I tried to get up a few times, but I couldn't rise myself. Round about 3:00 in the afternoon I give it another try, and sure as you're sitting there, just like the man said, I was able to get up and go off to the bathroom by myself. I was none too strong on my legs, mind you, but I could manage well enough by holding on to things.

On my way back to the bed the nurse come in and said to me, "You're not supposed to be on your feet, you know. Who told you to get up?"

"The priest," I said.

"Then he's your cure," she said. Her sister's husband was from the place, you see, so she knew all about the old priest.

I don't know what it was, boy, whether it was some kind of power he had or what. All I knows is that I was back home within a week of that man's visit. It might very well be where we had so much faith in him, so you just set your mind to

getting better when he told you. Sure we saw that man as the next best thing to the Lord Almighty Himself.

After the elderly priest retired and was replaced by a series of younger, more "modern" priests, the intense faith in curing and in ritual in general began to erode. This was partially due to the Roman Catholic Church's de-emphasis of and reduction in liturgy and ritual, and perhaps partly to the actions of some of the replacement priests themselves. This is illustrated in the following incident:

There was a woman living over there by the church and she was in the house all alone by herself. She was very lonely over there with no one around. She even got sick from being lonesome. People don't visit any more like they used to, not even on Christmas. She had no appetite and couldn't sleep nights, so one Sunday after mass she went to see Father "Eagle," the fellow here at the time, and she explained her trouble to him.

"Cross me, Father," she says, "So I'll be clear of this lonesomeness."

"Don't be so silly, woman," says he, "All you need is a good rest and get yourself out around more and you'll be as good as new again."

That's just the words he used too. She told me herself, poor thing. Imagine!

Being crossed and such things is all in the past now, and I suppose its just as well it is. I suppose it was just a lot of old foolishness, but we believed it, funny as it might seem now.

Thus, the replacement of the elderly priest by younger men of a more "modern" disposition seems to have marked another important aspect of the change from the trad-

ditional to the contemporary era. Interestingly enough, the change from more to less ritual coincided with the change from "mechanical solidarity" in independent commodity production to "organic solidarity" in the industrial mode of production. Similar observations have been made for other cultural contexts by Mary Douglas in Natural Symbols (1967) in the exposition of her "group and grid" theory.

During my stay in the community I recorded numerous stories involving the changing role of the Church and its representatives in Black Diamond Bay. Following the retirement of the elderly priest a series of younger priests were recruited, but none could replace the old priest in either secular or spiritual leadership. They had neither the personalities nor the charisma needed to gain and maintain the respect of the community in the manner the old priest had. At the same time, the social circumstances which had allowed the parish priest to occupy a powerful position were rapidly changing. In short, the community found the replacements to be entirely unsatisfactory. One priest was very well liked as a man, but most people considered him too much like 'one of the boys,' so he failed to generate sufficient respect to carry out the role they had come to expect a priest to play.

Another was considered too distant and lacking in basic friendliness. His depiction as a 'snotty nosed son of a bitch' certainly did not assist him in gaining any respect in the community. There was even talk that one priest may have been having a nervous breakdown while posted in the community. Several people claimed that;

...he was giving out his sermon one Sunday, boy, and he stopped right in the middle of it and threw up his hands and said, "Ah, its all a ood anyway."

My lord, we was all shocked by what he did, especially the real old people. You knows yourself there was no need of that. Not right in the middle of Sunday sermon.

There was even 'talk' that yet another priest, one who later left the priesthood, had had an affair with one of the nuns stationed in the community. Today there is no longer a priest resident in the community itself. Black Diamond Bay is now served by a priest who drives into the community for Sunday masses and for masses on some of the weekdays.

As a result of the incidents described above, as well as other similar incidents, there are many people in Black Diamond Bay today who are now somewhat skeptical about the formal organization of the Roman Catholic Church. Where in the past they tended to see priests as strong, good, and powerful figures, they now tend to see priests as relatively ordinary human beings subject to the same

human faults and frailties as all the rest.

Despite their general dissatisfaction with the recent religious history of Black Diamond Bay, the people of the community still maintain fairly strong religious beliefs, and religious symbols still abound. Every household in the community has crucifixes and images of various saints throughout its interior. In most homes, primarily the older ones, one also finds a small altar-like structure. This is composed of a small wooden table covered with a white table cloth and supporting a statue of Jesus Christ or, more commonly, the Virgin Mary, surrounded by blessed candles and plastic flowers. From my informants it was gathered that this shrine-like display was once the setting for the family rosary, and that women prayed and lit candles there for their men-folk out on the sea or 'in the country.' However, it seems today that the household altar is rarely used, except by some of the elderly. It is occasionally used on special religious holidays, and candles are still sometimes lit in sacred offering to assist the sick or dying, or for the soul of a deceased kinsman. For the most part, however, it remains as an ever present reminder of the more highly ritualized past.

Another feature of the "generation gap" that people in

Black Diamond Bay frequently bring up concerns religious behavior. Members of the older 'race' often comment that the younger 'race' lacks religious faith and respect. They point out that practically all of the young men of the community fail to attend mass on Sundays. My observations verify that that is essentially the case: that many of the younger men do indeed skip Sunday masses on a relatively consistent basis. On Sundays most married couples, children, and single women will be seen going to church, while a large number of the young men will not bother to attend, preferring instead to remain in bed. Many of the young men of the village, as we have seen, are employed at a nearby fish plant where, during the peak of the summer fishery, they work six days a week. Sunday is their only day off, so many of them say that they prefer not to 'waste' the day in church. As one man sarcastically responded to his mother who was attempting to 'coax' him into attending mass more frequently, "Jesus! mother, what's the point of it. I'm working too much to have any time to sin."

Another factor contributing to the absenteeism of the 'young fellows' is, of course, the Saturday night dance. Most of the young men keep very late hours on Saturday and often return home in varying states of intoxication.

Drinking to excess is usually avoided during the weekdays since it means either working all day at the fish plant with a hangover, or else missing a day's work and a day's pay. Hence, Saturday night is seen as the only really suitable time to carouse with one's friends, and that is exactly what most of the young men do. As a result, Sunday morning sees most of them suffering through a hangover or very tired, in either case, rarely in the mood for mass.

However, despite the fact that the failure of the young men to consistently attend church was often cited as an example of the widening gap between the older and younger 'races,' the behavior actually seemed to be associated with another social phenomenon, one which has been outlined in some detail in the last chapter. Since it is primarily the category "unmarried males" that fails to observe Sunday mass regularly, it seems that the category itself should be used as a starting point from which to explore the difference.

In the first place, with the exception of one young man who privately professed to be an atheist, all of the unmarried men with whom I spoke claimed to believe in God and in the Roman Catholic Church, though they believed some of the practices were 'foolish.' Most attend church

services at least once in awhile, at the very least during Christmas and Easter. Many of them hold that missing mass on an ordinary Sunday, though labelled sinful by the Church, is not at all wrong. What is important, they claim, is to be a good person and that is affected very little by one's presence or absence at mass.

There's no use going to mass every Sunday if all you're going to do is fall asleep or spend all the time trying to keep awake. It's mostly all show anyway. It got nothing to do with you being a good or bad person. I might go to mass every day of the week and be the biggest kind of crook on the go, and I might be the best kind and not go at all, so there's no difference in the long and the short of it. The Almighty will know in the end what kind of person you were, and I doubt if He'll be wasting too much time counting up how many times you missed mass on Sunday.

Generally speaking, the young unmarried males of the community share some of the same basic religious beliefs as their elders, if not the attitude that the religious observance of Sunday is important. The chief difference is that they have less regard for religious ritual.

It is interesting to note that it is mostly in the public arena that some of the young men are scornful of religion. For instance, a young man at Jack Brown's 'club' said:

Give us a Screech and Coke will you, Jack.
On second thought, make it a Screech and
Holy Water, Jack, I forgot it was Sunday.

The man was known as a 'character,' so his comment was entirely consistent with his reputation. In fact, people expect such persons to make remarks like that.

On another occasion a young man came home on a Sunday afternoon with several of his friends only to be asked by his mother if he had been to church that day:

Oh yes, mother. I was over to the Rev. Fr. Brown's [referring to the owner of the ~~Spurger~~ church today. You should have come along - it was a fine sermon he gave.

The religious behavior of the younger 'race' seems generally consistent with the ideological characteristics of the "unmarried male." They are generally seen as indulgent, reckless, and carefree creatures, given to irresponsibility, and having a 'come day, go day' attitude. As we have seen, these same characteristics are in part reflected in their religious, or irreligious, behavior. The point is made even more clearly when we examine some of the comments made by the older married males, especially when talking about how wild they or some of their friends were when they were young and single. For instance:

Phonse over there by the church was some hard old case in his day. A real devil, boy. There was nothing too bad for him to do on a dare, or if some auld foolishness come into his head. The whole crowd of us were over in mass one Sunday when Phonse started in making fun of the old priest. It was all done under his breath, of course, so the old fellow wouldn't

hear him. The priest was just a youngish man then, and fit as a fiddle too. If he caught you up in some badness it was just as well to own up to it right then and there, because he'd chase you right to town and back if he had it in for you. Boy, he'd give you some crack.

Me and Cecil were the only ones could hear what Phonse was saying and by and by we started to laugh. More like young girls giggling, it was, because we were trying to keep it in. But I tell you, we didn't laugh for very long. The old fellow shot down a look from the altar that stopped us right in our tracks, so we never budged after that cause he had his eye on us. He would have said something down from the altar and Mother and Father would've got upset for me making a show.

But Phonse kept it up till the end of mass. We tried not to pay no more attention to him because we were in enough hot water with the priest as it was.

This, and other similar stories, indicates that the behavior of the young unmarried males with regard to the Church and Catholicism has its precedents in the past. Perhaps young men had been a little less bold in the past because of the fear and respect generated by the old priest, and because of the close clerical supervision. His watchful strictness set severe limitations on how far one was able to go in exercising what is thought of as normal male behavior. Nevertheless, my fieldnotes contain numerous stories of pranks, practical jokes, irreverence, and 'devilment' performed by many men in their younger days, so it seems that they behaved in a generally similar manner within the then current limits.

To briefly reiterate, the important distinction between married and unmarried men is their respective social statuses. Married men, or men otherwise associated with women in a serious relationship, are either household heads, or are else on their way to becoming household heads. Hence, they are in a sense more fully integrated into the formal structure of the village than are the unmarried males who are subordinate members of households. The former are required to behave, therefore, in a more responsible and conventional manner as befits their social positions. The latter, by virtue of their interstitial position, i.e., between households as it were, are free to flaunt convention.

THE SUPERNATURAL

During my stay in Black Diamond Bay I collected a variety of data concerning belief in the supernatural, primarily, but not exclusively, from the older residents of the community. Belief in the existence of ghosts and 'fairies' was most often expressed on the part of the elderly who have largely maintained their belief in such supernatural phenomena. The majority of the population, however, expressed skepticism. Nonetheless, when speaking

seriously, and in private, the skepticism was often qualified and a degree of uncertainty admitted. Many people said something to the effect that:

You can't really be sure one way or the other, boy. There's some strange things in this world.

Many people felt free to admit at least a limited degree of belief in the supernatural when they felt certain that they would not be labelled "superstitious" for it.

One of the stories I recorded about the 'fairies' follows in its entirety. It will serve, at least, to convey an idea of the type of oral tradition which has been transmitted from generation to generation in Black Diamond Bay. Even persons expressing unqualified skepticism generally know a variety of such stories, having been exposed to them from childhood.

Years ago there was an old man from the place who went into what we call the Valley to set some rabbit slips. Rabbits were plentiful there then, though they've become scarce these days.

He left in the early morning and was to come back in the afternoon. Evening came and there was no sign of him, so people began to worry. He being an old man, God knows what could have happened to him in there. Anyway, some of the men set off to look for him and they soon found him in the Valley all crumpled up and unconscious. So they took him back to the place and called the priest. They didn't know what was the matter with him at all.

There was something or other the matter with the man's leg, a bruise or big watery lump on the knee, I think it was. So they opened it up.

And what do you think they found? Gennie God, they hauled out bits of grass and twigs and rocks and leaves and such. My land, was it ever strange.

The priest took one look at him when he got there and said, "You know, the little lads got that fellow." Yes, boy, that's just what he said, "The little lads got him." Sure enough, too, it was the fairies run off with him.

When he come back to his senses, he was a changed man and, boy, did he tell the story about the fairies. He said they led him astray over in the Valley. He named two or three men from the place who were dead and said that they tried to help him. They wanted to bring him to safety. But there were other dead men from the place who were long dead and wanted to see him dead, too. They wanted him kilt, he said.

Oh my Lordy, what a changed fellow this old man was. After that, when people see him coming they would lock their doors and act like they weren't in. He was like a fairy himself then, boy. He'd get in your house and start telling about the fairies and how they run away with him. And, boy, it'd give you the willies. Yes, people thought he was a fairy himself then. And the priest said it himself, too. "Yes," he said, "The little lads took him." "Little lads" was what he called them, the fairies, I mean.

Another story along the same general lines was related to me by an informant who claimed that the events were taken from first hand experience.

One afternoon I decided to go out behind to pick some berries, and as there was no one around at the time, I went by meself. Before I left an old woman in the next house told me to be sure to take some bread with me, because if you're out alone the fairies will take you if you don't have some bread or something for them. The old people always used to say that.

So I went off anyway, not paying no mind. I was out looking around for berries and not paying very much attention to where I was, when I

looked up and found myself in the trees of the Burnt Forest, as we call it. By Gar, what a fright I got! There was trees all around and I was tangled up in them and tripping around and everything. It seemed I was surrounded in by ponds on either side, too. I didn't know where I was, and I was almost hysterical with the fright. There was a thick fog that day, too.

Well, boy, I didn't know which way to turn. I didn't know which way the old road was, nor the path neither, and I was worried about approaching the cliffs. What a muddle I was in, a real daze, it was.

But I remembered what the old people used to say. They said if you go astray in the country, take something you're wearing and turn it inside out. Well, I had a glove with me, and that's just what I did. I took it and turned it inside out.

Pretty soon I ended up on Grates Path, but I lost it again I was so confused and muddled up. But in a short while I found it again and then took me time and kept on it. In a few minutes the fog started to lift and I found meself face to face with a head stone. I had wandered into the graveyard. By Gar, what a dreadful fright I got. I tell you, boy, there was no grass grewed under my feet that evening. I took off and legged it down over the hill to the old woman's place. I was half out of my mind with fright.

When she saw me I was all covered with mud from head to foot. I told her what happened and she told me it was the fairies that took my mind and tried to make off with me. She said I was lucky to come out of it alive, and with my senses.

Yes, boy, there's strange goings on in the country.

The lady who told the story was convinced that she had had a close call with the 'fairies.' She had picked berries 'out behind' for about fifty summers, so she could really see no other reason why at that one time she should have

gotten lost in such familiar territory.

Peoples' reactions to the existence of 'fairies' are generally very skeptical, but tend to vary somewhat with the age of the informant. Many of the elderly express the belief that such creature do indeed exist, even though they may never have actually seen them or their "sign" themselves. Most of the younger 'race' are entirely skeptical of the existence of 'fairies' and think the stories are nothing more than 'superstitions.' "That's just auld stories," they say. The age groups in between are a little more variable, but in a more subtle manner. All their lives they have heard stories about 'fairies,' so the basis for the belief is clearly there. Thus, while for the most part not actually believing in 'fairies,' many will sometimes admit that their existence is at least a possibility. Sometimes they say, "I don't know, boy, there's strange things in this world, and let's we don't know about, too."

In normal circumstances most people give the existence, or non-existence, of 'fairies' very little thought. One woman in her mid-fifties commented:

All that stuff went out when we got lights and televisions and all the rest, so it makes you wonder. In the night times in the old days you couldn't get out around all that much it was so dark. So you was wary of the night.

It used to be so dark out sometimes, specially when the fog was in, that you could hardly see your nose before you. If you was either bit nervous, your mind could make you see all sorts of foolish things. And there was always some of the young fellows up to their devilment, playing tricks on people to frighten them.

Another informant of approximately the same age said:

When I was just a young fellow we never had none of this stuff like folks got today, so we had to find some way to pass the evening times. Lots of times we'd all be sitting in the Kitchen in the evening with nothing but the old kerosene lanterns like we used to have and people would tell stories about shipwrecks and ghosts and fairies and whatnot. Lots believed in it all, specially little children, but I always seen it as entertainment.

And finally, in the words of another man:

I've been tramping around out on the barrens for twenty-five or thirty year now, and brother, I've seen some pretty strange things. But you can mark my words, fairies wasn't one of 'em.

These and other comments show very clearly that, though stories of 'fairies' abound, skepticism as to their actual existence is widespread.

The last man quoted, a noted woodsman, provided me with an interesting explanation, not of the existence of 'fairies,' but rather of the belief in their existence. It is very easy to let one's mind wander while walking in 'the country,' he explained, especially when one is alone. When that happens it is easy to momentarily loose your bearings, and if panic sets in, very strange things may

happen. A person may become completely lost in perfectly familiar territory, and it is precisely that which is attributed to enchantment by the 'fairies,' he claimed. In the old days a good woodsman might 'go in the country' to check his rabbit slips only to be later found dead or unconscious, and suffering from exposure to the elements. Since the man was a good woodsman and familiar with the territory, then the only possible explanation to most people was that someone or something had taken his mind. Furthermore, he proposed, the countermeasure against enchantment, turning something you are wearing inside out, is really nothing more than a convenient method for avoiding panic and getting one's bearing straight again. He concluded:

* They were smarter than you might think in the old days. Just telling someone to calm down don't work for three parts of the people, only makes 'em worse, I suppose. You're better off getting them to do it on the sly.

As far as he was concerned, turning a piece of clothing inside out to find the right direction was merely a 'sly' method of assisting people to calm down when panic begins to set in.

With regard to the existence of ghosts, however, there is a great deal more belief existing in Black Diamond Bay. Most members of the older 'race' who were

questioned professed some belief in the existence of ghosts, and ghost stories were found to be fairly widespread. There was a greater degree of skepticism noted for the younger 'race,' but, as we shall see, there was at the same time a considerable degree of uncertainty noted.

Many of the ghost stories told in the community are broadly similar to the following example:

The auld man /The informant's father who had died some ten years prior/ used to go over to my brother Jim's place in the afternoon. He always sat on the daybed in the corner of the room, and if someone else was sitting there when he come in, they'd move for him. Everyone knew it was his favourite spot. Now, the auld man had this habit, you see. He was always smoking at the pipe, but he used to have a devil of a time keeping it lit. He was forever putting a match to it. And when he used a match, he'd always drop it right there on the floor between his two legs. Jim's wife was always giving it out to him about it, just joking like, because whenever he'd leave there'd be a dozen or more auld burnt matches around the floor where he was sitting.

Do you know that for months after he died whenever Jim and his wife would lock up the house and go for a drive, or out to town, when they come back they would find a little pile of burnt matches right there on the floor in the exact same spot where the old man used to sit. And my sonny boy, that's not a word of a lie, because I seen it with my own eyes.

On a number of occasions, but not in this particular example, a priest would have to be called for an informal exorcism in which he would go around the inside of the

house and bless each room in order to remove the intruding spirit and put it to rest. Such was the case for one woman who claimed that whenever she was left alone in the house at night the rocking chair in the kitchen where, prior to her death, her husband's mother always sat with her knitting would begin to rock back and forth. The situation was so unsettling to her that she could not bear to be alone in the house, so the priest was called to remedy the situation.

In addition, there are stories of 'ghost ships' and 'ghost lights' out on the sea.

Sometimes when there's a storm on, if you go down to the beach, you can see a ship way out off the cape if you look hard. You don't see much, maybe just a flicker of light way out. In between gusts of the wind you can sometimes hear things, too. Seems to me its men shouting and lowering boats or something.

Interestingly enough, after the introduction of cars into the area, 'ghost lights' from cars were to be seen as well. People have described driving home in the night, particularly when the road was narrower and ill lit, and seeing such lights. In the typical example, people claim to have seen headlights approaching them, and then suddenly disappear without them ever being passed by a car. The people involved in these cases swore that there was no sign of a car anywhere. During my stay in the community,

however, with the road now wider and relatively well lit in many places, no recent sightings of 'ghost lights' were reported.

As has been said, many members of the older 'race' believe in ghosts. They claim to have seen 'some queer things' themselves, or else point to the experience of other people whom they consider to be reliable sources. For the younger people, however, there is more skepticism, at least outwardly. As one young man noted:

That's only auld foolishness, boy. The way I sees it is like this. If a fellow dies and goes to Hell, he's supposed to be kept there forever, so he can't get out. And if he dies and goes to Heaven, its supposed to be so good he don't want to get out. So it don't make no sense either way, now do it?

However, beneath the outer skepticism there seems to be some degree of uncertainty on the part of most persons of the younger 'race' as to the existence of ghosts. For instance, the fact that a night visit to the grave of 'Cap'n Quick' constituted a dare, as well as the fact that the act was talked about as if it were an act of bravery, is strong indication that some degree of fear nevertheless underlies the outwardly skeptical statements made by members of the younger 'race.' This may be illustrated by a few brief examples.

One night I was 'trouting' with a man from Black

Diamond Bay when a thick fog rolled in and settled all around us. After a while my companion turned to me and said:

You know, boy, when your down here in the night in the fog, with the sound of the sea over on the beach, it makes you a little nervous. The way the light glows on the fog makes you see things that puts you in mind of all the auld stories.

The younger 'race' is subjected to two sets of influences, it seems. On the one hand, there is the "modern," secular tendency to be skeptical toward the existence of supernatural phenomena, and on the other, there is the very rich body of oral tradition to which they have been exposed all their lives. Thus, they neither fully believe in ghosts, nor are they fully skeptical.

The ambivalent feelings of the younger 'race' are illustrated in the following incident. Though it deals with belief in good and bad luck rather than with the existence of ghosts, it nevertheless illustrates the conflicting tendencies of skepticism and the cultural belief system.

On another occasion, again while 'trouting,' I was preparing to cast my line into the pond when one of the men there, one who had been quite vocal in heaping scorn on the 'auld foolishness' and the 'superstitions'

of many of the older people, sheepishly interrupted me.

You better move a little more down that way because if you stay where you're at our lines are going to cross. You'll probably think I'm full of it after all I been saying, but that's one thing I'm real superstitious about. I'm sure there's nothing but the worse kind of luck can come from two fishermen crossing their lines. I never heard no good come of it yet, and I'd just as soon take no chances.

Though generally skeptical about what he perceived as 'superstition,' the man in question was so steeped in his cultural background, so socialized into the belief system, that he could not help but be cautious. Many other members of the younger 'race' find themselves in the same position. For instance, I recorded the following statement:

I suppose most of the stuff you hears is all nonsense, just stories like. But its hard to say. I knows in me mind that it's foolishness I suppose, but there's strange things just the same.

My father's mother used to put away warts. If you had a wart to be rid of she'd rub an auld slug, or a piece of fat pork or something over it, and mumble a few prayers while she was doing it. And by God, you don't have to believe it if you don't want to, but it used to work, sure as I'm sitting here. You might have to get her to do it a second time for you, but the warts were sure to be put away sooner or later. I don't know how she did it, and I don't pretend to know. But, boy, she did it all right. I seen it a hundred times.

While many of the younger 'race,' perhaps in their attempt to be "modern," or perhaps in their attempt to portray

themselves as fearless, tend to be scornful of the beliefs of the older 'race,' they nevertheless seem to have absorbed many of the same beliefs themselves. Once again, the continuity of belief is noticeable.

'HOOTCHIE'

Since the early 1970s, marijuana and hashish have been introduced into the Black Diamond Bay area, much to the dismay of the older 'race' who see it as yet another social ill of the contemporary era. The younger 'race,' however, even the many who do not themselves use the drugs, seem to have a generally more lenient, less fearful attitude toward it. They are often, though there are indeed exceptions, inclined to see 'hootchie' as something akin to liquor, i.e., as a recreational drug which is virtually harmless unless used in excess.

The members of the younger 'race' who actually use marijuana and hashish, or 'weed' and 'hash,' as they call it, form an informally bounded group which spans all the individual communities within the region. The exchange of drugs, whether through barter, cash payment, or reciprocation, defines the limits of the group. Within the boundary thus formed, a unique lexicon of drugs,

drug paraphernalia, and drug use heightens the distinction between outsiders and insiders and unifies the group at the regional level.

The use of drugs, or 'dope,' is very clearly a regional, rather than a local phenomenon. Networks of exchange spread from one end of the region to the other and even beyond. Communication within the network is rapid. Information spreads very quickly via "word of mouth" that, for instance, a particular individual in a particular community has 'weed' for sale, and within a day or two there is additional information available as to its potency. Thus, the network linking drug users supplies them with useful information on a continuous basis.

The network of drug use is indeed a bounded phenomenon since communication about drugs tends to stop relatively abruptly at its outer limits. Thus, if one has no means of tapping into the communication system, then one obtains none of the information that is available to insiders. For instance, one individual told me with confidence that the region was 'maggoty' with 'hoochie,' that practically every fellow in the area had some. A few days later another man, this time an insider, made the disgruntled statement that the area had been

'dry' for several weeks, i.e., that there was "No weed to be had in the place." Hence, communication between the users and the non-users about drugs is restricted.

Communication between insiders and outsiders is also restricted in the sense that the insiders make use of a special vocabulary of drugs, drug use and drug paraphernalia that is generally not available, or at least not available to the same extent, to many outsiders. For instance, to many non-users both marijuana and hashish are simply 'hootchie.' To the user, however, there are numerous distinct varieties of each. 'Weed' is the generic name given to a number of particular types, such as 'Mexican weed,' 'Jamaican weed,' 'Colombian weed,' 'Thai-stick,' and 'Newfie bog weed.' 'Hash,' too, is a generic term which includes such sub-varieties as 'blond Lebanese,' 'black Afgani,' and 'red Moroccan,' among others.

To the outsider, 'hootchie' is simply smoked, whereas to the insider there are almost as many ways to smoke the drugs as there are varieties. There are 'joints,' 'jays,' and 'spliffs' (cigarettes), a number of distinctively named homemade pipes, or the drugs may be 'brain toked' (the inhalation of smoke blown through the unlit end of a 'joint' by another), or it may be 'blasted' (the inhalation

of smoke from 'weed' or 'hash' ignited between two very hot knives). Similarly, to the outsider the smoker of 'hoochie' gets 'high,' whereas to the user s/he gets 'stoned,' 'wasted,' 'whacked out,' or 'wrecked.' These examples are but a part of the relatively large vocabulary used to facilitate communication between the smokers of marijuana and hashish in the region. The vocabulary also serves to distinguish between insiders and outsiders in a fairly clear manner. The words one uses in talking about drugs allows the insiders to identify insiders and outsiders with little difficulty.

The introduction of marijuana and hashish into the region has also led to the emergence of drug entrepreneurs. However, contrary to popular opinion, most of these few individuals seem not to be in the business 'for the money,' or because they are too lazy to try to earn an honest living. For the most part, these persons enjoy smoking marijuana and hashish and see the selling of small quantities of the drugs as a means of obtaining a cheap, or free, relatively steady supply. One man, who claimed to have been 'at it' for about ten months, swore that he had never 'made a cent.'

You got to be a crook to make money at it, boy.
You sells so much, you keeps so much for your-
self, and if you got a fair bit around your

buddies'll think you're a son of a bitch if you don't treat them once in a while, or give them a few joints, or something. You got to look after your friends, boy. You got to live in the place.

The same man claimed that no one in the area was involved in the drug trade in anything approaching a large scale, and that most, like himself, dropped out of the business when their interest in 'smoking up' on a frequent basis waned.

The use of drugs in the region, of course, seems at first glance a very major distinction between the older 'race' and a segment of the younger 'race' in Black Diamond Bay today. However, my fieldnotes indicate that that is not, strictly speaking, the case. The use the 'young fellows' make of 'weed' and 'hash' is in reality virtually identical to the use of alcoholic beverages, a specific discussion of which is to be found in Szwed (1966a).

Szwed has argued that since Newfoundland's confederation with Canada in 1949, social drinking has become symbolically important in rural areas. As communities lose their homogeneity (i.e., their "mechanical solidarity through the creation of differences in employment, education, and so forth, alcohol becomes important as "leveler." It symbolizes friendliness, equality, gener-

osity, and manliness. Hence, the exchange of drinks becomes, as Nemec (1972:23), a "ritualized" expression of friendly social relationships between men.

Much the same could be said of the use of 'weed' and 'hash' within the segment of the younger 'race' that uses the drugs. Just as the exchange of drinks is approached as if it were a case of indiscriminate giving, or "generalized reciprocity" (Sahlins 1965), so too is the exchange of 'weed' and 'hash.' However, just as a careful balance is maintained in the ritualized exchange of drinks, such as in the buying of 'rounds' in turn around a table, so too is balance maintained in the exchange of drugs. For instance, it was noted that members of a 'crowd' who 'smoke up' tend to either buy drugs in a round-like manner, or else all contribute an equal amount. If one man 'smokes up' another, it is expected that the other will reciprocate at the first possible chance. Again, it is a case where most men like to maintain equality with their peers, so wish to avoid becoming 'obliged' (e.g., Chairamonte 1970:10; Schwartz 1974:88-89), and certainly wish to avoid the possible application of the adverse label 'bum.' As Nemec noted:

The egalitarian ethic itself is noted in the basic fabric of Newfoundland outport culture (1972:33).

Drug use, though it is indeed an entirely new phenomenon in the area, has nevertheless been translated into a long standing local idiom.

The smoking of 'weed' and 'hash,' like drinking, also has a prestige dimension, although in this case the group granting prestige is considerably smaller. Just as a man may attain a 'name' for himself as a 'good drinker' (able to 'hold his liquor'), he may likewise attain a reputation for smoking 'weed' or 'hash.' Just as drinking stories abound, so too do stories about 'dope.' People tell of the strange experiences of themselves or their friends while 'stoned,' of close calls with 'the buckies' (R.C.M.P.), of 'good dope' (highly potent) they have smoked, and so forth. Many of these stories are reminiscent, in all but the particulars, of the stories told by men of the older 'race' of the deeds, pranks, and daring of their younger days. Many are similar to the stories of poaching or, further in the past, of smuggling. The oral tradition of drug use thus formed contributes to the image of rugged masculinity of those involved. Even some of the older men, though many are deeply concerned, joke about drugs with some of the younger men whom they suspect are involved in the drug subculture. Once again, while the content of the stories

communicated in the oral tradition is new, the idiom itself seems to be largely traditional.

ATTITUDES TOWARD WORK

As we have seen in some detail throughout this work, particularly in Chapter III, Black Diamond Bay has undergone what amounts to a major economic transformation in recent years. Accordingly, let us now examine attitudes towards work in order to come to an understanding of the extent to which the younger and older 'races' presently differ. However, it is useful to first examine some of the distinctive features of the traditional economic system. Once again, the term "economic" is used in the Marxist sense, referring primarily to relations of production.

The traditional inshore fishery in Black Diamond Bay was a major component of an annual ecological cycle which was geared toward household subsistence and to the maintenance of self-sufficiency. People produced as much as they possibly could toward meeting their subsistence requirements, and fished to produce a surplus product which could be bartered with a merchant in exchange for perceived necessities they could not pro-

duce themselves, as well as for some small luxury items to make a rugged, exacting life a little more pleasant. Thus, fishing was not quite what one would refer to as an "occupation" in the normal sense of the term. For ideological purposes men often referred to themselves as fishermen, but their adaptation was actually pluralistic. Fishing was an important component of the yearly round, but it was not necessarily the most important one. In terms of time expenditure, the fishery was in most areas essentially to a two to four month summer season, so that eight to ten months of the year were spent in other activities, such as hunting or drawing wood. In terms of household "income," the bulk of a household's many necessities were acquired apart from the fishery, for example, by gardening, animal husbandry, hunting and trapping, and so forth.

When the men of Black Diamond Bay began to shift from inshore fishing to wage labour, primarily since joining Canada in 1949, certain attitudes from the pre-Confederation era appear to have been carried over into the new economic situation. That is to say, that when men began their involvement in wage labour, they did not look upon it in terms of "occupations." They rather saw wage labour as yet another economic activity, another part of the

pluralistic totality, which, like the fishery, could be used to produce a cash income or its equivalent. The fact that men were now, unlike in the pre-Confederation era, becoming involved in economic activities which were different from one another seems to have initially had little impact. In speaking with members of the older 'race,' one gets the impression that they tend to see all wage labour in essentially the same light. Its primary meaning to them lies in the access to money that it provides.

In contrast, members of the younger 'race' have been socialized into a milieu in which wage labour is for all intents and purposes a universal, both in their own local surroundings and in the wider society to which they are now more greatly exposed. Hence, wage labour holds a cognitive position for them that is very different from that of their elders. Generally speaking, it is conceived of, not so much as merely one economic activity out of many, but rather more as an exclusive means by which one creates one's livelihood. Thus, the idea of "occupation" appears to be rather more in evidence for the younger 'race' since the vast majority of them no longer strive for any semblance of an occupationally pluralistic adaptation. Most of them prefer to 'work' (sell their labour

for wages) for a living, so they would like a 'good job.'

The difference between the 'races' in their respective conceptualizations of wage labour, though generally very subtle, seems very clearly based upon the shift from the inshore fishery to wage labour. The major employer of men in the community is a fish plant located in a nearby town. As many of the older people say, "Boy, I'm telling you, if it wasn't for the fish plant, I don't know what people would do around the place." For many of the older 'race' the fish plant is seen as a virtual blessing, a chance for men from 'the place' to remain within the region and still 'make a good dollar.' For many of the younger 'race,' however, the fish plant, though recognized for its importance in the local economy, is primarily a depressing and highly unsatisfactory work situation. Many claim that they would take a 'better job' for less pay without the slightest hesitation, if such were available. As one man describes it:

We're in there six days a week now, sometimes for ten and twelve hours a day. I'm on my feet mostly the whole time and, boy, I don't know how I don't get sick with the smell. You can have it for me, boy.. Its no life to be living.

Many of the older people seem not to understand the attitude, and are inclined instead to attribute the dissatisfaction of many of the young men to some underlying cause, such as

laziness.

I don't know what's the matter with the young fellows around the place these days. Too damn lazy to work, they are. Always groaning and complaining about something or other. If you ask me, they'd rather be sitting home on their arses with enough unemployment /insurance benefits/ coming in to keep them in beer and cigarettes. Here they are over there with the best kind of jobs, making four and five dollars an hour, and forever groaning and complaining. They're too damn lazy, that's all.

Many of the younger 'race' do indeed grumble and complain about their jobs on a very frequent basis. Most of them simply do not like working as fish cutters and would prefer doing something else, but alternative sources of employment are simply not available to the vast majority. In order to earn a living they must either migrate out of the region, whether temporarily or permanently, as many do, or else they must simply put up with the jobs they have. The return to pluralistic adaptation is primarily viewed as neither a viable nor a desirable alternative, and many young men no longer possess the requisite skills. As a result, many of them are left both dissatisfied and frustrated in their ambitions to be doing something 'better.' This is particularly the case for young tradesmen, who upon completing their schooling find that they must either give up their trades or become involved in migratory labour if they wish to remain living in 'the

place.' One man, for instance, had finished his training as a sheet-metal worker some nine years before, and in the ensuing period had never worked within 500 miles of his home. Even carpenters, electricians, and plumbers are rarely able to use their trades to make a living around 'the place.' Many are forced to spend four to six months, or more, of the year away from home, family, and friends, often in isolated areas. Others move away permanently, but often with a dream of returning some day.

Concomitant with age, communication, and cultural gaps, many persons of the older 'race' have trouble understanding the frustration and dissatisfaction of the younger 'race' with the fish plant and with the wider socio-economic situation. They agree, of course, that it would be simply wonderful if 'better' jobs were available in the region, but since they tend to concentrate their attention primarily upon the monetary rewards of wage labour, the idea of seeking satisfaction in the labour market seems to be relatively foreign. The younger 'race,' having ingested fairly large doses of "American" ideology through television, radio, and magazines, have different expectations of life and labour, the fulfillment of which is largely beyond their reach.

Many of them have also learned to rate jobs on a scale of prestige which leaves them in a very low position as primary product workers. They would prefer to be identified, and to identify themselves, as something other than 'fish cutter.' They see the job as one that very few people really want, and that the vast majority have taken out of simple necessity. The frustration they feel is sometimes very great, especially since most of them have at some time or another have worked elsewhere in construction or heavy industry, so are well aware of what they consider more desirable alternatives. The older 'race,' generally speaking, believes that the younger should be thankful for what they already have at their disposal, for in their day even that was not available; only poverty, hard work, and subjugation to a merchant.

It seems to me that at least part of the younger 'race's' tendency to romanticize the past stems from a dissatisfaction with their present lot. The stories they have been told of the 'hard times' present to them a picture of rugged manliness and excitement, making the life of a wage earning 'fish cutter' seem rather sedate and boring in comparison.

However, the dichotomy that has been drawn between

the older and younger 'races' is again found to be incomplete. Despite the differences cited, there are nevertheless a number of areas of correspondence. A particularly good example is the esteem with which the men working on deep sea trawlers are held in the community at large.

In the eyes of most people in Black Diamond Bay, to be a 'draggerman' is to be a "somebody," to be a relatively special person by virtue of what one does for a living. Working on the open sea on a dragger is seen as a particularly hazardous, manly task, perhaps the most challenging work a man can have. The identification of a particular individual with that type of work causes him to be seen as particularly rugged and masculine (a 'hard skit,' a 'hard ticket,' or a 'hard case'). The association of the individual and the work is so close that it is not so much that one works on a dragger, but rather that one is a 'draggerman.' In short, a 'draggerman' is a particular type of person.

In actual fact, work on the deep sea trawlers is indeed dangerous. Stories of mishaps, near fatalities, and actual fatalities are very common, and draggers have been known to sink. One 'draggerman' described in detail a race to port in the midst of a violent storm

which very nearly led to a major disaster. Within sight of the port the ship began to list very badly, so the order was given to abandon ship since to approach the harbour in the midst of a storm in that condition would have been pure folly. All the men were transferred safely, but with considerable difficulty, to another ship, but their vessel soon ended up jammed tight against the rocky coast and torn apart by the heavy seas.

Another man described the way the draggers sometimes get dangerously iced up out on the Grand Banks (some have even sunk as a result of icing over). He recalled an incident where the ice formed on the ship's cables was at least three feet thick and threatening to break at any moment. "All hands had to get to work smashing it off," he said.

Still another 'draggerman' recalled an incident which occurred when he worked on a vessel operating out of St. John's. While releasing the trawl of the stern trawler, he claimed, one of the deck hands became entangled in the cables and was hauled, screaming, into the cold North Atlantic.

That the 'draggerman' is a special type of person may be seen not only in the way that people in the community

talk about and describe 'draggermen,' but also in the way many 'draggermen' themselves talk and behave. It was noted that most 'draggermen' were inclined to play their role to the hilt, so to speak. They exhibited a characteristic swagger in their walk, generally spoke in a slightly exaggerated and drawled version of the local dialect, and delighted in telling stories about the sea. While on shore between trips to the Grand Banks they tended to socialize together in a sort of exclusive "brotherhood" of 'draggermen' and ex-'draggermen.'

It is important to emphasize that it is both the older and younger 'races' who hold the 'draggermen' in high esteem. Parents are usually proud, although often worried as well, of their 'draggermen' sons, and they normally give them special treatment when they return home, sometimes to the point of feeding them special food while the other, non-'draggermen' sons have to make do with normal fare. The older men at the 'clubs' also tend to joke with the 'draggermen' in a special manner which they do not use with the other young men. They hint at an "understanding" they share with the 'draggermen,' but not with the others. The young men, too, the non-'draggermen,' also acknowledge the prestige of the 'draggermen.' Oftentimes at the 'clubs,' particularly immediately after a

voyage, they gather around them to hear of their latest adventures at sea. Many of the young men would themselves like to become 'draggermen,' but the number of 'berths' available is much smaller than the number of men interested in them. In short, as the fishermen-hunters of the Labrador Coast attain prestige because they most closely approximate the ideal image of the "Labrador man" (Kennedy 1977:289), so too do the 'draggermen' of the Black Diamond Bay area approach the ideal of manhood in the eyes of most of the residents.

A key feature of the esteem with which 'draggermen' are held, and of the prestige associated with the position, is that most 'draggermen' perform essentially the same work on board ship as the men do at the fish plant. Hence, the basic difference rests, not in the tasks themselves, but rather in the different contexts in which identical tasks are performed. The 'draggermen' cut fish in the potentially hazardous atmosphere of a sea-going vessel, whereas the others cut fish on shore. It seems obvious, of course, that the importance of the distinction arises from the traditional association of men with the 'fishing crew' and women with the 'shore crew.' The fact that the draggers are on the sea makes the work of the 'draggermen,' in terms of the ideological system, all the

more manly, even though the duties involved are not very different.

This also raises another interesting possibility, namely, that the dissatisfaction of the 'young fellows' with work at the fish plant, in addition to a basic distaste for highly routine, assembly-line production, may be partially due to the fact that they stand in a role very similar to that assigned to women in the traditional inshore fishery. They comprise, in fact, a large 'shore crew' for the 'fishing crews' of the draggers. Hence, their current work situation leaves them significantly short of the traditional ideals of manhood.

A PROBLEM

The purpose of the present chapter has been largely to set the stage for the final phases of this discussion. The ethnographic data thus far presented pose several related problems, and it is to these problems that we must address ourselves.

We have seen that Black Diamond Bay has undergone a major transformation in its economic base within a fairly short period of time. As a result, a relatively large number of changes have been introduced into the

community, and these are to some extent reflected in the socially recognized distinctions between the older and younger 'races.' At the same time, however, despite the numerous changes in the face of the village, and despite people's emphasis of the "generation gap," there is still a considerable degree of continuity with the past as reflected in the many ways in which the older and younger 'races' actually converge. In many cases, the "gap" seems little more than the working out of new content within an idiom that is very largely traditional. We are left, then, with the problem of continuity in the midst of change. To arrive at a reasonable understanding of Black Diamond Bay we must attempt to understand the ways in which old and new have come to co-exist in a workable and understandable system of thought and action.

Chapter V

Reputation and Respectability

In recent years there has been a florescence in social anthropology in the recognition of, and concern with, a phenomenon Boissevain (1968) has termed "non-groups," i.e., with networks of relationships that are "interstitial, supplementary, and parallel" (cf. Wolf 1966:2) to the formal institutional arrangement of a social system. Foster (1961; 1963) has claimed that dyadic, contractual types of relationships are as important to the study of complex societies as kinship has been to the study of "primitive" social organization. Wolf has even proposed that it is through the analysis of network relationships that we will eventually uncover the "hidden mechanisms of complex societies" (1966:20). However, the description of networks, although indeed valuable, especially as a heuristic device, nevertheless leaves us at the level of empirical observation. What is needed is a glimpse at the underlying structural level which gives a relatively consistent unity to the social formation at all of its various levels. In this respect, at least in regard to the data collected in Black Diamond Bay, the work of

Peter J. Wilson (1969; 1973) appears particularly valuable.

Wilson has presented the thesis that the cultural system of the Caribbean area is characterized by the dialectical interaction of two relatively distinct, yet ultimately unified, systems of social valuation. These he has termed "reputation" and "respectibility." Analysis of the Black Diamond Bay data indicates that a similar situation exists there, albeit with a number of major differences. In the remainder of this thesis the terms "reputation" and "respectibility" will be used in the broad sense outlined by Wilson.

REPUTATION AND RESPECTIBILITY IN

BLACK DIAMOND BAY

During the course of my fieldwork in Black Diamond Bay it became apparent that male social behavior seemed to be influenced by at least two major sets of variables, and that these seemed to be interrelated in a dialectical manner, each being always more or less present, but never entirely absent. As emphasized throughout the thesis, social life in Black Diamond Bay is marked by a strong ideological emphasis upon egalitarianism. Similar observations have been made for other areas of Newfound-

land (e.g., Nemeć 1972:30; Schwartz 1974:90; Szwed 1966b:46).

Firestone, for instance, has commented:

As we have seen the entire straits area is characterized by intimacy and familiarity. There is little mobility in the Straits and a person can expect to spend his entire life in much the same social milieu. Thus, techniques for maintaining his integrity while pursuing his course through social proceedings with intimates are particularly important. Egalitarianism is also significant here as it precludes interaction in terms of a facade of superordinate and subordinate relationships; one must get on "man to man" with no formalities of position that would make for the isolation of social distance (1967:112).

Exactly the same comment may be made in relation to the social life of Black Diamond Bay. People know each other in considerable detail gleaned from a lifetime of interaction and close association, a phenomenon also noted by Chairamonte (1970:17), Philbrook (1966:71), and Szwed (1966b:97-98). Most people pass their entire life cycle, from birth to death, within the relatively restricted social universe of the community and its close neighbours. Clearly, it is fundamentally important, both during the process of early childhood socialization and long afterward, to learn to 'get along' within this social universe. The vast majority of people within the area are classified as 'friends and neighbours,' a category which by its very definition indicates equality.

To allow one's behavior to either raise or lower one's status is to remove oneself from the category 'friends and neighbours' through the introduction of an element of inequality. For that reason the unfortunate, for example, persons drawn by necessity to collect welfare payment, must carefully and visibly manage the impressions they transmit in the community if they are to avoid losing their equal footing with their 'friends and neighbours.' Likewise, the fortunate, for example, those with 'good,' well-paying jobs, must carefully and visibly avoid 'putting on airs' if they are to remain equals. Pretensions to superiority are very severely dealt with through gossip, avoidance, and sometimes even by outright ridicule.

Within the general rubric of egalitarian relationships in Black Diamond Bay there are, as I have noted, two sets of influences at play, primarily, at least on the basis of my data, in the male social world. On the one hand, there are the duties and requirements a man faces as a household head, as the chief representative of one of the most basic social units to the community at large. These requirements shall be termed, following Wilson (1973), as the requirements of "respectability." On the other hand, there are the duties and requirements faced by a man as

a member of a 'crowd,' or segment of the male peer group. These, again following Wilson, shall be termed the requirements of "reputation."

As indicated in Chapter V, many of the behavioral differences existing between the elder and younger 'races' which are interpreted in the community as evidence of a "generation gap" seem, upon closer examination, to be perhaps more correctly attributable to the distinction between married and unmarried males than to generational differences as such. In many cases the element of relative age seems to enter incidentally, as a function of the fact that married males, as a group, are generally older than unmarried males. Hence, an understanding of these distinctions necessitates our returning briefly to the distinctions that exist between men on the basis of marital status.

In Chapter IV a relatively detailed discussion of the distinctions between married and unmarried males was presented. Both types of male, it was discovered, held different positions in the social structure, and are simultaneously viewed in different ideological terms by the local people. In terms of the social structure, married men are usually household heads. This arises from the fact that the ideal of marriage is the nuclear

family, and that marriages are oft-times postponed until such a time as a young couple are able to set up house on their own (e.g., Szwed 1966b:66). In contrast, the unmarried males reside within their natal households, and are thus subordinate members rather than household heads. The distinction, then, amounts to an important difference in social status. The young men are in a sense in an interstitial position between two households, their natal household, which they are in a general process of leaving, and the household they will form and head at marriage.

The difference between married and unmarried males in social structural terms is, as I have already claimed, also accompanied by distinctions on the ideological level. In the local community's view of the world, men are inclined to be 'wild' while women are naturally more sedate. Responsibility is seen as coming naturally to a woman, whereas it has to be cultivated in a man. Since married men are closely associated with their wives, responsible for them, and under their influence, they are likewise generally more responsible and sedate than the unmarried men. The unmarried men are, as it were, conceptualized as the expression, at least at this level, of unfettered masculinity, in its naturalistic sense. They have not as yet been 'caught' and made to 'settle

down' by a woman. They are allowed much more licence in their public behavior and such is in a broad sense expected of them. There are, after all, some young men in the community who are considered 'too quiet,' or 'like old men.' Behavior condoned in an unmarried man may very well be condemned in a married man of the same age, as I have witnessed on several occasions. The different social statuses are universally recognized, so behavior that is out of role for one is not necessarily so for the other.

As in the Caribbean, "respectibility" in Black Diamond Bay appears to be primarily associated with females. It is they who are "respectible" from birth, we might say, as their position in the social structure changes less with marriage than does the position of a man. It is also the woman who is the guardian of a household's respectibility since it is she, it is believed, who is the chief source of influence on her husband and sons in this regard. One often hears women say something to the effect of, "What will people think?" in censuring the behavior of their husbands and older sons. For instance:

No, my son, your not having that crowd of gangsters over in this house tonight I can guarantee you. What kind of place will people think we're running here at all.

And in he strolled at 7:30 and couldn't hardly keep the feet under himself. He was to the Elder for a few beers with some of the boys, and old Billy Blue - that's one devil, that is - started getting him three or four drinks in one and letting on it was only a single drink - trying to get him drunk, he was. And it worked too, but I give it out to him when he got home, I tell you. But it was all I could do to keep from laughing, he looked so foolish. He couldn't hardly stand up, and him trying to act like he never so much as seen a drop in his life. But I never laughed because I was ashamed for me life. You don't know what the neighbours might be thinking or saying if they see him coming home that way in the evening time.

One morning about two months ago I was sitting in the kitchen having a cup of tea after scrubbing all the rooms upstairs, when who should pull in the driveway and start walking up the path but the buckies. Gar, I didn't know what to think.

They were only here to see if young Gerry was home because he was witness to an accident over in Blue Jay Point just a few nights before that, and they wanted to get his story. Gerry was out on the draggers at the time, so I told the mounties I'd have him go over to the station when he got home.

There was no need of those fellows coming right up to the house about that. They could have called up on the phone and asked him to go over to the station. It doesn't look very good to see those fellows going to someone's door. People don't know what they're there for, and you don't know what they'll be thinking.

In short, women are generally very concerned about their

homes and families and with the managing of the impression their households project in the community. They are exceedingly sensitive to the 'way people talk,' and wish very much to avoid becoming a subject for gossip (see also Szwed 1966b:97). They wish to avoid situations which could potentially lower them and their families in the eyes of the community, and thereby impair their established position as equals.

Paris made an important observation, though he seems not to have fully realized its importance, when he observed in passing that:

... men ... are seldom interested in how clean a particular woman keeps her stove, though this is of primary importance to women ... (1966:237).

The standards of respectability are to some extent those entailed in the ideal of the Western family: a close, well-integrated, loving family, sufficient unto itself, and successful in its endeavours. The life of a woman being relatively "insular" (cf. Stiles 1972:52; but see also Chairamonte 1970:14; Paris 1972:25), it is not at all surprising to find that she has a somewhat larger stake in the maintenance of an acceptable approximation to the ideal. Since women are considered domestic creature, or homemakers, their success or failure in the eyes of the community largely depends upon how they

function in this primary role. To return briefly to Paris' example, women are indeed concerned with the cleanliness of a stove, a room, or an entire house, but it is not simply the result of pettiness or some type of collective aversion to dirt. These things are concrete expressions of a woman's abilities and of her comparative social worth.

Married men, of course, are also subject to the pressures of maintaining a respectable image in the eyes of the community. As previously noted, in the majority of cases married men are also household heads and thus responsible for the household, its functioning, and its standing in the community. However, their concern with respectability is not as great as that of the women, i.e., they are not as sensitive to its subtleties. This appears to be due, to a very large extent, to the fact that married men are simultaneously members of another important social grouping, the 'crowd.' Thus, while having to guard the respectability of the home, they must at the same time adjust themselves to the pressures of the peer group and its expectations. Before addressing the problem of dual influences and expectations on the roles of married men, it is first necessary to briefly outline the relationship between 'crowds' and reputation.

As pointed out in some detail in Chapter IV, important distinctions on the basis of relative age are made in Black Diamond Bay. People are classified into what we may refer to as "age-sets," locally designated as 'races.' These are essentially non-corporate groups, or social categories, since no data were uncovered to indicate that 'races' were ever organized for any sort of self-conscious, concerted social action. That is not to say, however, that 'races' are socially irrelevant. On the contrary, it is from his 'race' that a man selects his small group of close friends and associates. These groups have no exclusive name, but are indeed socially recognized, being generally distinguished by the relational term, 'crowd.' I have thus chosen, following Schwartz (1974), to ignore the variable usage of the term 'crowd' and to restrict its meaning to refer to the small and loosely bounded, or "overlapping" (Goldschmidt 1959:71), groups of close male friends and associates one finds in the community.

'Crowds' are of greatest importance to the male residents of Black Diamond Bay since it is largely outside the politico-jural domain of kinship that men form their relationships of sociability (e.g., Nemeo 1972:22). The importance of 'crowds' among men is particularly true

of the 'young fellows' who stand, as it were, stand in an interstitial position between households and who generally spend much more time with their 'crowds' than at home. Participation in one's 'crowd' necessitates the performance of what is considered manly behavior in order for one to attain favourable recognition from one's peers as a man and an equal, i.e., to attain a favourable reputation, the local term for which is 'name.' All my male informants thought it highly desirable, if not outrightly necessary, to protect one's 'name' among one's fellows. A favourable 'name' is secured and maintained by superior, or at least adequate, performance in any one of a number of "manly" activities, such as hunting and fishing, the ability to 'spin a good yarn' (an exaggerated story), the ability for spontaneous composition of satirical verse or 'ditties' (songs), the ability to hold one's own in the art of verbal repartee, the ability to quickly exercise one's wit and humour (a particularly adept practitioner is called a 'character'), the ability to step to one's own defense and fight when it cannot be avoided without a serious loss of face, and, in more recent years, the ability to hold one's liquor (for some, drugs), to play billiards, darts, and soccer, and to handle a car with "style."

Very early during my fieldwork I discovered that the definition of manhood in Black Diamond Bay places heavy emphasis upon a whole complex of related qualities, some of which have already been noted. These include independence, autonomy, the ability to stand up for oneself, the ability to contain one's emotions, generosity, dependability, self-reliance, a carefree attitude, and so forth. To 'get along' with one's peers and to maintain a position in the peer group, as I have mentioned, necessitates the expression of these characteristics in one's behavior. In a sense, the 'crowd' either recognizes or denies a man's manhood on the basis of the evidence provided by his visible behavior. Hence, to borrow Goffman's (1959) terminology, involvement in the peer group necessitates an appropriate presentation of self.

The relation of the quality of independence to manhood is seen in the distinction between married and unmarried males. Though in one sense the unmarried males are seen as the unfettered expression of natural masculinity, they are, in another sense, not yet fully men. The licence in behavior allowed them enables them to partake in undiluted displays of masculine wildness, but at the same time their ultimate dependant status as subordinate

members of a household denies their manhood. Perhaps compensation for this deficit is a partial explanation for their off-times exaggerated displays of masculinity.

The importance of independence to manhood is again reflected in the process of borrowing and lending money as discussed in Chapter II. It will be noted that in the case of borrowing and lending, a man's independence is recognized and fitted to the scheme of social action. In the first place, borrowing money, since it indicates dependence upon another, is done in a relatively secret, one-to-one manner. Momentary dependence, it seems, is thereby denied or disguised. Likewise, the retrieval of money borrowed by another is normally handled very delicately so as to avoid making the initial borrowing and its seeming dependence relationship an issue. However, it is well to note that negligence in living up to one's obligation in returning borrowed money is censured through the threat of the application of a negative 'name,' i.e., the defaulter may be adversely labelled. This would lower a man in the eyes of his fellows and thereby destroy or impair his position as an equal.

The process by which 'crowds' come to a decision also illustrates the importance of independence and autonomy among males. When commencing concerted social activity,

'crowds' usually strive to arrive at a consensus, so they attempt to avoid impinging the independence and autonomy of their members. Thus, though there may well be an individual or two within a 'crowd' who are particularly influential, and who in reality are the decision makers, the fact is disguised and the ideals are maintained.

A final illustration of the importance of independence and autonomy in defining manhood is clearly seen in an example from my fieldnotes. One evening a group of men were standing around in front of the 'hang out,' waiting for it to open. Standing with them was a teenager of fourteen or fifteen years of age, a 'hardy boy,' but not yet quite one of the young men. However, it seemed obvious that he was trying to associate himself with the latter group and not with the usual multitude of children who run errands for the young men to earn a little spending money for themselves. He stood with the young men and availed himself of every opportunity to 'put his two cents' worth' in. One of the young men, a man in his mid-twenties, eventually turned to the boy and asked him to run to the ~~the~~ shop' and get him a package of cigarettes. "Some chance," was the embarrassed and somewhat insulted reply as most of the men began to snicker. The request had amounted to a public slur on the teenagers independ-

ence. It had underlined his pretensions to manhood, and denied them.

Much more is involved in being and acting a man in Black Diamond Bay than simply displaying independence and autonomy, though these are indeed essential qualities. There is, in addition, and particularly amongst the younger men, evidence of a complex similar to the machismo complex of Latin America and the Caribbean, though it is by no means either as well-defined or as exaggerated. What I mean here is the idea of 'being a man' in the sense that a man is a strong and powerful creature. Involved here is the ability to 'take it' (the ability to accept teasing, joking, and good natured "horse play" without losing one's temper or getting upset), the ability to stand up for oneself (particularly for one's 'name'), the ability to hold one's liquor, the ability to fight, and so forth. It is very often in these particular sorts of behavior that a man may excel over his fellows and thereby obtain the recognition and prestige of a favourable 'name.' A few examples should suffice in making clear exactly what is involved in a 'name,' and should also verify the contention that something of a machismo complex exists in Black Diamond Bay.

In Black Diamond Bay, as in the Caribbean, the more

forceful competitive and performative behaviors associated with men (drinking, fighting, feats of physical strength, daring, etc.) all combine together in a systematic picture of "manhood." Men, particularly the younger men who have not yet established a really solid 'name' for themselves, appear to involve themselves in a form of impression management where, especially when in the company of their peers, they cast themselves in a "manly" role. One of the basic premises at work here is that one has to be a "man" to be accepted as 'one of the boys,' and one must be accepted as 'one of the boys' in order to be considered a "man." That is, that one has to project masculinity in order to take one's rightful place in the male social world, and that it is really only by participation in the male social world that one is accepted as a man and an equal. Becoming a man, then, unlike becoming a woman, is by no means strictly a function of physical maturation. On the contrary, it is an active, ongoing social process. It depends less upon age than upon social recognition, so it has to be maintained rather than simply taken for granted.

Most men in Black Diamond Bay partake of alcoholic beverages, but the behavior is much more pronounced among the unmarried males than among the married males. The distinction arises from their different positions in the

social structure. The married men have greater responsibilities to live up to as household heads, so they are less totally involved in their peer groups than their unmarried counterparts. Simply put, they have neither the time nor, in many cases, the inclination to go to the 'clubs' every night of the week. In addition, any married man who does so is considered 'not much of a man' for neglecting his family.

Likewise, young men who are engaged to be married, or who have become seriously involved with a woman on a steady basis, also spend less time with their peer group, and usually drink less. The pull of the peer group continues to draw them into such behavior, but they do so on an intermittent, much less frequent basis.

As for the unmarried and unattached males, they claim that there is little else to do in 'the place' besides drink beer. However, it is clear that drinking beer is by no means an end in itself, but is rather an unavoidable function of socializing within the peer group. The local 'clubs' have become, in effect, men's 'clubs,' and 'getting along' in the 'clubs' has likewise become an important part of 'getting along' in the male social world. Men have traditionally socialized together in public places, such as the 'shops' in Cat Harbour (Paris 1972).

In Black Diamond Bay all the public meeting places of men have been replaced by the 'clubs,' so they are essentially gathering places and the fact that beer is sold is in that respect incidental. The various 'crowds' of young men gather at the 'clubs' virtually every night to talk, tell stories, play pool, and generally 'carry on.' Emphasis is placed upon keeping up with the 'crowd' since active participation is the duty of a member. The dual emphasis upon generosity and balance poses a problem since it often leads to over-indulgence. If one begins by buying a round of drinks for everyone at the table, then custom dictates that the next should reciprocate, and so on down the line. By the time everyone has reciprocated, several beers have been consumed by each man and thoughts of working the next day are often far from mind. One young man at one point claimed that he would no longer drink or attend the 'clubs,' but within a few days he was back once again. He claimed that his only alternative to the 'clubs' was spending his evenings at home in front of the television. As Szwed (1966a) has argued, when drink becomes the focus of male social encounters, giving up drinking is tantamount to removing oneself from social intercourse. That is indeed the case in Black Diamond Bay, at least for the unmarried men.

To complicate matters even further, an element of competition enters into the picture in so far as one must perform at the same level, or better, than one's fellows. That is, that the young men compete for prestige and recognition. Men usually try their best to excel at various peer group activities because to either excel or perform at a low level affords the individual recognition from his fellows, the first of a positive nature, the second of a negative nature. Of a 'good drinker,' for instance, it might be said, "Boy, he could drink what's in this place and walk away from it." Of a poor drinker, a man who 'can't hold his liquor,' I have heard the remark, "Two beers and a kick in the arse and he gets foolish." The first type of statement singles out a man's ability for praise, the second sort singles out his inability for ridicule or chiding. To return briefly to the example provided by Faris (1966:237), though men are indeed much less sensitive than women to certain varieties of 'talk,' for example, concerning the cleanliness of stoves, they are certainly sensitive to 'talk' where their 'names' are concerned. Very few men indeed would like to give the impression that they lack generosity, or that they are 'bums,' or that they 'can't take it,' or any other of a number of adverse typifications. This holds true for

married men as well as for the 'young fellows.' A comment such as, "The wife told you to be home, did she?" is in many cases sufficient to convince a man to stay for another drink. Men, as well as women, realize that they are under "surveillance" (cf. Faris 1966:239; see also Szwed 1966b:97) by the community at large, but because of their different orientations, the type of surveillance they are most aware of and most sensitive to tends to vary.

The ability to fight is also of importance in the male world of reputation in Black Diamond Bay. However, it is important to note that since ties of community are very strong, fighting between members of the community is extremely rare. Though I have recorded a few instances of intracommunity fighting, most cases involved brothers in conflicts which had been brewing for several or more years. It is interesting to note that brothers, having been raised in the same household, are members of a category in which the management of an impression of respectability is least important. Hence, the "repugnance of overt emotional expression" described by Faris (1972:20) holds least for brothers, so fighting is more likely to occur between brothers than between non-related men or between 'relations.' In the pre-Confederation era, when almost the entire community was involved in the inshore fishery,

there was an emphasis placed on the necessity of the agnatic 'crews' getting along together, so conflict and fighting between brothers, at least while still members of the same 'crew,' was limited. In the current mode of production, where brothers are no longer productive partners, the necessity of getting along at least well enough to work together is no longer an important factor, so the inhibition, avoidance, or the simple ignoring of conflict is no longer as important. Fights between brothers are still relatively rare, but they are reported to be more common than in the past.

Fighting between members of different communities, however, was noted to be a much more frequent phenomenon, but it is essential that we qualify this statement with reference to two further observations. First, married men become involved in such activities very rarely, and only under extenuating circumstances, when the peaceful smoothing over of a conflict is impossible. Second, fighting now tends to occur between young men from Black Diamond Bay and young men from a neighbouring region, and only rarely within their own region. This is perfectly understandable in relation to the recent growth of a regional identity in the area.

The same sort of ethnocentrism described by

Paris (1972:47) for Cat Harbour tends to hold true for Black Diamond Bay, but has been to a large degree extended to a regional level. People claimed that persons from their own region were generally a 'good bunch,' while 'the crowd over there' were for the most part 'savages.' Fights were attributed to the provocation of 'that crowd over there' and to 'our own.' It is interesting to note that the opinion of 'that crowd over there' was essentially a mirror image of the Black Diamond Bay opinion. To them it was the people of Black Diamond Bay who were the 'savages,' while their 'own' were really very peaceful and civilized.

During my stay in the area I was on a number of occasions proudly shown skinned-out knuckles, bruises, and scars, all by younger men, as it is to a large degree an embarrassment for a married man to sport such wounds. This is quite understandable given what we may refer to as the "ethos" of the unmarried males, the "reputation" complex. To protect his 'name' a man must be ready to stand up for himself when insulted or challenged. To back down from another man constitutes a serious loss of face and it is therefore damaging to one's 'name.' However, there are numerous devices which operate to prevent conflict from escalating within the community, and to a

lesser degree within the region. First, there are numerous ties of kinship and friendship which form a vast web of relationships and interrelationships, so there are really no 'strangers' and there is no shortage of persons to 'intercede' and smooth a conflict over. Second, there is an important emphasis among men on being able to 'take it,' so unless a slight is offered in an unambiguously serious manner, it is most often possible to shrug it off as a joking slight and to return it in kind. However, such is not the case with the present day "enemy" community. They are considered to be unreasonable and provocative on an a priori basis, so slights simply cannot be interpreted as jokes. Likewise, there are few ties of kinship or friendship which would place greater emphasis on resolution than on encounter. And finally, there are many young men from both regions who actually look forward to a fight as a means of displaying their ability, power, and manhood, as the proud display of skinned knuckles clearly indicated. Fights thereby have a greater probability of occurring between Black Diamond Bay men and men from the neighbouring region, and also have a greater probability of occurring between young men than between older, married men. Whereas the younger men are subject to peer group

pressure and the necessity of establishing and maintaining a favourable, manly image within the peer group, the older, married men have for the most part already passed through the peak of the "reputation" stage, and are now responsible for a family and for maintaining its respectability.

The following example concerns an actual fight in Black Diamond Bay. One night during a dance at the Younger a group of men from the "enemy" community showed up, one of whom had been 'having words' with one of the men from Black Diamond Bay for quite some time. The atmosphere was very tense and the situation eventually came to a head in the parking lot outside the establishment later in the evening. The man from Black Diamond Bay got the worst of the scuffle, being thrown to the ground with force, and receiving scars on his right forearm and shoulder.

For months later the event was frequently recalled and 'thrown up' to the loser by his friends. When 'carrying on' in a joking manner, or saying something in friendly insult to another man, the retort was often something to the effect that:

You wouldn't talk so brave to George Sparrow /The man who had defeated him that night at the Younger/, now, would you?

Such a statement would invariably draw snicker from the audience, causing the man in question some degree of embarrassment. He wished very much to put an end to the situation once and for all. One day he said to me:

I could take that George Sparrow with one hand tied behind my back, and I would have done it, too, only he took me unawares. The way things are going, I'm going to have to look up Mr. George one of these fine evenings. Its not very good for your name to have it said that a mealy-mouthed little bugger like George Sparrow got over your time. No, by God, it isn't.

The man in question was more than just a little perturbed that the incident at the Younger had proved damaging to his reputation and had caused him to become the butt of occasional jokes and ridicule. In Black Diamond Bay a man's 'name' should ideally be well established and above reproach, so men are motivated to actively maintain their good 'names.' For that reason the man in question was more than willing to once again "cross swords" with George Sparrow. However, during the extent of my stay in Black Diamond Bay the opportunity of a "rematch" did not present itself, and the slights to his 'name' eventually died down. The situation had placed the man in a minor crisis since while the incident was fresh in the minds of his peers he had to very carefully manage the impression he projected because any further loss of

face could have more seriously damaged his 'name.' Indeed, the development of a negative 'name,' as a 'poor hand with his fists,' loomed before the man as a possible outcome.

The examples thus far presented should be sufficient to allow a general picture of "reputation" in Black Diamond Bay to be drawn. Other examples may be found elsewhere throughout the thesis, for instance, in the relationship between cars and reputation (Chapter IV).

Now that we have distinguished between reputation and respectability in a broad manner, their unity remains to be demonstrated since they are indeed "distinctions within a unity" (cf. Marx 1973:99), i.e., they are dialectically interrelated.

In the first place, it must be noted that the distinction between reputation and respectability is by no means an all or none phenomenon, but is rather more a situation of more or less. It seems quite true that the situational context defines in general terms the mode of evaluation and the style of appropriate behavior in particular instances, but people operate within a framework of choices which are influenced, but rarely wholly determined, by contextual variables. Social life does not present itself as a simple sum total of isolated inter-

actions, so context always includes a large number of intervening variables all operating simultaneously. Reputation and respectability, which are clearly related to the division of the community into age-sets, on the one hand, and households, and neighbourhoods, on the other, interpenetrate. Thus, there is a sense in which reputation is respectability, and vice versa. For instance, were a man to have very little respectability in the community, his reputation could only be bad. A responsible, hard-working man who 'likes a drop' and who can 'hold his liquor' is likely to be considered a 'good drinker' by his peers. In contrast, a man collecting social assistance, and who is considered 'too lazy to get off his arse' would likely be labelled a 'drunkard' were he to exhibit the exact same behavior. Likewise, the line drawn between a 'good man with his fists' and a 'trouble maker' is very much a function of the respectability of the man concerned. In general, all the behavioral attributes of either a reputation or respectability are bivalent. That is, that they are open to either a positive or negative interpretation depending upon the global context. Thus; in addition to the fact that reputation is respectability, and vice versa, they also form a unity in so far as one is essential to the other, and, therefore, actually ^o part of the other. For instance,

a hard-working, responsible, pious man who has virtually no peer group involvement and rarely drinks, while living up to the ideal of the respectable man, will have, in many cases, a difficult time impressing his respectability upon the people of the community. The guiding principle is, "All things in moderation, even moderation itself." To be accepted as a respectable man, one should also be 'one of the boys' and have a favourable 'name' as a man. Overly respectable persons behave more like outsiders and are often suspected of thinking themselves better than the 'ordinary people.' Indeed, it is a complement to someone from 'the outside' working in the community (e.g., a teacher, or an R.C.M.P. Constable) when s/he is described as 'just an ordinary person.' Such people are usually better liked than those who maintain a fairly rigid degree of social distance and formality. Of local men who fail to 'get along' I have heard it said, "He's nothing but a pain in the arse, boy, but his shit stinks the same as mine." This is, of course, a very graphic way of saying that, despite the man's pretensions to the contrary, he is nevertheless an ordinary human being like all the rest. I have also heard it said of such a man that, "Butter wouldn't melt in his mouth," this time indicating the very basic coldness of the personality. In either case the

point should be quite clear. Reputation depends upon respectability and respectability upon reputation. Thus, though distinct, they are nevertheless aspects of a single phenomenon; reputation is part of one's respectability and one's respectability is part of one's reputation.

There is, too, a further important sense in which reputation and respectability are interrelated. This arises from the fact that a social relationship is by definition more than a mere juxtaposition of two isolated individuals, and therefore, that the parties of a social relationship each have a stake in the behavior of the other. This is particularly and most obviously the case with certain significant relationships, such as that between husband and wife, and between young men and their parents.

In the husband/wife relationship it is obvious that one has a stake in the other's behavior. Once again referring to Faris' (1966:237) example, a wife may have an immaculately clean stove, and she may be a very able homemaker, but her status may nevertheless be impaired if her husband has a poor, or negative, reputation in the community. As good a wife as she is, people are likely to comment, "Poor soul, she hasn't got much of a man. Because husband and wife form a very significant unit in the social order, the way in which one is interpreted

cannot help but influence the way people interpret the other.

The same holds true in the case of husbands. An overbearing wife, or an untidy wife, or an adulterous wife obviously influences peoples' perceptions of the husband. Thus, while it is true that men and women are generally more sensitive to different sorts of 'talk,' they nevertheless do have an awareness of the other's position and are willing to compromise. Hence, men often forego the pressure to have 'another beer' when they realize that their wives are expecting them home for supper. Likewise, women often overlook the occasional over-indulgence of their husbands.

Another factor to consider is the emotional content of the husband/wife bond. Since the relationship is usually close (e.g., Chairamonte 1970:17; Szwed 1966b:83), one actually cares about the other, so does not wish to either hurt the other or to jeopardize the relationship. This element almost always overrides the others when choices are to be made, so establishes an important set of limits in which either reputation or respectability are exercised. For instance, if a man returns home after having demolished his car while intoxicated, his wife is sure to be first concerned for his safety before she even

stops to consider the possibility of 'talk.' Only when she is certain that her husband is perfectly alright, and only after the emotional immediacy of the incident has abated, does she 'give it out to him' for 'making a show' of them both. Particularly in times of stress, the family comes first. In such situations, as far as most adults are concerned, the attitude is, "Let the neighbours talk if they have nothing better to do."

The 'young fellows' and their parents also have a stake in one another's behavior, so this too sets limits on the operation of both reputation and respectability. As far as the 'young fellows' are concerned, the status of their household influences their status amongst their peers, at least in so far as coming from a family low in respectability is an impediment one must overcome. In Black Diamond Bay, as elsewhere in Newfoundland (Philbrook 1966:69), there is a great respect for family background and the family background of an individual influences the way in which s/he is perceived. This seems largely to arise primarily from an "ethnogenetic" theory which posits that behavioral traits are essentially inherited. Thus, the behavior of a son reflects back upon his parents, and vice versa. For instance, a young man whose father is known as a 'drunkard' has to carefully manage the

impression he projects. The same degree of over-indulgence allowed other young men may lead people to conclude that, "He's just like his old man, sure."

As regards the position of the parents, the situation can become quite interesting. To a mother, a son's behavior may sometimes be seen as threatening to the respectable image of the household, while the same behavior may be regarded in a more favourable light by his father. A man's masculinity usually reflects favourably upon the man who fathered him. However, both parents are usually very proud of a son who has a favourable manly reputation. This is seen particularly clearly in the way they speak of, and in the way they actually treat their 'draggerman' sons.

Even brothers, though they, as a rule, belong to different 'races' and different 'crowds,' also have a stake in one another's behavior. A few of the fights and major conflicts involving brothers that I recorded concerned the inheritance of property, but most cases involved one brother 'interceding' into what he considered the inappropriate behavior of the other. In one case, a brother was creating 'talk' because he was spending too much time in the 'clubs' and too little with his wife and children. His elder brother took it upon

himself to 'speak to' the man about the matter. He did so on several occasions, but all to no avail. The situation eventually erupted into an actual fist-fight between the two, but this still failed to resolve the matter. The elder brother thereupon publically washed his hands of the matter, in effect symbolically stating that the brother's behavior was no reflection upon himself.

The important point here is that reputation and respectability, as I have isolated them, are thoroughly dialectical. They are by no means distinct, static categories, but are rather, following Marx, "distinctions within a unity" (1973:99) which interpenetrate, change positions, and give the unity its dynamic character.

Another important aspect of the reputation/respectability dialectic which must be emphasized is that whereas reputation depends very largely upon the personal resources at one's disposal (e.g., intelligence, wit, humour, physical prowess, musical talent, etc.), respectability is strongly influenced by the material resources at one's disposal (e.g., it is much more difficult to attain and maintain a respectable image while collecting social assistance than it is when one has a steady job). To return once again to the example provided by Faris (1966:237), not only is the mere clean-

liness of a stove important, but also of importance is the overall impression it projects. A new, expensive electric stove with a self-cleaning oven, for instance, bespeaks greater success for a household than does an old, dilapidated oil range, the sides of which are visibly scratched and dented.

Whereas in Black Diamond Bay, as in the entirety of rural Newfoundland, there is a very strong and conceptually important "ethos of equality" (Nemec 1972:30), there is, nevertheless, a very strong awareness of internal stratification (e.g., Nemec 1973; Szewad 1966b:61). A difference between two households as slight as the possession by one of a better quality stove may seem entirely insignificant to an outside observer, but within the community itself such distinctions are noted, and are often of significance. Persons visibly 'doing better' than most others in material terms are often held suspect. However, my data indicate that this is not so much a result of a belief that they are taking more than their share of the "limited good" (Foster 1965), but rather that they are suspected of thinking themselves superior because of their material well-being.

One man who had become quite successful by community standards, who prominently displayed his material well-

being through a variety of possessions, and who even brought up his good fortune in conversation, was a virtual laughing stock among the younger men of the community. During my first week there, three different men provided me with imitations of the man, usually beginning with some statement such as, "Have you been talking to Sean Blue yet? I hear they'll be making him King of England soon, boy." The imitations which followed seemed rather caustic at the time, but, interestingly enough, they later proved themselves to be virtual word for word renditions.

As a general comment, it seemed that in many cases a person's faults, which are largely a part of public knowledge, are accepted or else simply ignored. For instance, one man was described to me in the following terms, "He shoots off his mouth a lot, and half the time he don't know what he's talking about, but you'll like him. He's a real nice fellow." However, if a man is considered to 'think a bit too much of himself,' the same charitable acceptance is not likely to be exercised. His faults will likely be singled out in 'talk' as points of ridicule and derision. They are taken as proof that the pretensions are false, and that, "If I could buy that fellow for what he's worth, and then sell him for what he thinks he's worth, I'd make a fortune."

We thus arrive at yet another useful understanding of social life in Black Diamond Bay. That is, that the dialectic of reputation and respectability seems related to the dialectic of equality and stratification. Respectability is associated with a rank ordering of households in terms of their ability to approximate an essentially external ideal, i.e., one which transcends the local community, and which is embodied in the institutions of the wider society and their local representatives. In contrast, reputation seems to operate in a different direction, to some extent counterbalancing the tendency to rank order by asserting at the local level the ideal of basic human equality, as indicated quite graphically in the relatively common expression, "His shit stinks the same as mine." It also provides a mechanism wherein potential transgressors, those who would challenge or deny equality, are threatened with 'talk,' a 'bad name,' and even the possibility of virtual ostracism. As Szwed noted:

... equality in the valley is not so much an ideology that elevates the lowest to the level of the highest, as it is a mechanism that attempts to reduce the highest to the level of the lowest. The common expression, "no one can get high and mighty here" expresses the point (1966b:84).

However, Szwed's general tendency to overemphasize "dyadic

contracts" prevents him from seeing the phenomenon as part of a wider, unified system.

The system works for those at the opposite end of the ranked scale as well. A man's reputation amongst his peers is significantly hampered if he falls too far below the accepted standards, for instance, by being forced onto the welfare rolls. In order to maintain his position as 'one of the boys,' he must carefully manage the impression he projects to avoid the stigma of the epithet, 'too lazy to get off his arse.' Many do this by claiming to be out of work for medical reasons, the most common being a bad back. However, the position is really a quandry. The man must visibly work around his house to show the community that he really is not a lazy man, but at the same time he must not work so hard that his claim to be physically disabled is negated. In general, Szwed's observation should perhaps be altered, for the emphasis on equality seems to attempt to force both the highest and the lowest to conform to the average.

It is well to note at this point that the 'young fellows' of Black Diamond Bay, the group of men who stand in an interstitial position between their natal households and the households they will form at marriage, play a very important role in the process of social control.

Like the young men of Llanfihangel yng Ngwynfa in Wales (Rees 1961), the licence allowed them creates what amounts to a collective joking relationship with the community at large. Their antics, their ridicule, their imitations, their satirical songs, and their fun-making is very often directed against breeches of the standards set by the community. He who acts 'grand,' he who drinks to excess, he who quarrels over land, he who is unlucky in love, he who is considered a hen-pecked husband, and so forth, are all likely candidates for their sometimes very caustic attention. The prospects for the transgressor are indeed, as Szwed (1966b:97) pointed out, dismal.

Chapter VI

Conclusions

Throughout the preceding pages we have seen that the face of Black Diamond Bay has changed considerably in relatively recent years, primarily, as well as most dramatically, in the wake of Newfoundland's confederation with Canada in 1949. We have also seen that despite widespread changes in the economic base of the community there remains, nevertheless, a significant degree of continuity with the past, its values, and its ideals. We are left, then, with the necessity of addressing ourselves to the problem of continuity in the midst of change.

It will perhaps have been noted that in the traditional phase of Black Diamond Bay's existence, the economic basis of the social formation was essentially composed of two sets of productive relationships. The first was geared toward maximizing the self-sufficiency of the household (i.e., purely toward the production of "use-value," cf. Marx 1954:Chapter I), and the other toward the creation of "surplus-value" for exchange with the merchant for items which were beyond the existing productive capacity of the local, indigenous economic

organization. Of course, the exchange with the merchant was by no means balanced since the merchant operated on the basis of the profit motive and not, by any stretch of the imagination, on the basis of philanthropy. The control over the access to external markets monopolized by the merchantry left them in the position to appropriate a large part of the surplus-value produced by the fishermen. The fishermen were generally kept in debt and tied to one of the merchants in a relationship of forced dependence.

It will perhaps also have been noted that production in the traditional phase was essentially and ideally organized along the lines of kinship, and in that sense, kinship relations functioned simultaneously as relations of production. In fact, the very dominance of kinship relations in the traditional phase, kinship based social organization of the community may be attributable to their dominance in the productive process (Godelier 1975:4; 1977:36; 1978:765; Meillassoux 1973:198; 1978a; 1978b:321-325). Gardens and animals were kept by the individual households, while fishing activities were pursued (ideally) by several households related along agnatic lines (Nemeo 1972). Thus, the household and the patrilocal extended family, particularly in relation to such cooperative economic activities as the inshore

fishery, were important social groupings in that they formed productive units, the sufficient cohesion of which was necessary to the effective production and reproduction of the material basis of the community's very existence. Seen in this light, the noted relationship between kinship and territory begins to make good sense. It served, in part, to extend socially recognized ties of kinship and hence, the labour pool one could potentially draw upon (e.g., Schwartz 1974).

It is both interesting and informative to examine the alterations in general kinship groupings which the introduction of widespread wage labour into the Black Diamond Bay region has produced. In the contemporary context, as we have already seen, relations of production are no longer coextensive with kinship relations. Rather, the productive process of the modern fish plant, or of migratory labour to industrial centres or extractive centres, throws the labourer into productive association with non-kin, and in fact oft-times with persons from entirely different communities. The importance of kinship ties is undermined in so far as the patrilocal extended family is no longer of ultimate importance as a productive unit, or as a cooperative labour pool. One notes, correspondingly, a weakening of the patrilocal ex-

tended family, a lessening of close associations between brothers (which before, in any case, had been primarily "seasonal and cyclical," of Nemes 1972:34, but see also Chairamonte 1970:13), a slight but seemingly increasing trend toward neolocality, a change in the composition of 'crowds,' and so forth. A similar trend toward the weakening of the patrilocal extended family with the introduction of wage labour was noted by Firestone (1967) for Savage Cove. However, Firestone tended to associate the phenomenon with the proceeds of wage labour rather than with its actual social process. He claimed that money was exempt from the cultural rules of sharing and cooperation. That, I would argue, is most likely an ideological correlate of the transformed productive process, and is by no means a causal factor by itself. In the past the relationships existing in the patrilocal extended family were also relations of production, so were strongly reinforced by the system of production. In the new system of production that same reinforcement is no longer a factor, so the ties have correspondingly decreased in intensity.

Another result of the transformation outlined in Chapter II is the growth of a more expansive social identity, a regional identity. As I have indicated,

during the traditional phase the predominant relations of production were essentially kinship relations (as the ideal) and sometimes territorial (when, for instance, the ideal could not be fully realized), and particularly the latter in relation to the production of ritual. Thus, the parameters of the social world, the set of relationships persons entered into, were to a large degree restricted to the community, and as one moved outward from the community boundary, the linking relationships became progressively fewer and weaker. Apart from the occasional exchange of personnel in marriage (an important means of creating "organic" ties between mechanically replicated productive units), the people of Black Diamond Bay were not often brought into social and economic relationships with persons from other communities, particularly those at any great distance from their own territory. Hence, interactions within the community itself, as well as the interactions within other villages in the area, were much greater in both intensity and frequency than were interactions which occurred across community boundaries. This served to create a rather clearly demarcated social and cognitive boundary on top of the mere territorial one. In short, most of an individual's primary relationships were with persons from

within one's own territorial group, and hence, one tended to identify oneself most closely with that group.

Again, in the contemporary situation of industrial fish plant production and migratory wage labour we find a significant difference. Industrial production is much more expansive than the traditional inshore fishery in that its productive units are considerably larger and more highly integrated. The social relations of production involved are also much more expansive. Persons from a number of communities are brought together in the productive process on the basis of contractual wage labour, kinship and territorial relationships being essentially superfluous to the productive process. As a result, the numbers and kinds of relationships which have emerged between persons from Black Diamond Bay and its neighbouring communities have been very significantly extended, and likewise, the previously very clearly demarcated social and cognitive boundary surrounding the community has been significantly disarranged. With the altered mode of production, one's social relationships no longer quickly diminish when one reaches the outer limits of the community, but rather trail off slowly as one approaches the outer limits of the geographical, social, and political region. This has had an interesting impact on the form.

of the male peer groups in the region, and on the process of social behavior in general. As previously indicated, 'crowds' now contain core members selected from a much broader territorial backdrop, which to an increasing extent no longer recognizes the community boundary. People, particularly younger people, now identify with a wider sociopolitical entity in addition to their own community, namely, the region. This is amply illustrated by the large number of t-shirts and jackets bearing the name of the region which are worn by the young men, and which were likewise positively valued by them.

An additional factor which should be noted is that the more expansive social relationships engendered by the contemporary mode of production, as well as the physical changes introduced to the community and region (e.g., television, electric lights, upgraded and paved roads, etc.), have had something of a differential impact in the community on the basis of relative age. Most of these changes have been introduced within the past 15-20 years, a point which is by no means insignificant. A large number of people within the community had already been socialized into a social milieu more closely approximating the traditional phase by the time the community had been significantly altered. Many more persons were just in

their most formative years when these changes occurred, so one might logically conclude that the changes have had a more significant impact on them. Finally, the younger persons now coming into adulthood have actually never known the world around them to have been any different than it is today - they have been socialized into a world where television, electric lights, cars, frequent trips to St. John's, industrial labour, and so forth are all taken for granted. This differential impact of change, I believe, in part explains the "generation gap" as perceived by the community at large. The very process by which the different 'races' have been socialized has been different.

However, we have seen in some detail that although the people of Black Diamond Bay perceive a "generation gap" and are able to point to numerous differences between the 'races' as evidence, there is still a very large degree of continuity to be seen between the two groups. The continuity between the 'races,' particularly between the older and younger males, for whom my data is more complete, is to a large extent attributable, it seems, to a social and cognitive complex which has been altered, but by no means negated, by the contemporary mode of production and the recently introduced implements of North American

civilization. Both older and younger men alike are still influenced by the competing values of reputation and respectability.

The male social world of Black Diamond Bay today seems to share many important characteristics with the recent and not so recent past. Male peer groups are still very important, perhaps even more important than they have been in the past given the weakening of the patrilocal extended family. It is therefore still of considerable importance for a man to be able to 'get on' in the male world and to attain the respect of his fellows. The major type of alteration in this value system seems to be "contentual" rather than formal, or, as Mitchell (1966:43-48) would put it, "situational" rather than real, "historical" change. That is to say, simply, that the code of behavior has remained relatively constant, while the contemporary situation offers new avenues for the attainment and expression of one's 'name.' Many men have today opted for more recently introduced forms of entertainment and male social interaction, such as the 'clubs,' so in many cases the traditional expression of manliness has been diverted into newer channels. This is particularly the case for the younger men who have been more or less directly socialized into the world of 'clubs'

and cars. It is still equally important for them to 'get on' with their fellows, to express their manliness in a socially acceptable idiom, and to attain a favourable 'name' for themselves within their peer group. Instead of partaking of more traditional pursuits (for which some of them have not been adequately trained, such as the young man of about 25 years of age who fired a shotgun for the first time in my presence), many of these young men, congratulating themselves on their "modern" ways, devote much of their time to cars and 'clubs.'

As to the generation gap perceived by most people in the community, then, it is simultaneously both fact and fiction. It is fact in so far as the social world has been changed considerably, and in so far as the 'younger race' now contrast with the 'older race' in much of their outward behavior (of which the smoking of marijuana is a prize example). However, the generational gap is largely fictional in so far as both the 'older race' and the 'younger race' partake of the self-same definitional complex. To a very large extent the generation gap appears to be a result, not of changes in basic definitions and value orientations, but rather seems to be an outcome of the traditional social and cognitive distinction made between married and unmarried men, a

distinction which has been noted for other traditional rural areas, such as Ireland (Arensberg 1950) or Wales (Rees 1961). The fact of this large area of ideological continuity is to some extent hidden from plain view by the new means which are today available for the attainment of older ends. Hence, the generation gap in Black Diamond Bay represents the maintenance of form despite contentual change.

Brantenberg (1977:354-356) has argued that in Nain the disruption of traditional socialization processes by economic change has led to the emergence of a "youth culture." Being familiar with Nain in only the most cursory manner, I am in no position to make a substantive comment on that community. However, I do feel very confident in stating that such a claim would only be partially true in relation to Black Diamond Bay. As I have argued, the "youth culture" there presents itself as an entirely new phenomenon, but that despite the symbolic trappings of contemporary North American culture, the idiom in which these trappings are put to use seems largely traditional.

Most of the older men of the community, those who lived their youth in what we have for convenience entitled the "traditional phase," are for the most part quite

willing to relate stories of the way things were in the 'old days' to an interested listener. Hence, there is no shortage of oral data from which to draw a general picture of what 'young fellows' were like in the past.

Two important features emerge from these stories. First, a large proportion of them concerned the antics and pranks the men performed when they were themselves 'young fellows.' Given that much of the 'rowdy' behavior of the 'young fellows' today is largely seen as an acceptable part of youth, the indication seems to be that 'young fellows' were not that different in the past. Second, the behavior related in the stories told by the older men today, I was informed, was generally accepted by the fully adult men (in the sociological sense) of their youth. Hence, there seems to be, at least by implication, a continuity of at least three generations duration. In general, all the data seem to indicate that the conception of young men as being as 'wild as billy goats' and the consequent behavioral licence allowed them are not of very recent origin. However, the expression of masculinity through the 'clubs,' through cars, and so forth is indeed very recent, and to some extent serves to mask the continuity with an essentially traditional idiom. The masking, however, is by no means complete. Some of the

older men, for instance, will on occasion admit that, "We were just as bad," or will even claim to have been more 'rowdy.' The young men, too, have a knowledge of the 'old stories,' so are also aware of the general continuity. An overly critical older man will sometimes be reminded of a familiar, outstanding incident in his past to 'put him in mind of' his own youth when he was 'less serious than he is today.

To take the argument yet a step further, the position of the young men and the dialectical behavioral idiom seem to be generally continuous with the traditional cultures of the British Isles from which most of the ancestors of the present day inhabitants of Black Diamond Bay originated. Arensberg, for instance, informs us that in rural Ireland boyhood and manhood are social statuses rather than physiological statuses (1950:59), that the opposition between old and young is pervasive (1950:111-112), that the young men form a distinctive group with distinctive interests and sentiments (1950:117-118), and that these distinctive interests often involve what amounts to seeking a peer group reputation in such manly pursuits as gambling and "hurling" (1950:141-142). The broad similarity with Black Diamond Bay is obvious.

Alwyn D. Rees' (1961) study of a rural, Welsh-

speaking village on the English border is even more to the point since he devotes an important, albeit largely neglected, chapter specifically to the position of the unmarried men in the social structure. The "lads" (some of whom may actually be 35 years of age) of Llanfiangel yng Ngwynfa are shown to form a distinctive group within the community who spend most of their free time in their own company. Much of their behavior is described as "unruly" (1961:82). It includes ridicule, practical jokes, and the composition of satirical verse, but is nevertheless accepted by the community at large. Such behavior is for the most part directed at socially inappropriate behavior, so it serves as a means of social control. Once again, the similarities to my own data, as well as some of the data provided by Szwed (especially 1966b:97-98), are readily apparent.

The point here is simply that, given that the only connection between rural Ireland, rural Wales, and rural Newfoundland is historical, it follows that the noted similarities perhaps stem from a common historical tradition. Hence, we have further evidence that the "youth culture" of Black Diamond Bay is not wholly an outcome of recent socioeconomic developments. Rather, the idiom in which it expresses itself seems to have clear historical

antecedents.

Similar sorts of observations to the ones noted in this thesis have been made by other ethnographers of Newfoundland, but they have been largely made in passing since only Schwartz (1974) has been directly interested in the structure of male peer groups in rural Newfoundland. These observations need to be related in a coherent, systematic fashion if they are to be considered any more than interesting curiosities.

Some of these important observations are as follows: the demarcation of neighbourhoods by ties between females (Chairamonte 1970:14) even though the neighbourhoods themselves are most frequently defined in terms of males, the esteem accorded men for the ability to provide exaggerated stories (Faris 1966:247-248), the "ritualistic" exchange drinks "even when intoxicated" (Nemec 1972:23; also Szwed 1966a), the prevalence of "sham physical contact" (Faris 1966:246) among men, the licenced behavior of men outside the community (Faris 1972:31), the lack of social visiting between men in the home and the corresponding tendency for men to congregate outside the household in "neutral territory" (Chairamonte 1970:14; also Faris 1966; Szwed 1966a), "the popular sport of imitation" (Szwed 1966b:98), the popular art of composing satirical verse (Szwed 1966b:97), and so forth. It is my contention that

these are not simply random, unrelated bits and pieces of colourful information, but are rather part of a whole complex of behavior which centres around the 'crowd' and its "ethos of equality" (cf. Nemeq 1972:30; also Chiaramonte 1970:10; Schwartz 1974:90; Szwed 1966a:438), and become fully comprehended only in terms of the entire matrix. This includes the traditional division of labour by sex, the tendency to metonymically associate men and women with the spatial locations of their work, the differing orientations of men and women to the neighbourhood structure, and so forth. The reputation and respectability dialectic appears to be a useful starting point for the construction of a model which brings order to numerous bits and pieces of data which before had seemed rather arbitrary and unrelated.

The model thus formed may be initially presented as a series of interrelated "oppositions" as follows:

Reputation	/	Respectability
Peer Group	/	Household
Men	/	Women
Centrifugal	/	Centripetal
'Young Fellows'	/	Married Men
Personal Resources	/	Material Resources
Equality	/	Hierarchy.

All the relationships here are dialectical, so they are not so much dichotomies as they are distinctions within unities, as we have seen was the case for reputation and respectability in the last chapter.

Kinship relations in the rural villages, or 'outports,' of Newfoundland are reckoned cognatically, but have been described as having a tendency toward patrilineality (e.g., Firestones 1967; Némec 1972:13; Schwartz 1974:81; Stiles 1972:44) since the major residential sub-units of a village are frequently composed of clusters of households related through the patriline. Be that as it may, the indication of a patrilineal bias seems to me to oversimplify what is in effect a very complex set of relationships. For instance, though residential units are formally defined in terms of a dominant patriline, Chiaramonte (1970:14) nevertheless found that the neighbourhoods in Deep Harbour were in actuality delineated by networks of exchange and communication between women since women exchange visits on a much more frequent basis than men. Men most often meet outside their households in public places. This conclusion is supported by my own observations in Black Diamond Bay, by Stiles (1972:52) characterization of the life of women as "insular," and at least implicitly by Szwed's (1966a) analysis of social

drinking which shows the world of men to be much more public in orientation. The general indication is that the social life of women is more "encapsulated" within the residential unit, i.e., is centripetally oriented, whereas men are involved in many social relationships which span neighbourhood boundaries, i.e., are centrifugally oriented.

The apparent centrifugal orientation of men in terms of neighbourhoods is both supported and clarified by some significant observations made by Nemec (1972) in St. Shott's. In the first place, Nemec informs us that in all contexts except the small boat fishery, age differences, i.e., the division into 'races,' are usually emphasized (1972:27). In Black Diamond Bay, where the inshore fishery is a comparatively insignificant factor (only three men being currently involved), it was noted that age differences are generally important in virtually all social situations. The prevailing opinion is that men should socialize with members of their own 'race' since they have more in common with age-mates, they having 'grown up together.' At the 'clubs' men rarely sit at the same table with fathers or brothers, but instead choose to sit with members of their own 'race.' The only exceptions noted were the three men still fishing and occasional male

family gatherings when a son working away from 'the place' returned home for a visit. Even the latter example was very rare since the greeting of a previously absent man by his father and brothers normally occurs at home. On subsequent visits to the 'club' the man will usually be found with his 'crowd.'

In the second place, Nemec (1972:34) also informs us that in St. Shott's the brother bond is "seasonal and cyclical," increasing in intensity as the summer fishery approaches, and waning as it wanes. For the remainder of the year, a significant eight to ten months, men are more inclined to socialize with their non-kin peers (1972:22), again illustrating that age differences are considered to be significant. Since the summer small boat fishery is not a factor in the lives of most men in Black Diamond Bay, socializing with one's peers on a year round basis is the norm. Hence, the centrifugal force previously mentioned is essentially the pull of the peer group.

The central point here is basically this, that relationships among women have a tendency to be drawn inward to the neighbourhood, while men are drawn outward from the neighbourhood by peer group relationships. It is almost, as Frankenberg (1957:51) wrote of Pentrediwaith, as if there are two villages, one male, the other female. Hence, male peer group phenomena are vital elements of

social organization, the recognition of which is absolutely essential to an understanding of life in Black Diamond Bay.

As we have seen, the outward pull of the peer group is less intense for a married man than it is for an unmarried man. In one sense, this is clearly because a married man has more responsibility and less time to spend in peer group involvement. More abstractly, a married man, as a household head, is pulled inward, as it were, by the requirements of his formal role as the representative of a household unit to the community at large. The 'young fellows,' in contrast, are more oriented toward the peer group as their position in relation to the household structure of the community is largely interstitial. On the one hand, they are emerging from their natal households as independent social actors, but on the other, have not yet taken their position in the formal division of the community into households. Hence, they form a category which in a sense stands apart from the formal structure of the community and which sometimes comments critically upon it.

The division of the community into households and neighbourhoods, on the one hand, and the division into generational levels, age-sets, or peer groups, on the

other, has its ideological consequences. Since Black Diamond Bay is, and always has been, embedded in a wider social system which emphasizes hierarchy, particularly the rank ordering of persons on the basis of material possessions, there is indeed that tendency firmly entrenched in the ideological system, i.e., a tendency toward stratification (Nemec 1973). It would indeed be foolhardy to assume otherwise since even the antecedent Old World cultures were part of a broad, hierarchically ordered civilization. Hence, with the division of the community into households there is a corresponding tendency to rank order the households in terms of their material well-being. Simply put, people are inclined to see themselves in terms of the socio-cultural standards of the wider society of which they are a part.

At the same time, however, the rigours of a sometimes "hand-to-mouth" traditional adaptation in a small community has necessitated the emergence of what Bourne referred to as an "home-made civilization" (1955:76), one adapted to local conditions. Hence, stratification is resisted and its impact dulled by the emphasis of an alternative, yet interrelated set of values. Despite actual stratification on the basis of material resources

the integrity of the community is maintained by denying

... personal inferiority - the lower person on the scale ... might even excel in some directions, and be valued for his excellence (Bourne 1955:79).

In short, the importance of peer groups, the emphasis upon manliness, and the "ethos of equality" (cf. Nemec 1972:30) seem to be to maintain a closeknit, Gemeinschaft organization despite inherent tendencies toward stratification. The system which we have for convenience labelled "reputation" creates a moral community and demands subscription to it as evidenced by active participation in the male social world. The very graphic statement, "His shit stinks as well as mine," underlines the central point; despite artificial social differences, we are all basically the same beneath the facade.

The use of an alternate system of valuation was perhaps also very useful considering that poverty was widespread in Newfoundland all through the 19th century and that the gap in wealth between the merchantry and the 'poor people,' as many still refer to themselves, was very great. Class antagonism has always been relatively strong in rural Newfoundland, at least in so far as the merchant was generally viewed by the fishermen as an exploiter (Hiller 1971:7). Even up to the 1940s St. John's, the seat of the merchant aristocracy, was still the only

part of the island that could boast possession of any of the amenities of modern life (Lord Ammon 1944:5). The improvements there had been begun in the early 19th century in an attempt by the newly transplanted merchantry to make life a little more pleasant for themselves (Hiller 1971:4). The merchant aristocracy also gained control of the Newfoundland Government and used it as an instrument to further their own ends. Though the right to vote was originally given to any adult man who had been owner or tenant of a "dwelling-house" for two years prior to an election, in order to be eligible for election one had to own property in excess of 500 pounds, or earn an income exceeding 100 pounds per annum (Great Britain, Colonial Office 1867:68). This was no easy feat considering that in 1867 the Hospital Surgeon in St. John's earned only 150 pounds per annum (Great Britain, Colonial Office 1867:69). Indeed, as late as the 1930s the average Newfoundland fisherman earned only 20-25 pounds per annum (Houston 1943:279; Lodge 1937:562), so access to the use of legislative power was essentially denied them. In fact, the fisherman's vote was not even truly free from the power of the merchants until the secret ballot was finally introduced in 1889 (Hiller 1971:22). Given such power, it is not at all surprising that one Mr. Henry Chafe,

merchant, had been known as "The King of Petty Harbour" (The Daily News, Feb. 22, 1894:4). The Newfoundland merchantry indeed formed "a small aristocracy" (Hiller 1971:6), possessing wealth and power far beyond that available to the ordinary Newfoundlander. Lord Ammon reported in 1944 that:

Under the present system, approximately 75% of the revenue is derived from custom duties, 7 1/2% from income and 2 1/2% from liquor profits, thus being largely indirect, and condemned by all in Newfoundland except a few rich merchants who consider that they are already sufficiently sacrificed to direct taxation... At present, the merchant not only passes on to the consumer the import tax, but adds about 30% as his profit on the whole. The Amulree Commission remarked that if prices were high, that was attributed to the machinations of the merchant or shop-keeper (1944:24).

This "taxing of the breakfast table" (cf. New York Times, July 25, 1895:4), combined with the general impoverishment of fishermen under the supply system and the willful neglect of a corrupt, self-serving government left most Newfoundlanders to depend upon their own resourcefulness to make ends meet as best they could. Poverty was indeed a "permanent institution" (cf. Creighton 1964:206-207), as was the crass system of merchant exploitation that created and maintained it.

In terms of the hierarchical tendency of the wider social system, the average Newfoundlander could never be

very much more than the lowest of the low. The distinction between the "inhabitants of respectability" and the "lower orders" (e.g., Moyles 1975:7) was indeed very great, so it has traditionally been very difficult for the 'poor people' to approach the 'respectable' in terms of material resources. However, one can approximate as best as one possibly can and take comfort in the fact that 'money is not everything.' The emphasis on a man's 'name' among his equals provides a source of prestige other than that associated with the possession of material resources. As Bourne (1955:79) noted, the emphasis upon personal abilities and manliness denies that personal inferiority accompanies material inferiority.

The explanation of the cultural, or cognitive complex one finds accompanying the traditional social organization of the rural villages of Newfoundland as provided by Faris (1972) seems, in this light, in need of alteration. Faris portrays it as an adaptation to a threatening outside world, which is at best only partially the case since the rural villages are, and always have been, part of that world. The "fugitives from justice" scenario is inherently very shaky since an economy based upon the creation of a surplus product, such as the Newfoundland inshore fishery, ultimately depends upon access to outside

markets. The Newfoundland inshore fishery was designed, not simply to provide households with fresh and dry cod, but rather to create a surplus of fish that could be used as a medium of exchange. The major historical condition contributing to the cultural adaptation of rural Newfoundland seems to me to have been the hardship and isolation of the adaptation, as well as the exploitation of the people by avaricious merchants. Writing of the days of early settlement in Newfoundland, Keith Matthews has observed:

When the fishing fleet left Newfoundland in September or early October, the isolated communities were left on their own to survive the long winter with no possibility of outside aid until the following April or May. If they ran short of food, then they must starve to death (1973:122).

Centuries later, in 1920, conditions had not considerably improved in that respect as famine still loomed as a distinct possibility when winter conditions were severe (e.g., New York Times, Jan. 30, 1920:3). I can myself recall when, as a child in Grand Falls, one of the "cases of prosperity in a sea of poverty" noted by Thomas Lodge (1937:562), the quickest possible means of reaching St. John's was an arduous twelve hour train ride (under favourable weather conditions). For the many more

less fortunate communities around virtually the entire coast, lacking regular medical care or quick access to relief when needed, the situation was much more pronounced. Self-reliance, friendliness, cooperation, and a closeknit community structure were highly favoured, for "insurance" if for no other reason. The tendency toward stratification inherent in a social system which upholds the ideal of private property is unavoidable, and tends to work against a closeknit community structure by creating distinctions of rank, and with it feelings of jealousy and mistrust. This cannot be avoided, but it can most certainly be resisted and partially counteracted by stressing an alternative set of ideals which can also be used as a measure of human worth and dignity. To return once again to Bourne's (1955:79) observation, personal inferiority is denied and balance in social relationships is maintained.

As a general conclusion, it seems that Black Diamond Bay, perhaps rural, resource based communities elsewhere (e.g., Arensberg 1950; Bourne 1955; Rees 1961; Wilson 1973), has had to adapt itself to two, dialectically related, sets of pressures. On the one hand, there are the inherent pressures toward stratification which arise from the structure and ideological underpinnings of the

of which it is a part, while on the other, there is the pressure of the small-scale, local social organization, based upon face-to-face interaction in a very dense network of diverse ties, toward balance and equality. To view such a "little community" as some sort of cryptic, ill-defined "traditional society" overlaid by a national society and culture, as was Redfield's (1956) general inclination, seems to me to essentially miss the point. Such communities do not "...retain much of their old identity.." (Kroeber 1948:284), because unlike dominated "tribal" groups, they have never had an identity, strictly speaking, which was wholly distinct from the overriding structure of domination. Neither can such a community be realistically said to have "survived" (cf. Szwed 1966b:182) as if it were some quaint throwback from days long passed. Such communities are, and always have been, subsumed within a larger, dominating social system which has very strongly influenced their internal character.

A FINAL NOTE ON CHANGE

As a final note, it seems highly probable, if not actually unavoidable, that many of the changes intro-

duced to Black Diamond Bay will with the passage of time have a greater impact than they have already had. The stratification already present in the period of the village's greatest dependency upon the inshore fishery (e.g., Nemec 1973) is to a large extent intensified by the shift to wage labour and the increasing variation in household incomes that it has engendered. At the very same time, networks of social relationships are extending outward from the local community to encompass the entire region. Hence, the community is becoming less important than it has been in the past in defining the limits of one's social world. Therefore, the situation is one in which a tendency toward increasing stratification is combined with a tendency toward the de-emphasis of the importance of 'getting along' within the community. It seems, indeed, that movement toward a more highly stratified, regional form of social organization is all but inevitable.

FOOTNOTES

Chapter I.

1. As Matthews (1975; 1978) has noted, the historical record shows that the West of England merchantry were primarily opposed to colonization rather than settlement. They opposed plans which would have led to the formation of a colonial government in Newfoundland since such a move would ultimately conflicted with their own economic interests. However, they were not hostile to settlement in the absence of a colonial government, and indeed, an established population under their direct or indirect dominion was necessary to the efficient operation of the summer fishery, a fact noted by Reeves (1793:26-27) in the 18th century. As a result, limited settlement seems to have actually been encouraged such that a distinctive Newfoundland community came into existence very soon after British domination of the fishery and grew over time despite legislative prohibitions and an "official fiction" (MacNutt 1965:3) that there were no permanent settlers. Paris* (1966) "fugitives from justice" scenario, then, appears to rest very largely upon the type of historical analysis which Matthews (1978:28) has described as "muddled," being based primarily upon formal constitutional documents with extremely little attention paid to actual socio-economic processes.

2. The strong sense of national identity, or "ethnicity," is notable among many Newfoundlanders right to the present day as

indicated in the common claim "Newfoundlander first, Canadian second." It is also indicated in the tendency of Newfoundlanders to associate together in the centres to which they have migrated. For instance, there is a Newfoundland Club in California (Caspersen 1963) and Toronto, Ontario boasts several Newfoundland Clubs and specialty stores, as well as a Newfoundland Pavilion in the city's ethnic showcase, the International Caravan.

3. The rejection of confederation with Canada in the Newfoundland Federal Election of 1869 seems to have been very strongly influenced by the Irish vote. Hiller (1976) has argued that the Irish saw union with Canada as essentially equivalent to Ireland's subjection by Great Britain. However, the situation in 1949 was quite different. In the eighty years which passed between the two elections Newfoundland had struggled through several major economic depressions, two world wars, the last of which had greatly increased direct contact with North America and its standards of living, and had been for about two decades managed by a Commission of Government appointed by Great Britain. In addition, during those eighty years immigration had been insignificant, so the Newfoundland Irish discussed by Hiller (1976) had long since become Newfoundlanders.

4. It is not at all uncommon in contemporary Newfoundland to hear the issue of confederation subjected to reassessment, or to sometimes hear the expression of regret over the loss of nationhood in 1949.

5. I use the term "socio-economic" in the contemporary Marxist

sense as illustrated in the anthologies of Althusser (1976), Bloch (1975), Godellier (1977), and Seddon (1978). From this perspective the category of socio-economic facts contains much more than simply tables of "dollars and cents" economic data. The central focus is rather upon the relationships between social actors, the totality of which form the productive system or mode of production.

6. It has been noted (eg., Dyke 1968:57) that resource-based coastal settlements quickly reach an equilibrium with environmental resources whereupon the population levels off. This is readily understandable given that the number of available fishing berths in a given area is finite. Once a maximal level of exploitation is reached an increased population would essentially mean spreading limited resources more thinly. While other, as yet unexploited areas existed nearby, even if accessibility was comparatively more difficult, the expansion of population beyond a comfortable carrying capacity could be accommodated by the expansion of settlement along the coast. But from about 1850 onward the carrying capacity along the coast had largely been met so that more people generally meant living on less (Nemec 1975:21). As Creighton (1964:206-207) noted, the fisheries were seriously depressed from about the 1860s leading a St. John's newspaper to refer to "pauperism" as a "permanent institution" in Newfoundland. The problem was partially alleviated by a comparatively high degree of outmigration.

7. Out migration from Newfoundland has historically been quite

extensive, at first predominantly to the United States of America, particularly New York and Boston, and later, especially after confederation, to Canada, particularly to Toronto and the surrounding region. As early as 1914, for instance, the New York Times (April 10, 1914, p. 5) could refer to a "Newfoundland colony" in that city.

8. The reader is directed again to Note 6.

9. The term 'passing the time of day' generally refers to a wide variety of informal social encounters, such as card playing, story telling, and so forth.

10. Shortly after the elderly priest's retirement the parish was absorbed into a larger one, so Black Diamond Bay no longer has its own resident priest.

11. In small, face-to-face communities such as the rural villages, or 'outports,' of Newfoundland, the networks of interrelationship which constitute the community exhibit a very high degree of "density" (Barnes 1968:115-118). Conflicts and confrontations are rather stressful because there will always be many persons who stand in an identical relationship to both parties of the dispute. Hence, conflicts within the community tend to generate competing loyalties. There is, therefore, a major emphasis placed upon avoiding all types of dissension (eg., SzweD 1966b:105) or, more correctly, upon avoiding making an issue of dissension. The most common means of accomplishing this in Black Diamond Bay seems to be avoidance. Men involved in a quarrel choose to 'steer clear' of one another to

avoid the possibility of a major confrontation. As a result, acts of violence within the community are very rare, a feature also noted by Paris (1966:246) for Cat Harbour.

Chapter II.

1. The sources of the census data are listed in chronological order in the References.
2. "Diversification" tends to be a rather slippery concept. Where economic diversification, in its broad sense, is low, as where all producers perform essentially the same tasks, the diversification of tasks performed by the individual producer is high. Likewise, where economic diversification, again in its broad sense, is high, as in an industrial society where the division of labour is extensive and the tasks performed by different workers are different, the diversification of tasks performed by the individual worker is low.
3. The construction and servicing of the American naval base at Argentia during world war II provided considerable employment in the region and was for many men the first opportunity to experience wage labour.

After confederation with Canada, workers from the region could thenceforth migrate freely to Canada to seek temporary wage labour. For some men migratory wage labour became a way of life.

4. Any consideration of a "normal" rate of population increase must include an acknowledgement of the high degree of out migration

which seems to characterize virtually the entire region (Nemec 1972:32).

It is also of interest to note that 1954 was the same year in which the fish plant commenced operation.

5. Tea has traditionally been an essential accompaniment to meals in rural Newfoundland, so 'boiling up' refers specifically to the boiling of water for tea. In other words, the boiling of water for tea is a metonym for meals. The expression is commonly used today throughout Newfoundland.

Chapter III.

1. The term 'friends and neighbours' is widely used throughout Newfoundland. In fact, a local CBC radio program addressed to a rural Newfoundland audience was entitled "Friends and Neighbours." The term also occurs in rural Ireland (Arensberg 1950).
2. Many traditional ethnographies have paid attention to the social organization of household space as an expression of cultural principles or beliefs. A particularly good example is Arensberg (1950). More recently a variety of studies dealing specifically with household space have been published; Beidelman (1972), Bourdieu (1973), Cunningham (1972), Pezeu-Massabuau (1978) and Tambiah (1969) are examples.
3. The style of housing has been referred to by Firestone (1967) as the "saltbox" house and is quite common throughout rural

Newfoundland.

4. Some of my informants indicated that the most frequent ritual use of a front door was as a passage by which a coffin is removed from the house.
5. A broadly similar dichotomy was noted in rural Ireland by Arensberg (1950).
6. As Nemec (1975), for instance, has shown, egalitarianism is an important cultural ideal which attempts to ignore internal rank ordering.
7. The description which follows is largely based upon personal observations as I have myself engaged in migratory wage labour to a northern mining community.
8. For instance, an unmarried man in his late forties was on several occasions referred to as a 'young fellow,' whereas his married age-mates were never referred to by that term.

Chapter IV.

1. Many people, in fact, still use the term 'times,' but it is now used in relation to the Saturday night dances. For instance, a particularly good dance is almost universally referred to as 'a real time.'

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APPENDIX

Figure 1: A general, schematic diagram of Black Diamond Bay showing some of the more prominent places and areas mentioned in the text.

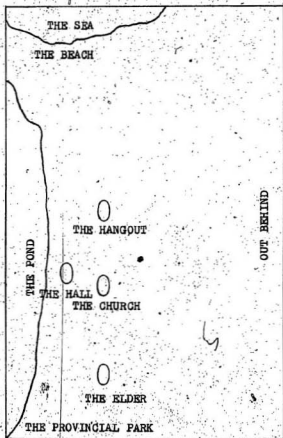
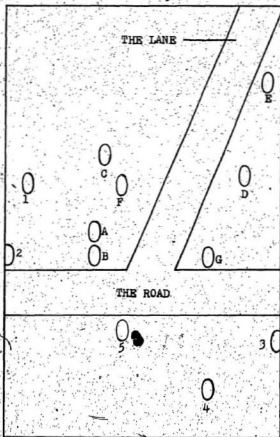


Figure 2:- Modern and traditional organization of labour compared along several significant dimensions.

Point of Comparison	Traditional	Modern
Scale.	Small.	Large.
Integration of Parts.	Mechanical.	Organic.
Socialization into the Productive Process.	Part of Socialization into the Wider Society.	Distinct from Socialization into the Wider Society.
Division of Labour:	By Age and Sex.	By function.
Productive Cooperation.	Kinship based.	Contract based.
Relationship to the Means of Production.	Work and own.	Work, but do not own.
Proceeds of Labour.	Final Product.	Cash Payment; wages.

Figure 3: The examination of a representative neighbourhood in Black Diamond Bay.



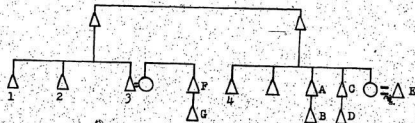
EXPLANATION OF DENOTATA

Of the seven households which form a "section" in this neighbourhood (i.e., A-G) there are three surnames, the largest of which (households A, B, C, and D) may be said to be "focal," since relationships are often reckoned through them.

1, 2, 3 and 4 have the same surname as A, B, C and D, but are not as closely associated with them as the others.

5 is not related to any of the households in any of the "sections" (some of which are not fully shown). One of the brothers of A and C sold his house and land to 5 several years earlier.

The formal kinship linkages within the section are as follows:



B and D belong to the same 'crowd,' but the 'crowd' includes an additional two members from outside the neighbourhood.

A and E are also part of the same 'crowd,' but A's best friend and closest associate comes from outside the neighbourhood.

One of the unmarried sons of A is a member of the same 'crowd' as one of the unmarried sons of F and one of the unmarried sons of E. Two other members live elsewhere in the community, and one in another community.

Two of C's unmarried sons are involved in 'crowds,' each of which contain no one else from the neighbourhood.

The respective 'crowds' of F and C are likewise composed entirely of men from other neighbourhoods.

DISCUSSION

In Black Diamond Bay men rarely visit one another in the home, but rather prefer to meet, as Chiaramonte (1970:14) has put it, in "neutral places," primarily in public (e.g., the 'clubs'). Thus, the neighbourhoods and sections of neighbourhoods are largely delineated by networks of communication and exchange between women. An examination of one particular example illustrates the general pattern which seems to hold true for the community at large, and which seems relatively common in rural Newfoundland (Chiaramonte 1970; Stiles 1972).

The wife of A most frequently visits, and is most frequently visited by, her husband's mother and her son's wife, both of whom reside with her son, B. These women often exchange food, particularly when they are baking, or have prepared some special treat. I have also observed them cooperating in the baking of bread. They see each other daily, and often several times during the course of a day.

The wife of G is also a frequent visitor, as is the wife of C, but neither of them visit to the same extent as the two women mentioned previously. They normally see each other every few days to 'pass the time of day' over a cup of tea. They also lend and borrow various and sundry articles when one of them has run out.

The relationship between household F and household A also comes into the picture in an interesting manner. F has a large family, whereas A's family is now 'all grown up,' so F's wife "lends" them one of her young sons. After school during weekdays, and virtually all day on Saturdays and holidays, the young boy may be found around A's home where he runs errands and performs small chores for which he receives pocket money. The relationship between A, his wife and the child is very warm. Much to the child's delight, A and his wife often refer to him as a 'real little man.'

Finally, the wife of A and the wife of E, who hardly exchange visits at all, consider themselves best friends. They see each

other at the Saturday night dances at the Elder, and occasionally at bingo games and 'card parties' during the week. However, they remain in close daily contact through long conversations over the telephone, a practice which both husband's often tease them about.

If we now examine the interaction patterns of men in this section, again focusing upon household A, a very different picture emerges. A and E are members of the same 'crowd,' so they see each other every Saturday night at the Elder, and for an occasional beer at the Elder during the week. However, A's best friend, the man he associates with most frequently, resides in another neighbourhood; and is not considered a 'relation,' only in so far as 'we're all relations in the place, boy.' A's relationship with most of the other men of the section, with the obvious exception of his son B, though friendly and cordial, is primarily restricted to chance meetings on the 'road.' His primary source of information on the other households is clearly his wife.

In general, it seems that although neighbourhoods and sections of neighbourhoods are essentially constructed around a "patrilineal core," their actual organization occurs primarily in terms of affinal ties between women. This situation seems largely hidden from view in other rural communities in Newfoundland which are still dependent upon the inshore fishery as a source of employment, primarily because agnatic fishing draws men of the patriline together in productive cooperation. However, as

Nemec (1972:22,34) has quite significantly pointed out, the association between agnates greatly reduces in frequency and intensity as the summer fishing season draws to a close. At that time agnates seem to "disband" and begin to associate more closely with their age-mates, members of their own 'race,' who are frequently not considered kinsmen.

Hence, the idea of the "patrilocal extended family" has to be qualified very carefully when applied to rural Newfoundland. It seems primarily a politico-jural grouping generated by the economic exigencies of the inshore fishery and the pattern of inheritance through the male line. However, what emerges from a careful consideration of the actual communication networks is a very different picture of the "patrilocal extended family." Ties between women seem to be largely concentrated, or encapsulated, within the territorial aggregates formed by kinship relations between males, while the ties between males tend to be diffused outward into the community at large through the pull of the peer group, i.e., the 'race.' The relationship of women to neighbourhoods therefore seems centripetal, and that of men centrifugal.

Figure 4. A diagram showing the organization of space within a typical home of Black Diamond Bay. For a brief discussion and description of the 'outport kitchen,' the reader is referred to Mifflin (1973).

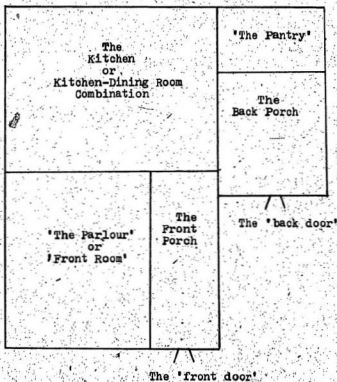


Figure 5. Social categories, formality of interaction, and access to household space shown in relation to one another as "ideal types."

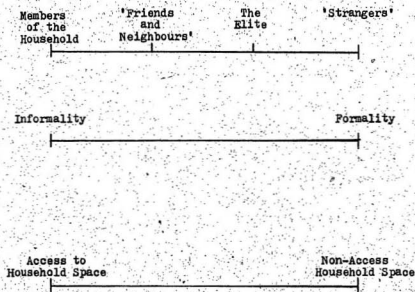


Figure 6: The relationship of the broad social categories to one another, and to household space.

