WHAT CAN BE SAID OF THOSE WHO REMAIN BEHIND? A HISTORIC, CULTURAL AND SITUATIONAL PERSPECTIVE ON THE POPLAR GROVE SCOT.

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by

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ABSTRACT

What Can Be Said of Those Who Remain Behind? A Historic, Cultural and Situational Perspective on the Poplar Grove Scot.

The study of migration within North America has been a popular area of research for many sociologists. Their focus is frequently the rural to urban trend with particular emphasis on motivations for this type of migration. Overwhelming evidence from these studies now indicate that these rural peoples have consistently left their places of birth and socialization as a means of effecting the promise of affluence proffered by urban centers.

The extension of the promise of affluence to the rural hinterland and its resulting migration is but one aspect of the more extensive phenomenon termed modernization. Modernization is the fulfillment of the ideology of the technological age. Those who fail to grasp the "evolving truth" and who remain behind in rural areas with neither affluence or even the promise of affluence are termed "losers" in the efforts to modernize. In the words of the poet writer Alden Nowlan;

> "They are the rural people in a world ruled by city dwellers. They inhabit regions that have been made the Horrible Examples and whipping boys of their respective countries...."

In this research the effort was made to investigate those who remained behind in Poplar Grove, Cape Breton. Poplar Grove has been a veritable spring board for outmigrants and the present community is now collapsed by its long term effort. Had this study been conducted by questionnaires "sent out" from some urban academic center the residents of this collapsed community might have been studied as "losers" (victims).

The strategy of participation in the culture allowed an experience of the life within Poplar Grove--a life with perceptions of reality existing long before the advent of modernization. In Chapters 2 through 4 of this dissertation the attempt has been made to present these perceptions against the background of modernization.

There are three parts to these perceptions of reality presented herein: the historic, cultural and situational. Chapter 2 introduces those historic events that have shaped the present life of Poplar Grove people. This chapter deals especially with the socio-economic adaptation of the Scot Highlanders to the new land and their first encounters with modernization.

Chapter 3 in detailing some of the elements of the traditional life depicts the distinctive culture of Poplar Grove. In this rather ethnographic chapter the colour of the traditional life is accented so as to provide the reader with this significant finding: social relationships in Poplar Grove still exist in a different manner than elsewhere in North America, a variety of gemeinschaft still predominates.

Chapter 4 is the most restricted chapter of the dissertation dealing only with a small number of tactics that are locally employed to combat the insalubrious effects of modernization. In particular the tactic of occupational diversity is discussed and it is demonstrated that this tactic can be employed to allow local definitions of situation to prevail over those imposed by modernizing agents.

Finally, a brief conclusion explains the use of the word "perspective" in the title of the dissertation.

Nis togaidh na Gaidheil an ceann,
's cha bhi iad am fang na's mo;
Bidh aca ard fhoghlum nan Gall
Us tuigse neo-mhall 'n a choir.
Theid innleachdan 's oibrean air bonn
'Chuireas asibhreas 'n ar fonn gu pailt.
Bidh 'n diblidh cho laidir ri sonn,
'S am bochd cha bhi lom le h-airc.

Now the gaels will raise their heads,
and they will be in bondage no longer.
They will have the formal education of
the english speaking people and ready
intelligence along with it. Plans and
operations will be established which
will spread wealth plentifully through
our country. The weak will be as strong
as the warrior, and the poor no longer
enfeebled by want.

Rev. James McGregor. Pictou, N.S. 1863.

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Well the old ways are changing,
You cannot deny;
You have to move fast
to keep up with the times...
Farewell to the beckons of heather and bloom,
Farewell to the cradle and basket,
For the folk of today would much sooner pay,
For something that's made out of plastic.

John Allan Cameron. Mabou, N.S. 1968.

PREFACE

Toward the conclusion of his monograph, Rural Canada in Transition, D.R. Whyte discusses "agricultural fundamentalism".

> "The ideology of an outmoded way of life must therefore either be discarded or if preserved, be relegated to fictional status." (1966:99)

As this dissertation examines an "outmoded way of life", and suggests a continuing presence of rural ideologies, not "discarded", or "relegated to fictional status" (at least, not at present), the author requests, despite the imperative cited above, that the reader consider this work to be neither an obituary nor a piece of fiction.

I should like to thank: the people of Poplar Grove, especially the Donald Rankin family; the Province of Newfoundland for funding this research through its Graduate Fellowship Program; the endurance of my advisor, J.C. Ross, those who read, corrected and advised me on the manuscript in its various stages, D. Campbell of the Sociology Department at St. Francis Xavier and R. Cosper and B. Joseph of the Sociology Department at St. Mary's University; the typists Maureen Kelly and Ann Tarr; and my wife Judy for countless cups of tea.

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

Growth in the number, size and complexity of urban areas has paralleled the change from agrarian societal types to industrial societal types. These historic developments have been of interest to social scientists for their obvious and widespread influence on behaviour. One aspect of this development that is especially interesting is the relation between growth in urban areas and declining population in rural geographic areas. The focus for many interested in this phenomenon is that of rural to urban migration. In Canada, as well as many other industrial countries, this outmigration from rural communities to urban areas has been occurring for a period of more than one hundred years. Yet, this population shift is but only one aspect of the making of industrial societies. The process of industrialization has also affected relationships among individuals. Urban, association, or gesellschaft relationships are characteristic modes of interaction in industrial societies and

their frequency replaces folk, community and gemeinschaft relationships prominent in agrarian societies.[1] It is almost axiomatic to say that to develop these relationships is to modernize.[2] The history of industrial development indicates that societies achieve their goals through ability to modernize traditional customs, beliefs and values of some (or all) of their peoples, and through capacity to create urban centers through rural outmigration. Today, two hundred years after the spinning jenny and the textile boom it is apparent that not all areas of an industrial society become modernized at the same rate or to the same degree.

[1]Use of folk, urban; community, association; gemeinschaft, gesellschaft refers to the bi-polar typologies of Redfield, Weber and Tonnies as presented in McKinney and Loomis (1970) Summary of the Typological Tradition.

[2]The use of the term modernize in this dissertation merits some explanation. Its use here indicates those attitudes, beliefs, values and practices associated with industrial societies. Industrial societies are those so classified in a typology of societal types, such as: hunting and gathering, horticultural, agrarian, industrial. A modernized society is simply one that demonstrates those characteristics of the industrial society. The more salient characteristics would be: predominance of urban centers (urbanization), predominance of rationalism over traditionalism in belief, values and social practices (bureaucratic procedures for example) and the predominance of diffuse role patterns (specialization). Some writers use industrialization and urbanization to indicate the same characteristics mentioned above, herein, industrialization shall refer primarily to the process of changing the technological basis for a societies' subsistence whereas urbanization shall refer to the process of developing urban centered regions of the metropolis-hinterland variety. The process of changing attitudes, beliefs, values and social practices shall be termed modernization and shall include industrialization and urbanization in this dissertation.

Bio-physical limitation, historical precedent or geographic isolation may permit entire areas of a country that is nominally industrial to be "underdeveloped" as compared with its more advanced areas.[3] Although much variation does exist in the underdeveloped areas of Canada it is possible to contrast two types of underdevelopment; the "scarcely tried area" and the "tried and failed area". The former, "scarcely tried" still has the possibility for being opened up in the future should the presence of local resources justify entry but the latter type, "tried and failed" has been judged depleted of industrial capacities and has experienced constant population drain to those places where better opportunities are said to exist.

These "tried and failed areas" are sometimes termed "closing down". Such have experienced an agrarian past, little or short term industrial activity, no significant urbanization and a degree of geographic isolation from major centers of population. The major characteristic of these areas is slow growth.[4] Other features include the presence

[3]The use of quotations in this dissertation is extended to those idioms that are variously used by classes of people. The quotations indicate that the expression used has a specific limited meaning by this group and needs translation when it is used out of the context of the group. The author feels that "under-developed" is such a term. Its meaning is derived from the absence of certain socio-economic indicators that are used to diagram levels of industrial development. In the lexicon of the media and within govermental agencies this term is subject to diverse interpretation.

[4]"Major characteristic" indicates that characteristic that is principally perceived. While hospitality or scenic beauty may also be major characteristics of underdeveloped areas the importance of economic conditions in a society that constantly emphasizes its growth patterns permits the use of "major characteristic".

of traditional ways of life (mitigated but present), lower per capita income and slower economic growth than the country at large, and either zero population growth or a decrease in the population for several generations by the factor of outmigration.

The rural peoples of these slow growth areas have experienced for many generations those pressures generated by the conflict between their strong attachment for traditional family and community relationships and the corresponding distaste for strained local economic conditions. To stay with kith and kin meant hardship; to leave meant hardship. If this dilemma can be simplified to a push-pull model of migration, then it might be generally said that the prospect of poverty has pushed and prospects of prosperity have pulled. While many have resolved the conflicting pressures by leaving, some did stay. To explain this selection process a number of sociologists have attempted correlation of this outmigration with age, sex, religion, intelligence, education and occupation.[5] The object of many of these studies has been the determination of salient factors in successful adaptation to the urban environment. Little attention is focused on those who have remained behind unless certain characteristics are examined with a view to later outmigration. In fact, there

[5]Since Whyte's (1966) study of social determinants of inter-community mobility is an inventory of findings it has been used to review the mobility literature. Many of the statements made above on what has been done in the field or what has not been done are derived from Whyte's analysis.

has been very little research on the effects of incessant outmigration on the people who remain behind; on the meanings these people attach to their situation and the techniques they employ to survive on what appears to be a sinking ship. Rural sociologists are more interested in problems such as: the comparative poverty of rural residents as compared with their migrating kin, [for example, see Blevins (1970), Lansing (1967)] or they are concerned with rural economic development (as might be evidenced by a selection of titles taken from any issue of Rural Sociology) or they are absorbed by the fascinations of change from traditional to modern modi operendi in imitation of the classical approaches of Sumner, Tonnies and Durkheim.

The conception people have of themselves as they stay behind is variable. Their tactics for self-preservation differ. In some areas the decision to remain behind might be perceived of as wise, in other places such a decision made by a young man back in the 1940's might have been so redefined by changing social circumstances that the man in question is today considered to be originally mistaken, and presently a failure. It is generally true that those who have stayed on the farm in slow growth areas are perceived of as "not as well off" as their own brothers and sisters who departed for the city. For the people remaining, lack of services (poor roads, postal delivery, commercial delivery), unemployment, lower standard of living (education, health, consumer goods), and a condition called poverty (or even, the culture of poverty) are the consequences of living in a slow

growth area.[6] These people are the politicians' fodder, the statisticians' skewed curves and the journalists' opportunity for disclosure of social ills in a society that publicly espouses equal treatment of all its citizens. Many people of "no growth" areas judge themselves as mistaken in their choice of life styles or "victims" of an advancing society, and they are similarly judged by most other yardsticks of social judgement whether by the interest of academics in growth and socio-economic development, by the attitudes of kin as they see lack of development comparable to their own, or by the expression of the mass-media gripping the middle class conscience with the heartbreak of rural poverty.

This dissertation attempts to handle this question: what can be said of those who remain behind? Emphasis will not be placed on strategies for selection of outmigrants nor personal reasons for remaining behind; instead, the attention will be focused on the existential situation of those who remained behind in one area of Canada; it shall review their history, their pattern of traditional life, and the impact of modernization so that the peoples' perceptions of self might be ascertained in the context of their social biography. The current phase of this biography consists of that conflict between local definitions of self and social definitions

[6]The phrase "a condition called poverty (or even, the culture of poverty)" is meant to draw attention to the sometimes inaccurate categorical use of this relative term. Instead of a meaningful designation it is used sometimes as a label.

generated in the larger Canadian society. This conflict will be seen as a source of discredit for local efforts; as such, it affects local definition of situation and subsequent behavior.

The area investigated: Poplar Grove

Inverness County in Cape Breton, Nova Scotia is a slow growth area in Canada.[7] For generations people have been leaving the area for urban resettlement. Those remaining in Inverness County have generally followed traditional ways of life, engaged in the primary industries of farming, fishing and logging, despite immediate bio-physical limitations affecting the efficacy of these pursuits. The ethnic composition of the county is predominantly Highland Scottish. For the most part these Scots are Roman Catholic. There are some French Acadians (Catholic), some English (Protestants), Irish (Catholic and Protestant) and some recent Dutch (Catholic). One would be in the minority if Protestant in

[7] Pepin's study (1968: 7-8) of four maritime provinces lists these criteria for selection of poverty in "regional life". 1. bio-physical limitations, 2. distinctive traditional ways of life, 3. overlapping primary industries, 4. low level of education, per capita income and high rate of unemployment, 5. stagnation or decrease in population, 6. weakness of the urban structure, 7. geographical isolation. Pepin establishes Inverness as fulfilling these criteria.

Inverness County or if one were not of Highland Scottish ancestry.[8]

Poplar Grove, a small sector of Catholic Highland Scottish people living in Inverness County, has been choosen for this research. The Poplar Grove area fulfills the criteria of a slow growth area in that it is a typical part of the county of Inverness; little urbanization or industrialization, traditional subsistence economic activity, low standard of living, and a history of continuous outmigration.[9] Its common religious and ethnic background as well as its minimal social differentiation make Poplar Grove an attractive setting for research since the variables of religion, ethnicity and social class can be held constant. Poplar Grove residents, in short, are representative of those peoples of "slow growth" areas

[8]Inverness County Survey, a compendium of statistics of the county compiled by the Nova Scotia Department of Trade and Industry cites these figures of the 1961 Canadian census. Inverness County is significantly British in origin (69.8%). Other ethnic groups are French (26.1%) and the Netherlands (1.3%). It should be noted that British is the generic term for England, Scotland, Wales and Northern Ireland. The majority of these 69.8% are Highland Scottish. Inverness County is 72.6% Roman Catholic in religion. The population is also 17.1% United Church of Canada and 1.5% Baptist. Six percent (6%) of the population belongs to the Presbyterian Church.

[9]The development of large scale industries at the Strait of Canso in the southernmost part of Inverness County (forty miles from Poplar Grove) during the mid 1960's and continuing into the present creates an atypical enclave in the county. Statistics taken from the census of 1966 and those of the more recent 1971 census reflect this development. The Strait of Canso development has therefore not been actively considered in this discussion of a slow growth area since it was somewhat peripheral and undetermined in its effects on Poplar Grove at the time of this research.

who, in remaining behind, have experienced a comparatively poorer quality of life as it can be and is judged by kin away or public attitude.[10]

Methodological Underpinnings

To understand a people's dispositions necessitates some type of dynamic involvement in the interactive process. This practice of Weber's verstehen (understanding the meaning an act has for the actor himself, not for the observer, Natanson: 1963, 278.) in sociological research has most frequently found expression in the technique of participant observation. In Poplar Grove, participant observation was choosen since it seemed best suited to the time consuming nature of information gathering and assessment that this type of understanding (verstehen) called for, and furthermore, the method was suited to the author's personal capacities. A major problem every participant observer faces is "getting in" to the people's lives as they are ordinarily lived. He has either to appear an insider (optimum) or remove himself from the obvious status of outsider (minimum). By kinship (both parents outmigrants of Poplar Grove) the author enjoyed the prospect of being easily accepted; by many years of association

[10] "Quality of life" standards implies the average life style of the North American family, such as the minimum expectations families have for services, consumer goods and luxuries. Not only is the presence of the goods and services important but the duration of time one is in possession of the goods is important in determining "quality of life". For example, the statement that by now, everyone should have running water, indicates a minimum expectation. The fact that some families in Poplar Grove have only recently gotten running water in their homes or still do not have access to running water places them behind those who have met these minimum qualifications of the "quality of life".

through childhood summertime visits the author was not only recognizable as a member of a family but as an individual known to people in the area. In a sense this research was an adult return to the scene of one's childhood -- a not unfortunate circumstance in that it both permitted entrance necessary for information collection while at the same time allowed for some reservation since many respondents did not "really" know the author and the author did not know the respondents. Some control of subjective bias was therefore possible.

Living in Poplar Grove for a period of seven months in the fall of 1969 to the spring of 1970 provided the major source of data collection. The situations for collecting data were: visits to homes, communal functions (wakes, weddings, dances, church services) and meetings with local officials (Priest, School Principal, Agricultural Representative, Credit Union Manager, Unemployment Insurance Commission Manager, Welfare Worker, Court House Clerks, Co-op Manager, Council Representatives). During and after the period of residence subsequent visits have been made to outmigrants living in Hamilton, Ontario; Toronto, Ontario and Halifax, Nova Scotia. Week-end visits have also been made since the original period of residence. Other sources of data were: the provincial newspaper, the county newspapers, and historic materials presented in the Provincial Archives in Halifax.

As the home visit was the major <u>situs</u> for research activity and the most significant in determining the people's attitudes its format needs detailed explanation. There was little difficulty in arranging house visitations. It was only

necessary to initially establish who I was and what I was doing. For the most part, gossip had informed the people whom I had not visited that I would soon be around. Nevertheless, in each household the reason for my presence was fully explained to make up what was lacking in the gossip. As people were familiar with being "written up" in print, by virtue of the geneological record of A. D. MacDonald's Mabou Pioneers, the task of explaining my activities was lessened. I explained that "I had to write a thesis" and wanted to find out a little more about Poplar Grove than was recorded by MacDonald. I mentioned especially my interest in "the changes taking place" since Mabou Pioneers was assembled. In so far as I presented myself as collecting information because "I had to do a thesis" the prospect of playing a dual role was made possible. In the first instance I was acting under orders from an academic institution (information collector); secondly, I was acting as myself ("acting natural"). The second role followed completion of the information collection.

I perceived this tactic to be necessary since prior experience indicated respondent's inclination to become suspicious over inquiries that seemed directed at something but yet had no recognizable focus. I hoped that the playing of a detached information collector role would allow for an initial primary focus which, when completed, would allow the possibility of establishing myself as a participant in discussion with no connection with outside agencies. For this reason the role distance of "having to do a thesis" was seen as

freeing me from the one such agency -- the university.

With the prop of a clipboard and a printed questionnaire I went about getting the official information recorded. The three parts of this questionnaire besides effecting the above cited "getting in" tactic were meant to provide information on certain indicators of traditional Scottish practices. The three parts dealt with family, economics and community, since a provisional framework I had then entertained suggested an organic institutional conception of Poplar Grove with these areas as the major ones for investigation.

Under Part 1, family, maternal and paternal geneologies were traced with places of birth as far back in time as the respondents could go. Information here could indicate patterns of marriage as well as the extent of geneological knowledge. Next, the children of the family were recorded by name with the following notations: whom they were named after, age, sex, education, employment, place of residence, name of spouse, children's names.

Part 2. The house and land tenure practices were questioned with the intent of first establishing practices of inheritance and patterns of migration. Personal history of employment in agriculture, fishing and logging was noted as well as other sources of income.

The final section of the questionnaire, Part 3, dealing with the community required respondents to analyze the major changes that have taken place in Poplar Grove. If answers were slow in coming a list of institutions (see Appendix 1) were read for their consideration. Usually this sparked

some discussion.

By the end of these questions some time would have elapsed since the inception of the interview. I would then put away my clipboard so as to signal the official end and being chatting. Tea would be brought in and what I considered to be a very important part of the visit would take place. What was possible now was a conversation of natural and normal proportions. Respondents would ask me why "they" (those directing the thesis) would ever want to know who the children were named after, or how "they" would know that it was the truth. The weather, who was sick, the old days, developments at the Strait of Canso, the government, would be topics that occasioned discussion. In effect these conversations and all subsequent discourse were opportunities for uncovering cultural definitions by the practice of grouping similar dispositions, correlating them with one another and enumerating their frequency as I travelled among a number of individuals. During the period of coding conversations it was also necessary to generate appropriate categories to accept the content of the conversations. As the area under investigation was: What can be said of those who remain behind? and, as my focus was directed at the images these people have of themselves as they perceive the effects of outmigration and modernization, the most fertile grounds for generating categories were those of the interactionist framework. Social identities, self-conceptions, self-justifications and those related concepts were useful conceptual categories for coding the variety of

data in a manageable form. However, much of the data collected was not strictly amenable to a social psychological micro analysis. This data, of historical format, or of the ethnographic format, was considered by the author to be of significant contextural value for this investigation. McCall and Simmons (1966) refer to such material as "boundaries" for interactive situations. Chapters 2 and 3 present these boundaries.

CHAPTER 2

SOCIO-ECONOMIC HISTORY OF THE POPLAR GROVE REGION

Geographic description

Poplar Grove is an aged electoral district in Inverness County, Cape Breton. The name has passed into relative disuse among residents of the area. What use the name serves here is that of providing a geographic framework for linking together the sections Mabou Coal Mines, Mabou Harbour, McDonald Glen, Glenora Falls and Northeast Mabou for a generalized description of their common ecological features and social history. It also serves to signal the composition of the area researched. As homes in Mabou Coal Mines, Mabou Harbour, Glenora Falls and Northeast Mabou in their totality formed the area of investigation and source of data, some concept is needed to announce their sociological identity. None of the above mentioned localities meet the requisites of the term community, nor taken together could they be so addressed; in their dependence on

the village of Mabou and the town of Inverness for essential services they may be best described as constitutents of a rural region. As the Poplar Grove electoral district approximates this region its name shall be used for designation in this dissertation.

The district encompasses a twenty square-mile area bounded by the Northumberland Strait, the county's main road (site of the village of Mabou), the waters of Mabou Inlet and the district of Strathlorne. Bordering the waters of the Strait and Inlet are the lowland slopes. These slopes are cleared for agricultural purposes and generally are rated by soil test as class 5.[1] One half mile distant from the water these cultivated lands incline upwards to a mountainous terrain which is partially wooded with coniferous trees. The relatively low degree of pitch assumed by these mountains affords grazing for livestock. This grazing, however, is poor due to poor soil capability and therefore, more conductive to sheep than cattle pasture. The trees found here are new growth (circa fifteen years) and cannot be considered mature for either pulp or timber but are suited for export as Christmas trees.[2]

[1] "Class 5. Soils in this class have very severe limitations that restrict their capability to producing perennial forage crops, and improvement practices are feasible." (Arda, 1969)

[2] "White and red spruce and balsam fir, interspered with small amounts of pine, tamarack and black spruce, form the major proportion of the forest." (Arda, 1969)

In the interior of Poplar Grove are found higher mountains, mature woodlots, and scattered clearances some of which are under cultivation. The waters of the Strait afford a fishery in lobster, salmon and groundfish. In pursuing the fishery (using wharfs at Mabou Harbour and McDonald Glen) the emphasis has recently been on the "money fish", lobster and to a lesser degree salmon, with little or no emphasis on groundfish excepting that used for local consumption.[3] This pattern of inshore fishing stands in marked contrast to that of the Newfoundland fishermen involved with the more abundant, longer running but poorer paying groundfish.

Occupation in the primary industries provides the major employment for the males of Poplar Grove. This traditional reliance on farming, and to lesser degrees fishing and forestry for sustenance was interrupted at the turn of the century (1890's to 1920) by the following secondary pursuits: a cheese processing plant (N.E. Mabou), lobster processing (Mabou Harbour Mouth), coal mining (Mabou Coal Mines) and gypsum open pit mining (Mabou Harbour Mouth). Infrastructure development in Poplar Grove was stimulated by the presence of the mining operations. Shipping gypsum by sea necessitated preparing the channel for sea-going ships, erection of docking facilities, and upgrading of interior roads.

[3] In McKeen's report to Haliburton (1861) McKeen indicated that fishermen in Inverness County fished "principly the codfish but some take mackeral in their season". Later in the same report he indicated that "Mabou has salmon and trout." (Fergusson, 1958: 161,167)

The later working of the coal mine called for some investment in service industries and further development of the interior road network, a rail line to Mabou, small stores, postal service, and personal accommodations. The mining boom was short lived. Once the quality gypsum was removed leaving a harder form of the ore not profitable for product conversion, and, once the mining of the Mabou coal basin swung out under the sea making further mining operations uneconomical considering the grade and quantity of coal involved, both operations ceased. Today several pits and a blackish colliery shed mark the site of the former coal field, four chalky indentations in terrain locate the depleated gypsum deposits, rotten piles at the harbour mouth indicate where the lobster factory stood, and a row of moss-covered stones belie the outlines of the cheese factory. The most recent industry in Poplar Grove is the utilization of terrain for tourist and recreational use. The happy juxta-position of water, mountainous terrain, cleared land and forest in Poplar Grove has generally been considered scenic by "touring summer populations".

The marketable status of many tracts of farm land for use as "cottage land" would attest to a growing recreational interest in the Poplar Grove ecological setting.

It might be noticed that the Poplar Grove district offers to the researcher some application to the Strathlorne, Judique, Cregnish, Broad Cove districts of Inverness County, mutatis mutandi since all were inhabited during the same period by

Catholic Scot migration and all enjoy similar ecological features.

The Highland heritage: the aftermath

A socio-economic history of the people in Poplar Grove affords some insight into their present circumstances. It will be suited to the purpose of pertinent history to commence at a landmark of Highland history, the Battle of Culloden (1746). Previous to this battle the Highlands were an expression of extended family feudalism. Instead of a demeaning peasant-lord servitude there existed familial bonds between chieftain and lord, lord and tenant, and tenant and cottars. All existed as clan. In terms of financial and martial obligations Scottish peasants perhaps were in no better situation than many generations of other European pre-industrial peasants. They did not own the land they worked, paid high rents for the use of the land and were in service to the Chief in military functions encountering non-highland peoples and other clans.

What they were, however, made a difference, they were part of geneological royalty and a MacDonald cottar was as much MacDonald as a MacDonald Chieftain. The implication here is that such a distinction was in fact socially perceived. The literature, verse and tradition of the highlands indicate such to be an accurate assessment and perhaps overstate the case by way of romantic conceptions of the impoverished, hunger ravished but erect clansman standing next to his chief as fellow traveller in the clan's struggles.

Romanticism aside, enough evidence can be culled from Highland lore to verify the assumption that clannish pride was culturally perceived and part of daily life. Failure of the Jacobite cause at Culloden meant more than the demise of Bonnie Prince Charles: it brought the proscription of Gaelic Language and through a series of political-social-economic events a disenfranchisement of the peasants from their lands, livelihood, and social institutions.[4] This period of Scottish history (post 1745) was the beginning of the Highland clearances.[5] After the '45 (the grouping of the clans preparatory to Culloden) the British-Lowland faction was not only politically and militarily victorious but agressive economically and oppressive culturally. The defeated clansmen epitomized Hobbes's "solitary... nasty, brutish and short" mode of existence. Technology was primitive, land scarce and population excessive in comparison to production. The "savage" nature of the Highlander referred to by Daniel Dafoe and reiterated by other chroniclers of that time indicates the Highlander's life to be pitched close

[4] "The clans retain little now (1773) of their original character; their ferocity of temper is softened, their military ardour is extinguished, their dignity of independence is depressed, their contempt of government subdued, and their reverence for chiefs abated. Of what they had before the late conquest of their country, there remains only their language and their poverty." (Johnson, 1816:275)

[5] Prebble (1963:58).

to bare subsistance.[6] This subsistance was meagre.[7] The laird caught between the pressures and proscriptions of British-Lowland factions and those obligations engendered by relation with his clansmen had a pivotal position in the interplay between aggressive economic demands and non-productive agriculture. His control of large estates meant ultimate control of many of his clansmen who lived on these estates by land rental. In making a decision for the introduction of sheep and for land reform, i.e. greater productivity, many lairds of Highland Scotland made a decision against their people as implied in the Highland clearances.

The frontier development of the "new world" was at this time a North American attraction. The accounts of Nova Scotia's "Italian" summers and Canada's frost free winters in the newspapers of London, England and Inverness,

[6]Dunn's account of the British-Lowland attitudes toward the Highland peoples is of note in this discussion of "defeat", "clearances" and "emigration" from the Highlands. Dunn claims that Walter Scott only popularized the already existing notion of the Highlander as a feuding, rowdy animal. The English encyclopaedist Batholomew (1250) spoke of Scoti silvestres (men of the woods, beasts, savages, wild men), John Major (1740) added Scoti domestici to the above to depict the "more civilized" Lowlanders, and Daniel Dafoe (1727) spoke of the savage customs of the Highlanders. (Dunn, 1953:6-7)

[7]"---throughout the length and bredth of inhabited Europe it would have been hard to find a territory of equal area that offered so much evidence of poverty, misery and barreness as did Scotland in the eighteenth century. Of its 19,000,000 acres only 5,000,000 were thought fit for cultivation. The rest consisted of mountain, moor, shaggy heath and watery waste.

Two thirds of the county of Inverness, the largest shire in Scotland with an area nearly one-seventh of the whole, was covered with moss, moor, and heathy ground. Only one-fortieth was arable. (Handley, 1953:9-10)

Scotland, indicated that the solution for overpopulation was emigration.[8] The response by the Highlanders to the prospects of the New World was tremendous. Besides the possibility of free land grants, emigration offered additional advantages for the freer practice of custom, language and religion.[9]

Prince Edward Island, Cape Breton and Northumberland Nova Scotia were the principal debarkation points for Highland Scots. The coming of the Alexander to Prince Edward Island in 1772 and the Hector to Nova Scotia in 1773 are the romanticized landings (the Mayflower) of the Scottish immigration. Those not so romanticized are the less organized swarms of immigrants who left the boat looking for available land on which they might commence farming. Passage to the new land was one thing, effecting the promise of land was another. Where people landed and how they acquired land in Cape Breton depended on what sort of transportation they enjoyed and what was known before coming. At best, transportation consisted

[8] In speaking about the causes and effect of the Highland clearances Johnson observes: "When published under the character of a New Planter, who related how much the climate put him in mind of Italy." (Johnson, 1816:87)

[9] These features of the Highland emigration might be culled from the literature. It principally occurred during the period 1815-1851. (Fergusson, 1958:32) There was ambivalence in the official encouragement of the mass emigration from the Highlands and hesitancy by the Maritime governments to accept the immigrants by official land grants. (Martell, 1942:82) Exploitation by land speculators, shipping agents and shipping companies was common. (Cowan, 1928:38) The reasons for the emigration seem to have been: low productivity in agriculture during an inflationary period, the introduction of sheep into this economy to bolster profits, excessive population, conversion of small into large farms, high rental fees, and flattering accounts from America. (Gentilcore, 1967:44-45)

of crossing the Atlantic from Scotland to a designated port in Cape Breton with a compliment of passengers from the same geographical area, e.g. Barra, Skye, Lochaber. At worst, it was a collection of steerage passengers to be unloaded at the first sighted landfall.[10]

Between these two extremes, well planned community migration and exploitation of refugees, were the varied forms of migration effected by informal private communications sent back to Scottish Highland communities. For example, Scottish soldiers who had been serving in the British army directed the people of their native community in Barra to the Grand Narrows of the Bras d'or Lakes.

Many times, married men came to an already settled section, e.g. Prince Edward Island, searched out a place for their families, and sent for them. Most often migration of large numbers and families in their entirety came and stayed with relatives until such time as they could get land, preferably land proximate to those they had come to live with. While many newly formed communities began as extensions of communities in the land they left, some were intergrated with the Scots of different Highland regions forming their populations. In a period of thirty-five years twenty thousand Scots created new communities in Cape Breton.

[10] "Of the two hundred passengers carried from Leith and Stornoway in the summer of 1827 by the Harmony, thirteen died during the crossing, twenty-two died after being put off on some unihabited spot of Cape Breton, and five more died when the vessel reached Sydney - a 20 percent mortality." (Martell, 1942:59)

By the early 1850's the period of migration was over.[11]

Local history of Poplar Grove

On July 16, 1809 at nine o'clock in the morning Alexander Beaton and his family is reputed to have come across the Northumberland Strait from Prince Edward Island to a spot previously selected and to have taken up residence in Poplar Grove.[12] His subsequent development there paralleled that of many Scots in Inverness County. Lochaber friends and relatives settled along side Beaton.[13] However, the emphasis was not as much on community as on familial survival in agriculture. As Highlanders in Scotland they were used to working small amounts of land, primitive farming implements and the convenience of a many times cultivated

[11]"The total population in 1801 was 2,513 (In Cape Breton). In the next year there was a revival of Lord Ochiltree's earlier and futile effort at direct immigration from Scotland, with the arrival at Sydney of 299 Scots. No further record of direct immigration from Scotland is known until 1815; but indirectly Scottish immigration by way of Nova Scotia, New Brunswick and Prince Edward Island continued steadily until by 1813 the population had increased to 5,909. In ensuing years immigration from Scotland and other parts of the British Isles increased. Between 1815 and 1851 about 55,000 immigrants came to Nova Scotia: of those more than 12,000 were Scots who came to Cape Breton Island between 1815 and 1838 and several thousand additional Scottish immigrants came to the Island between 1839 and 1851." (Fergusson, 1958:32)

[12]The source of this information, a descendent of same Alexander Beaton, treated this account of the first settlement as if it were in recent memory. His treatment of such is consistent with a general Poplar Grove affinity for familiarity with the content and lessons of oral history.

[13]"Lochaber: A district of Inverness-shire, bonded on the east by Badenoch: on the south by Athol, Rannoch and Argyleshire; on the west by Moidait and on the north by the rivers and lakes of the great Caledonian Glen. It is perhaps one of the most dreary, mountainous and barren districts in Scotland." (Gazetteer, 1853:284)

landscape.[14] Now in settling this area they found themselves unprepared -- unprepared for the dense North American forest, for the sea (having lived inland), for the unpredictability of climate and for the effective utilization of extensive low yield acreage. It was a full generation before they learned methods for the fertilization of large land tracts, what crops were successful in the short Cape Breton growth season, and the insufficiency of traditional farm implements for the acreage worked. The adaptation to the first task, clearing the land, was perhaps the most successful adaptation the first generation Poplar Grove Scots made in the area of farming. This properly was not a farming skill but a prerequisite for agriculture.

The cattle raised in the Highlands of Scotland had been profitable as an export commodity. The large urban markets of Lowland Scotland and England had provided some Highland areas with a means of economic exchange beyond that subsistence level produced by local effort.

[14]Gentilcore (1967:37-44) makes these observations on the Scottish farmer. "The Highlander was not an outstanding farmer. He had always been a soldier and the sword came more naturally to his hands than the plow or the spade." Using the works of Robertson (1808) and Handley (1953) as well the Earl of Selkirk (1806) Gentilcore cites the following: "Highlanders were ignorant and inattentive farmers, they experienced annual scarcity, the only commercial export was black cattle, there was little arable land, the climate was excessively wet, pastures were overstocked (half-starved cattle), rents were exceedingly high, in short they were black cattle and potatoes farmers (horticulturalists)."

The first generation of farmers in Poplar Grove were familiar with livestock raising.[15] However, it was soon their realization that such a tactic was not feasible here. As the Cape Breton of the mid 19th century presented few urban markets and the soil-climate factor was not conducive to the grain crops necessary for cattle fodder, "a bit of each" farming venture became the base for economic sustenance.[16] This early venture, "a bit of each" was essentially a stage of trial and error, a tactic rooted in the Highlander's inexperience of the new land. The second generation inherited this accommodation along with the growth of a social network and the benefit of their parent's pioneer experience with the landscape. Being free from imminent threat of exposure and starvation they had the first opportunity to produce agricultural products for use other than their own sustenance. Toward this end an agricultural society was formed in the village of Mabou, which was developing as a service area for surrounding farm pockets.

[15]Informants indicate that a few of their great-great grandparents were shepherds in Scotland. Informants also suggested that sheep farming was present in the early days, then was reduced in popularity and finally became popular again. This fluctuation might reflect access to markets.

[16]MacDougall (1922:31) indicates early Cape Breton exports to be minimal because of the lack of "scientific farming" and being "frozen out of the world's markets." He only cites the case of barter with a Jerseyman, a Mr. Huntley in Arichat, Cape Breton. The Scots traded farm produce and livestock for "household items". Gentilcore (1967:47) establishes Halifax and Newfoundland as recipients of agricultural produce from the Scots of Antigonish. Closer to Poplar Grove, Mckeen in speaking of exports from Inverness County claims shipment of livestock to Halifax and Newfoundland (St. John's) from the port of Port Hood (nine miles distance from Poplar Grove). He states that they are not, however, excessive (in 1861). (Fergusson, 1958:163)

Some grist mills were established and farm products marketed before the agricultural society waned through an unhappy combination of non-support and marketing problems.[17] During this period little advance was made toward commercial farming and farm development reached its highest level of development.[18] Factors affecting the scale of farming operations were: social factors, including attitudes toward investment and collective organization; economic factors such as limited surplus production and the difficulty of access to markets. The social factors are significant in that they minimized possibilities of exploiting what markets were available, and restricted capital development. Clan rivalry precluded prolonged collective action thus preventing the necessary organization for long distance marketing, and hesitancy to invest scarce resources in agriculture prevented the utilization of expensive technological innovations.

Another factor affecting productivity was serious soil deficiencies.

[17] "...they (Scot Highlanders) were able to provide for their needs. With this they stopped struggling, much to the dismay of men like Young who tried to stir them to action. But rooted in a certain way of doing things, a way that found outlets in the economic demands of the day, they were not to be aroused by agricultural societies, pamphlets and prizes." (Gentilcore, 1967:49)

[18] "The peak in agricultural activity is generally considered to have been reached in the decade 1881 to 1891. In terms of land occupied and farm population there definitely was a peak." Although this quotation refers to Antigonish County, Gentilcore in verifying the statements claims similar peaks throughout Nova Scotia at this time. Inverness County peaked its population at this time and doubtlessly peaked land occupancy. (Gentilcore, 1967:50)

The ad hoc fertilization measures; the use of marine products (seaweed, fish, offal and shell fish), hauling limestone and the more traditional use of livestock excrement (a commodity always in short supply) scarcely replaced what minerals agriculture was taking from the soil. Poor irrigation and increased erosion complimented soil deficiency; the combination seriously threatening profitable farming. This troubled agricultural situation proved crucial as a factor in out-migration especially when confronted with continued multi-inheritance land tenure and with the local introduction of a variety of items representing a money economy.

In the earlier days of settlement many had not remained farmers long enough to face this struggle with meagre resources. Many of the immigrating Highlanders kept going from their point of debarkation to a brief respite on crown granted lands before finally engaging in urban employment. For those who did remain, acquire a land grant and commence farming, the decision to abandon agriculture became an increasing reality with each crop taken in and each generation coming to birth. The alternative of placement elsewhere increased in appeal and demand. Whereas, in Highland life before coming to the new world, mobility chiefly consisted of military service and herding, the increased alternatives of North American life now dimished the clansmen's isolation and the desire for mobility was strengthened by sources of satisfaction existing elsewhere.

To participate in these sources of satisfaction it seemed necessary to have advance preparation through formal education, especially literacy in the English language. After 1880 the trend toward mobility necessitated greater reliance on the community rather than the home for mobility-preparation. Formal education of the young (schooling) was one area of this preparation. The type of schooling evolved from the way communities were organized. In so far as the settlements of Mabou Harbour Mouth, Mabou Coal Mines, McDonald Glen, Glenora Falls and North East Mabou were natural divisions of Poplar Grove created by trees, mountains and spatial distance, and in so far as transportation between settlements was arduous five different school houses in the Poplar Grove area were erected to meet the demands of schooling. These schools reflected the ambivalence of local commitment to education as well as the division experienced by the five communities. As children were a resource in a farming environment, the geographic placement of the school and some control over the hours spent there led the people of different settlements to seek the facilities of the smaller local schoolhouse and thereby gain access to their children.

The convent school in Mabou was different from local schooling in its evolution and operation. As an advanced school it came closer to meeting the demand for formal education and in its capacity for maintaining resident students, was not limited by the control of daily farm needs.

Founded by "Maighstir Coinneach" and administered by the Sisters of the Congregation of Notre Dame, the school was religious in scope, classical in approach, selective in students and directed away from Mabou environments.[19]

The acceptance of this format of church-sponsored education was in part made possible by the local respect for and financial support of the clergy. This respect and support was an important facet of community life.[20] It would be difficult to develop reasons for the high prestige of the clergy. The service performed, the qualities of the man performing it, and esoteric characteristics of the different pastors were certainly factors in the high estimation of the priestly role. Yet, besides the spiritual ministry of the priests, the perceived sacredness of their office, and the awe of his person as spiritual intermediary between themselves and the forces of evil and between themselves and God, the priest represented the achievement of an education

[19] "Maighstir Coinneach", Father Kenneth T. MacDonald, pastor at Mabou 1865-1894. "Built the convent (school) at his own expense". (MacDonald, 1952:48)

[20] One indicator of such support was the money given for upkeep of the church and clergy. The following illustrates such support. "The pews of the new Church at Mabou were sold at auction last Saturday. Mr. W.P. Fynn was the auctioneer and did his part well, but no better than did the generous plucky, perservering parishioners who attended in full strength. Some seats were run up to 26, while 18 and 20 (dollars) were common bids. The writer happened to drop in for a minute while the sale was going on, and at the relative prices being then offered and paid the pews, about 150 in all, would realize about $1800. Though the bidding was heated at times the best of order and feeling prevailed... All these men, without exception, earn their bread with the sweat of their brow. And here they were, after cleverly completing one of the of the grandest and best Church buildings in Nova Scotia, engaged in spirited--shall I say, spiritual competition for high priced seats. (The Casket, Feb. 10, 1898, P.4)

(an ecclesiastical requirement for the ministry) and a source of secular knowledge (fluency in English, awareness of the outside world and communication with legal, medical and financial agents). As individuals, the first three pastors of Mabou were thought to be well formed (two had achieved doctoral degrees), well bred (all were from families of social distinction, i.e., membership in a family having interlocking relations in the professions) and morally upright.[21] This latter distinction, the perceived moral uprighteousness of the clergy emanated from the uncomprising Jansenistic spirit of two of these early pastors.[22] Using their perogative as spiritual leaders, their status as educated men and their mission as pastors, the clergy exerted control over the content and practice of education in their parish. At this period (1880 - 1890) in the social history of Poplar Grove, the dramatic changes taking place in other parts of Inverness County and Cape Breton make it necessary to change the focus of this narrative so as to witness the impact these changes had on the isolation of Poplar Grove.

If in the beginning, the Highland heritage directed the adaptation of the Scot in Poplar Grove; now, his adaptation would be influenced by events more universal in scope than

[21] MacDonald, 1952:44-51

[22] Jansenism historically was a negativistic and rigorous approach to Roman Catholic teaching and practice. It was spartan in its asceticism and minimized involvement in the secular. The necessity of watchfulness in the face of evil brought the pastor into the everyday lives of his parishioners as judge of their adherence to law.

the forces of clan history, by events that relate to the coming of an industrial way of life. The production of coal first brought the industrial revolution to Cape Breton; it also ended the isolation of Poplar Grove. Mining pursuits necessitated different social organizations and social institutions than those subsistence agriculture provided. Mining operations, for example, necessitated a more sophisticated production and distribution system, a cash economy, employer-employee labor relationships, etc. Poplar Grove accommodated these changes in a variety of ways. One accommodation has already been described, adaptation through formal education. While such anticipated the coming of industrialization to Poplar Grove other adaptations followed the industrial boom.

The development of a railway along the coast of Inverness County (circa 1900) permitted shipment of agricultural products.[23] This access to markets encouraged renewed efforts in local farm production. Sheep raising (easy to feed, needed little care and suited to elevated farm lands) was now undertaken in response to the growing need for cash.

[23]The first locomotive appeared in Inverness County in 1897. The reason for its appearance was that of mine shipment of coal. The Inverness to Point Tupper railway was constructed sometime after 1897. MacDougall does not give a date for its construction except "turn of the century" (MacDougall, 1922:117).

Previous to the railway, sheep farming for profit was undertaken only by the more adventurours farmers. Most farmers had used sheep only for local consumption.[24] Fishing, previously introduced to the Lochaber Scots of Poplar Grove by Scots from the sea coast of Scotland (the Islands) and by the example of the French at Cheticamp now was further encouraged by the prospect of financial gain. Not only did sheep and fish produce (especially lobster) bring the Poplar Grove farmer-fisherman a cash return, such engagement put him in a bargaining position with the merchant. The small investment needed for sheep and lobster production was readily available from the merchant in return for part or all of the catch or shipment: what remained was the needed cash for purchase of store items. The merchant also profited from these forays into money making, as he was in a position suited to equipment sales, produce sales and determination of market values for his clients' lobster and sheep.[25] Occasional employment in construction projects associated with mining also offered the farmer opportunity for extra cash. Sections of the road were auctioned off to local individual farmers for building.[26]

[24] McKeen notes: "The majority of them (Highland farmers) are not industrious consequently they are progressing but slowly. Those who are industrious are progressing rapidly." (MacDougall, 1922:117)

[25] This situation did lead to some measure of exploitation. The Co-operative movement of the 1930's and 1940's was an effort to move away from the merchant-client relationship and put production into the hands of the farmers-fishermen. However, since that period co-ops have changed from producers co-ops to consumers co-ops.

[26] MacDougall, 1922:18.

It is important to note that while all these diverse activities were present in some measure before the advent of coal mining, they only increased in importance after mining began. Again, it might be noted that although these activities were quite diverse any one of them need not become a full time occupation. Full time mining or full time construction, on the other hand, meant leaving the farm. This latter full time participation in the construction-mining boom was the only local alternative to farming large enough in scale to absorb those males who were not needed for, or who had not the inclination for farming. This industrial alternative created a change in the pattern of farm life in Poplar Grove.

By delaying emigration and stimulating local growth, the mining construction boom built up those services, amenities and functions concommitant with a larger heterogeneous population. Economic exchange reached a higher level of sophistication; farm families became accustomed to the use of material not previously used in the tactic of self sustenance. Many of these materials were purchased with money sent home by family members associated with mining and construction as well as from the fruits of those diversification tactics employed by the farmers. One effect that this reliance on store-bought materials had on the character of farm life was the introduction of asymetrical family relationships (among siblings) based on mode of employment. The non-farmers earned far more (cash) than the farmers.

However, those remaining in farming when alternate local employment opportunities were present, now claimed inheritance of the farm. This tacit bequeathing of farms by non-farm siblings solved the inheritance problem while at the same time it added an element of personal selection to the young male's choice of staying or leaving. Persistance in the Gaelic culture was possible by choosing the traditional mode of expression (farming) or by choosing a contemporary and local mode (nearby mining). Had either selection been accorded equal valence much self esteem might have been salvaged by the farming siblings in later years, but such was not the case. A distinction in the relative prestige of occupations was perceived by those in Poplar Grove. Initially this distinction was based on the increasing need of and reliance on a money economy. The familial status given to the money makers (miners, etc.) was glamourous; to the providers (farmers) less prestige was accorded.[27]

At the end of the local mining construction boom (1910) familial dependence on monetary earnings (by then well established), increased personal recognition and prestige

[27]Verification of this perception of asymmetrical relationships based on occupation is derived from informants' accounts. Older people now living in Poplar Grove would speak of the outmigrants as "smart", "hard" (an expression meaning tough minded or perservering), "awful ambitious" while refering to the farmers as "having to stay" (forced into protecting the family investment). A provisional hypothesis about farm inheritance might be: during periods of little outmigration farms were likely to go to the oldest son, during periods of heavy outmigration farms went to younger members of the family.

of wage earners, contentment with the economic productivity of wage work, and disinclination for the frustration of farming, led the Poplar Grove miners and allied workers into migration for similar work elsewhere.

From the material presented in the local genealogical record, Mabou Pioneers, it would seem that New Waterford, Glace Bay, Sydney, and the "Boston States" were the places favored for outmigration from Poplar Grove during this period of 1911 through 1931.[28] The departing workers were thought ambitious or more fortunate when contrasted with those remaining as farmers. This feeling of engagement in a second choice or lesser occupation was perceived by those remaining. In later generations it would become a stigma. As the numbers of outmigrants grew and the respect for their productivity increased the maintenance of the traditional life by comparison seemed an exercise in economic marginality. It is conceivable that its denouement would have been precipitated at a faster rate had it not been for the depression years of the 1930's.

The return to the farms by many unemployed workers during the thirties effected a change in the conceptions of the worth of the Gaelic heritage and way of life. These returning Gaelic speaking people found the outside places of

[28] See Table 2 in Appendix II for Maritime Outmigration Rates. Mabou Pioneers not only provides information on kinship but frequently provides data on where people took up residence and what they did in their new locations (MacDonald, 1952).

employment inhospitable, the employment menial and the life style at a low point on what they perceived to be the urban social scale. The return of some perhaps signaled a selection process of the urban areas. The people returning were not the ones who had done well in the emigration away from Poplar Grove. The non-person status accorded Poplar Grove Scots when away galled their Scottish pride and they reacted by a plentitude of stories of the negative factors in being away. Antipathy to the outside was generally reinforced and participation in outside activities was demeaned. Those returning became more "traditional" than those who had remained at home. Farmers accepted this change as a social vindication of their intention to stay with the traditional way of life. During the depression years greater dependence was placed on the primary industries and the need for money decreased to such an extent that $25.00 was said to be a sum capable of "taking a family through the winter".[29] Marriage for many was delayed as females were able to gain and maintain employment as domestics in "the Boston States" leaving the unemployable males at home. Even if females were present and available for marriage there wasn't enough capital available for single males "to get started" unless one were to inherit

[29]This information from an informant refers to actual cash. The credit allowable because of "the catch" and "the shipment" would raise this figure by a few hundred dollars.

a farm and its compliment.[30] Like the mining boom of the previous decades the depression and its gaelic revival was a mere hiatus in the flow of outmigration. The world-wide economic buoyancy of the 1940's started a new surge of outmigration.

Life in Poplar Grove today

With a mitigated concept of clannish pride, a subsistence adaptation to their environment and a pronounced resistance to change the remaining descendants of the Scottish Highlanders still live in Poplar Grove. There is some feeling that they who have preserved the Scottish elements of culture have not done well by their efforts when compared with the assimilated Canadians of Scottish name living in the cities of North America.[31] The noticeable distinctive elements of the "culture" remaining are: the Gaelic language, accented English, ethnic marriage,

[30]There seems to have been a reluctance for early marriage among the Highlands Scots. MacPherson indicates that Highland Scots in Laggan, Inverness-Shire, Scotland get married comparatively late in life (mid thirties, males: late twenties, females). (MacPherson, A. personal communication on his work, "An Old Highland Parrish Registrar, Survival of Clanship and Social Change in Laggan, Inverness-Shire, 1775-1854 (I, II) ." Scottish Studies, 1967. Vol. II, 12.) The same pattern exists in Poplar Grove. Informants indicated that a man had a responsibility to get enough money "to get started" before entering marriage. Sometimes migration was simply employed to get the necessary capital for marriage.

[31]The awareness of having a "culture", i.e. belonging to an ethnic minority occurs over a period of time and is entirely contingent on an available standard for comparison. The "culture" referred to above is undergoing redefinition from non-Scots. Originally the difference was perceived by outmigrants and relayed back. Now that the isolation has been broken the weight of redefinition is exchanged between outsiders and locals.

folk lore, and music. It is, however, the effect of six generations of life in a socio-economic system at variance with the immediately present and encroaching larger socio-economic system of non-Scottish North American life that makes the Scots of interest to this research. As such, it shall be dealt with in detail in Chapter 4.

The Protestant Scottish Highlanders of Inverness County, the Catholic French Acadian of Inverness County and the Catholic Dutch of the Mabou area afford contrast to the Scot of Poplar Grove.[32] In areas of migration, ecological adaptation, emigration and cultural change the behaviour of these peoples exemplify the distinctiveness of the Catholic Highlander.

Few Protestant Highlanders settled in Inverness County (most went to Pictou County in Nova Scotia). Those that did come to Inverness were noticeable for the ease with which they migrated to larger urban areas.[33]

[32]Although cross ethnic contrast is possible and even desirable for a larger study of those who remain behind, the scope of this study holds the ethnic variable constant so that the mechanisms employed by one people in defining situations and enacting behaviour be understood.

[33]No figures are readily available to indicate outmigration by religious belief. Some evidence is available from investigation of Protestant settlements in Inverness County. They are reduced in number and in population as are the original Catholic settlements, yet, the Protestant communities of Scotsville, Kenloch, East Lake Ainsle, and Kirkwood seem to have been first "to go". The use of the word "seem" stems from the accounts of local people. They informed the author that churches and school houses have been closing down for years in the above mentioned settlements. Preliminary evidence therefore only indicates a possible religious variable affecting outmigration.

The assumption is made that Scottish Protestants easily adapted to the larger commercial centers. The tendency for Protestants to be economically more successful than Catholics in the commercial world is understood as a truism among the Scottish Catholics of Inverness County. Whether the Presbyterian religion contributed to their mobility and successful participation in urban environment is a matter for speculation.[34]

The Protestant descendants of the United Empire Loyalists who lived in Port Hood (nine miles distance from Poplar Grove) created the merchant class for south Inverness County. This domination of the local economy by these Loyalists, besides being a function of Catholic Scots inexperience was also related to negative cultural definitions of the role of merchant, in particular, the entrepreneurial role. (See Chapter 3)

The French at Cheticamp (40 miles northeast of Mabou) settled in their area in 1786 as fishing parties associated with the firm of Robin.[35] Their settlement was planned and sponsored to the extent that employment and market were assured by their parent firm. The Acadians in their reliance on the sea were not overcome by the paucity of the soil for agriculture.

[34]Campbell engages in such speculation on the Scots of Pictou County whom he finds "over-represented" in early Canadian social life. Fields of education and finance especially enjoy a high representation of Protestant Scots from Pictou. (Campbell, personal communication on his unpublished work, "Nova Scotia's Contribution to Who's Who in Canada").

[35]Fergusson, 1958:31.

The difference between themselves and the Scots was in the concerted effort the Acadians, since early settlement, have brought to their economy, especially the fishery. The Acadians have adapted to the needs of the fishery resource far in advance of efforts made by the Scots in agriculture during the same interval. Those outmigrants of Cheticamp also differed from the Scots in that the change for the French was most often one of situs while that of the Scots involved a change of locations and employments. French fishermen became fishermen elsewhere, loggers became loggers elsewhere. Most corresponding Scots became miners or construction workers elsewhere.[36] Although these generalizations have serious limitations, it is relevant to this discussion to indicate the stronger job continuity of the French Acadian. Another difference between the two groups was their degree of involvement in community. Perhaps the pattern of settlement, organized versus dispersed, and the requirements of different employments, fishing versus farming, were instrumental in constituting the type of communities instituted by the Acadians and Scots. The French Acadians tended to bunch together while the Scots separated from one another. Although this spatial characteristic did not cause increased or lessened collective activity, it is interesting to note the characteristic since the French have enjoyed the reputation

[36]Pepin, 1968:113.

of acting together for the common good, whereas, the Scots have the reputation of being devisive and distrustful of one another.[37]

The starkest contrast to the efforts of the Scottish descendants in their farming ventures is the obvious success of the Dutch who are now farming in the Mabou, Poplar Grove District. They were financed to an extent by the Canadian government in settling (1950's) and further capital for agricultural investment was granted by ARDA for setting up large scale farming operations that have expanded on a yearly basis.[38] These farms have since commanded much of the market for milk, hogs and beef in Inverness County. Formally trained in their occupation, engaged in large scale agricultural investment and utilizing all the technology of

[37] Pepin, (1968). Although it is the opinion of the author that Pepin gets carried away in his comparison of the Acadians to the Scots, he does point out a degree of difference in their approach to community. Of Scots Pepin says; (they are) marked by isolation and their conservative natures..." (p. 78), "The Scots do not pass on the farming instinct (sic) to their children. They encourage them to emigrate instead; they want a weekly pay check. The Scots have no community spirit." (p.110) "(The Scots) are gloomy and withdrawn, listless, creatures of habit, individualistic and attached to the land." (p.111). The Acadians; "... had a community spirit." (p.80), are "cheerful, outgoing, active, industrious, sociable and men of the sea." (p.111).

[38] ARDA--Agricultural and Rural Development Agency. A federal program designed to stimulate rural development in Canada. Dutch farmers were attracted to Nova Scotia by the Department of Manpower and Immigration and granted long term low interest loans for the purchase of farm lands, livestock and equipment. For the most part they enjoyed equal opportunities for engagement in these ARDA programs with the Scots with the exception of their singularly different qualification as proven agriculturalists. (Personal communication with ARDA field representative, H. MacNeil).

modern farming operations, the Dutch present to the Scots an economic threat and a source for odious comparison. For many critics, especially those Scots who have adjusted to the urban environment, the obvious success of the Dutch farmers points out the indigent nature of the Scots of the Poplar Grove area. They are considered of little consequence even in their supposed specialty, farming.

The attitudes entertained by the people of Poplar Grove are quite different from those of their neighbors, the English Loyalists, French and Dutch. A striking difference is the Poplar Grove Scot's identification with his past and his mistrust of that which is not familiar to this past. Attuned to the events of the past five generations, the Poplar Grove Scot so telescopes these events that, in conversation, chronological differentiations are sometimes difficult to ascertain. In reference to a particular occurrence of the past; a week, a year, ten years, a generation past, respondents would treat this event in conversation as if it were still fresh in the minds of other listeners. Events of generations past thereby attain a current significance. Moreover, since they are most often remembered for a particular lesson learned in the past, the events remembered tend to support traditional values.

The telescoping of the past is also selective in its emphasis on the negative aspects of innovations that are tried out in Poplar Grove. The failures of the past are remembered. One such memory deals with investment. Countless examples are available from the past to indicate, "Investment breeds disappointment".

Projecting the past into the future creates the corollary: future investment will also mean failure.

> "If a fellow around here want to go ahead with something new, it doesn't matter what it is; get a bigger boat and go after cod, take in a big rig for cutting pulp, no matter, out of the twenty you might talk to about it, eighteen will say it's been done before and there weren't much luck in it." (informant)

Older people, especially, see change as a corrosive agent on the fabric of Poplar Grove life. As population diminishes and the vitality of community life ebbs, bitterness becomes vocalized in a myriad of complaints against a variety of situations which are reputed to be causes of the "place going down". That Poplar Grove is at its ebb tide of development, there can be little doubt. The current population is by far the lowest in its settled history, farmhouses are falling down, barns are empty and fields lie idle, presently, a mere thirty households occupy an area that once supported a population ten times in excess of the current number.

Summary

In Poplar Grove, the early settlement days were marked by a near isolation. Engaged in self-sustaining homesteads, individuals ventured away from home only on rare instance. The constant flow of outmigration provided their window to the world as stories of the past informed them of the world (Scottish Highlands) that was once theirs.

As Cape Breton came of age, industrially, settlements developed and aspects of North American institutional and organizational life came to the Scots. With respect to community organization, the early self-sustenance of five communities broke down and became increasingly reliant on one center (Mabou) for necessary goods and services. This regional mode of organization replacing self-sustaining pockets approximates the rural pattern developed throughout large parts of North America. Institutionally, the traditional development of relationships among extended family was altered by a high incidence of outmigration, the pastor's role became subject to redefinition by the larger bureaucratic operation of the archdiocese, the schoolteacher's role redefined by a provincial education system, and, the merchant redefined by a growing reliance on impersonality in commercial exchange. The Scot, himself, became vested with new meanings; more aware of the meanings and expectations of outside life, conscious of the necessity of formal education for "doing well", cognizant of the value of a dollar for store commodities, and imbued with the awareness of his limitations in successfully effecting these new values while remaining in Poplar Grove. It is the contention of this thesis that this awareness of limitation (real or imaginary, it does not matter) is a fruit of remaining behind. Its experience is generated by the conflict between the rights, duties and beliefs of the traditional culture and the rights, duties, and beliefs of the urban culture.

The following Chapter examines the traditional culture from a different perspective than that of historic chronology. As this chapter has emphasized change the next chapter shall deal with the continuity of culture and it shall emphasize those elements of the Poplar Grove culture that distinguish the uniqueness of this particular people over a period of time. In effect, it will be a more analytic presentation of the content of Poplar Grove traditional culture.

CHAPTER 3

ELEMENTS OF THE TRADITIONAL CULTURE IN POPLAR GROVE

Introduction

The term "traditional" has been previously used to describe Poplar Grove. This chapter promises an explanation of the dominant trends of the traditional culture. Some clarification of this term would therefore be in order. It is usual in comparative typologies of human societies to make reference to the existence of traditional versus rational, simple versus complex, primitive versus technological processes or structures within societies. These bi-polar concepts, as macro orientations, are useful ideal types for contrasting total societies such as Highland Scottish (pre 1745) to Industrial Britain of today. Gemeinschaft, mechanic solidarity, and folk society are not, however, so readily applicable to a single group of people living out traditions of the past and

adapting to present institutions in one small part of Cape Breton.[1] A heuristic framework such as Redfield's "little community" (1955) gets away from the macro denomination of the public at large or people in general and focuses on the distinctiveness, small size, self sufficiency and homogenity of Poplar Grove. Therefore, in looking at culture trends the use of the term, traditional, is derived from classical usuage but limited to the context of a single community.

Within Poplar Grove the historic development of industrialization has affected traditional life styles. This will make it difficult to isolate the characteristics of the traditional culture since such have obviously been in flux. Furthermore, since change of life styles have been present, there is the possibility of traditionalism which Hoselitz (1960:16) defines as:

> "...self conscious deliberate affirmation of traditional norms in full awareness of their traditional nature..."

To obviate the difficulty presented by social change over a period of time the perceptions of respondents on "the old days" is taken as the data on traditional life styles.

[1] The concepts gemeinschaft, mechanical solidarity, folk society and little community in this content are derived from the McKinney and Loomis (1970) discussion of Tonnies, Durkheim and Redfield.

Other types of data are available and have been used in this chapter but the primary source will be informants.[2] It has already been established that aspects of industrialization were comparatively late in coming to Poplar Grove and that there was a geographic and social isolation present well into this century: the respondents, therefore, would have memories of customs and attitudes pertinent to those life styles performed before the pervasive type of modernization that has taken place for the past twenty-five years. A major difficulty present in this use of informants' perceptions of the past is that of universality of application. How long a practice existed, the extent to which it was significant, latitudes of adherence and deviance, its relation to other practices are all questions whose answers can only be approximated. It is possible for memories to present more of the ideal tendancies than the actual tendancies. For the purposes of this dissertation such perceptions are acceptable since it is hypothesized that the past is predispositional to defining present situations. The only past relevant here would be their perception of the past. The actual past is mere background.

[2]Other sources of data include: the geneological transcripts, Mabou Pioneers, MacDonald, A., and the History of Inverness County, MacDougall, J. both of which were privately published. MacDonald deals only with the Mabou area and covers the period of first settlement through eight generations of families. MacDougall attempts a record of all families who came to Inverness County (omitting the French) as well as a history of the County; newspaper accounts, as taken from the Antigonish paper, The Casket; and finally, the novels and short accounts of Cape Breton Scottish life by Dunn, (1953), MacNeil, (1948) and Rankin's novel, My Ain Folk privately published, circa 1930.

Rocher (1972:210-225) presents a number of characteristics of traditional societies. Those dealing with production include: simple economy, archaic technology, subsistence economy, limited exchange and limited population. Chapter 2 establishes the validity of applying such general characteristics to Poplar Grove. Other characteristics cited by Rocher include: kinship system, unified nature of social organization (secular-sacred wholeness), and direct and immediate social control. It is these latter characteristics of traditional societies that are relevant to this chapter.

In such a limited work as this dissertation, analysis of each of these characteristics in their applicability to Poplar Grove is hardly possible. To analyze the kinship system and provide explanation for blood marriage ties, the complex network of relationships, the implicit and explicit rights and obligations, the functions of kin for identity of individuals, the closed network, etc. is beyond the scope of the author's intentions. Even a full description of the above aspects of a kinship system would involve data collection beyond that realized. The technique choosen to portray the dominant concerns of the traditional culture in Poplar Grove is an impressionistic one. If the science of sociology demands rigidity, the art of the discipline permits flexibility. Short ethnographic sketches are presented as brush strokes to indicate the outlines of the above cited characteristics of the traditional culture.

The object herein is not the examination of the traditional culture as much as an indication of its presence. The whole is suggested by its more representative parts. In this way, the kinship system is handled by two features, marriage and christening. Both indicate the prominence of kinship practices. The unified nature of social organization is sketched by presentation of religious beliefs and popular notions of the nature of reality, as well as by the exegesis of geneology and spirituality in the phenomena of ghosts. Community gatherings, private (ceilidh) and public (frolics), are illustrative of social control as immediate and direct. Finally, equalitarian relationships, the problem of authority, and a footnote on individualism are added as processes within this community that illustrate features of kinship, social control and the unified nature of social organization.

Kinship: Marriage

Marriage in Poplar Grove is no longer as predictable as it was during the earlier period of settlement. The children of those now living in Poplar Grove are not restrained by the traditional norms for a "right" marriage.[3] While their parents generally married somewhere within a five mile radius, Catholic and Highland Scottish; and

[3]Several factors influence the selection of a "right" marriage partner. Kinship is the major determinant. A male is obligated to find a female close to his own family, but the female must not be closely related. Church law and the local enforcement of this law forbade first through third cousin marriage. However, third cousin marriage was condoned with permission and second cousin marriage was possible if pregnancy occasioned the dispensation. The scandal and social disgrace associated with first cousin marriage (not sanctioned by the Church) made it virtually unknown although there are instances.

their grandparents in a two mile radius, Catholic and Highland Scottish; and their great grandparents in a two mile radius. Catholic and endogamously, the children of these residents are just as likely to marry away to "Protestants and everything else" (informants). The latter note of exasperation "everything else" must be seen in the light of local marriage practice. The geneological record of Mabou, Mabou Pioneers, in all of the families cited and for over a period of eight generations consistantly records Scottish Catholic marriages with only rare exceptions. "Everything else" also has to be seen in the light of differentiations within the local communities. An example of such differentiation would be that of a marriage in Poplar Grove circa 1913, when a young local Lochaber descendant deigned to marry a woman of another settlement whose peoples were perceived as "uppity". Despite the intended bride's Highland Scot descent and Catholic religion it was going outside Poplar Grove that the young man was faulted for "as if the girls here weren't good enough" (informant).

Kinship: Christian Names

Names of children follow norms imposed by exigencies of ecclesiastical roll-call, kinship and a traditional pattern.[4] This pattern is adhered to almost without exception for the oldest boy and oldest girl in a family.

[4]Ecclesiastical piety strongly urged the giving of Christian names. Gaelic names were changed to their "Christian counter parts" sometimes by the priest himself at the baptismal ceremony.

other children will be called after kin; uncles, aunts, grand uncles, grand aunts, then the parish priest, doctor and favorite patron saint. Seldom was a child named according to euphonic criteria or criteria of uniqueness. Despite variation in this pattern being present, the regularity is such that a geneological record of eight generations will employ a small number of male and female first names. If a Poplar Grove male descendant is named Rankin there is more than an eighty percent chance of his having a first name; John, Angus, Donald, Alexander, Duncan or Allan. Consequent to such limited use of first names and the small number of original family names, the mechanism of identifying through sobriquets became common. Sobriquets were based on role, stature, or kin. For example, using the same surname, Beaton, the following variations on the first name, Angus, might be found: Angus Mor (Big Angus) Beaton, Angus Og (Young Angus) Beaton, Angus Rory Beaton, Angus Rory Johnnie R. Beaton (use of father's name to distinguish son) Angus Tailor Beaton. It would be futile to simply ask for Angus Beaton in Poplar Grove.

Outmigration involves an almost immediate loss of these sobriquets, and it also involves the reduction of dual christian names to use of a single christian name. In Poplar Grove, it is seldom an individual is ever addressed by a single first name. Furthermore, Poplar Grove residents moving to urban areas, will drop their own noticeably "Scottish" sounding names and will possibly not use ancestral names in naming their children and might eventually name children much in the same manner as do

their North American neighbors, e.g. Trevor, Suzzanne, Craigg etc.[5] This latter practice would take place in a more pronounced manner if one party to the marriage was non-Scot.

Secular-sacred wholeness

The Jansenistic spirituality of the clergy fortified the people of Poplar Grove in the belief that personages, events and objects existed in an ordered and regulated intercourse. Aberration in the "natural order" was perceived as a temporary condition which called for inevitable processes of rearrangement.[6] This rearrangement brought retribution with it for those disrupting the order. "Things could only go so far." Sinners could not continue indefinitely in their sin. The meaning of retribution necessarily included some form of punishment or deprivation. The insistence on punishment as a response to the disruption of the equanimity of ordered existence was preached and sometimes enacted by the clergy. It can be assumed that the acceptance of the Jansenism of the Clergy by the Poplar Grove people indicated a receptivity for such belief and a corresponding need for its principles in their application to daily life.

[5]The practice of dropping Scottish sounding names compares with a contrary practice of adopting Scottish sounding names. It may be an indicator of social class in Canada to use such a name as Hamish. The Scottish Canadian elite enjoy its distinctiveness, whereas, the Cape Bretoner living in the city wonders if people "will smile at him". The same holds for accent. As the banker bathes in his burr the Cape Bretoner hides every lilting cadence.

[6]The "natural order" seems to be based on the belief that a mighty God rules over the earth in a fearsome exercise of power. His will embodies the natural order.

At any rate, this ontological tradition of "balanced" nature did have meaning for everyday situations by its support of an almost static notion of reality (order in existence, a regulating force for preservation of this order and trepidation in disturbing the order). In such stasis, the logistics of change were ill suited to the need for maintaining the perceived good (as in all traditional cultures; what is good is what you have).

Everyday language contains statements reflecting these assumptions of reality. "She's got to end somewhere" (e.g. in reference to the sudden buying and selling of land or the presence of secular activity in the church hall); "one time we all went through the same performance" (e.g. in reference to growing up and experiencing the same values, tasks etc.); "they'll not be able to carry on like that for long" (e.g. in reference to the good time had by young people today).[7] There exists latitudes for deviance and a point of finality where situations are "made to" end.

While the Scots in Poplar Grove hold for this order in their universe and see deviance or change bounded by regulating forces and retribution, mention is often made of places where "they get away with clear hell".

[7]Land speculation is difficult for Poplar Grove people to fully grasp. They see land as agriculturalists and not especially in terms of its scenic properties or its capacity to cut one off from the smog, pressure, crime, noise (or whatever else middle class North Americans don't like about urban life). In the 1950's choice recreational land was selling for as little as 20 dollars an acre. Now some farms bring 200 dollars an acre ($20,000 for the land) while particular pieces command as much as 500 dollars per acre.

Respondents have marvelled at certain situations outside their area which have gone on for years in violation of locally held beliefs but which none-the-less have thus far escaped regulation or retribution.

Ghosts: union of sacred and secular

An interesting combination of spiritual belief and the geneological tradition, ancestral ghosts, were employed as agents of retribution in the perceived ordered universe. The functions of these perceived ghosts were many.[8] In a geneological tradition which was of great importance in creating social identity the ghost created an extension of the family to the other world and advocated the necessity for live family members to observe pertinent spiritual dictates. In death the ancestral soul became all knowing, all present and possessive of some power over mortal brethren on earth. To this soul was imputed the quality of solicitude for his geneological kin. Generally the presence of ghosts meant a caution against the evils of past or present unrepentent sinful behaviours, or, a warning of future pitfalls and lurking dangers. There were more auspicious visits as well. Sometimes ghosts visited people simply to assure them that meritorious behaviour had been noted, that a deceased loved one had "made it" into heaven or needed prayers for escape from purgatory.

[8]Poplar Grove ghosts seem to have the physical characteristics of live people save in the ability to appear and disappear at will. They generally appear to one individual, sometimes to two, hardly ever to a group. They appear at the shore, on the road (most often) and seldom in the home.

For whatever reasons the ghosts made their visitations, it seems that all had the proclivity for obfuscating dialogue which necessitated an interpretation of the visit.[9]

The official interpretative role was given to the priest as he was in a favorable position for handling the responsibilities by his rectitude of life and learned spiritual knowledge.[10] The priest was comfortable in this role and in fact was not above creating a few of his own ghosts.[11]

[9]The obfuscating dialogue of ghosts served the function of getting the private nature of the vision out into the public domain. It creates a situation wherein a visitation is legitimized and promulgated. The obvious advantage of this in the case of meritorious behaviour may be noted (e.g., the hard working and unthanked wife gets a visit that notes her efforts): the less obvious case may also be noted, sinful behaviour (e.g., a thief fearing detection might announce that a visitation pointed out to him where a quantity of money, formerly stolen, could be found).

[10]Another liason with ghosts was those few with "second sight" (the innate, life long capacity to experience personages of the other world). The clergy frowned on the practice of this "gift" as it alarmed individuals and futhermore, the clergy were not sure if the "gift" was coming from the devil. This doubt was sometimes enough to keep people from seeking interpretations from those with second sight.

[11]Father MacMaster built a "Little Church" at the pioneer gravesite in West Mabou and reputedly vowed he would be at any meeting wherein they decided to relocate this Church. When the Church was relocated, those meeting addressed Father MacMaster (long dead) requesting his support of the move. As there was no response, people in Poplar Grove claim that if Father MacMaster didn't show, then there are no more ghosts to be found here. One informant disagreed with majority consensus on this issue by claiming that the people were too busy to notice the ghosts, they were still there but undetected. Others explain their absence by frequent reception of the "Eucharist" or by the "blessing of roads". The former was infrequent during Jansenistic days as the parishioners felt "unworthy" for same reception of Eucharist. It has increased significantly in the 1950's until present by urgings of Pope Pius X onwards.

Social control: the ceilidh

The ceilidh (the visit, social evening) was the social lifeline of the Poplar Grove communities. It was the usual place for interaction, taking place either at the end of the day, anytime Sundays and on holidays. It was a normative expectation that each family visit every other family at least twice yearly. Since the mid 1950's the importance of these visits for information gathering has been eclipsed by the telephone and since the early 1960's their importance for entertainment has been over-shadowed by the television. The importance for social control that these visits once effected (and to a measure, still do) was beyond that afforded by the telephone or the televison. The physical presence of relatives or friends in one's house was perceived of as not only a visit, but as an inspection and therefore an opportunity for criticism or subtle aggrandizement. The usual means for aggrandizement was conviviality and wit, but, it didn't hurt to display material artifacts as well. Some artifacts might indicate the host to be a good provider or the wife of singular ability in "making do". The status of "good provider" and "making do" were local indicators of familial success. In the display of artifacts, one could not get carried away. Information given out to visitors had to be so managed that one could not appear to be doing too well since these visits had the weight of witness to the entire community through the guest's later gossip.[12]

[12]Meaningful artifacts did not include luxuries. Luxuries became inconspicuous during visits and conspicuous advancement was played down lest others think one was getting "better than the rest".

Soon after the guest's departure all members of the community would have access to the "goings on" in any one house and hence this prospect of being "talked about" necessitated strict supervision of the visit and circumstances of the visit so any information derived from same might be that which the host wanted talked about -- not the visitor. In toeing the line between appearing successful (by information management) and appearing to appear successful ("putting on airs") meaningful artifacts (items of perceived positive or negative worth) would be alternately hid, covered, displayed or prominently displayed.

The public telephone effectively removed this element of social control. By creating an efficient means of house to house communication it commenced a withdrawal from house visits. Yet, its significance for lessening social control is not in its dimishing the number of visits, rather, its significance lies in the new modes of interaction it has created.[13]

[13]There are two party lines in Poplar Grove with about twelve families on each line. Incoming and local calls are announced by alternate short and long rings sounding simultaneously in all households on the line. Every household has its own ring signal. At the time of a call, the ring will be indentified as belonging to a certain household, people in several households will immediately listen in on the conversation, finally, the listeners will convey to others in the household a commentary (with hand over the mouthpiece) on the conversation in process. Outgoing calls are more difficult to monitor since they require no signal and hence give no warning. During the day a housewife will sometimes pick up the phone "just to see if someone is on it". It is possible to alert others that you are phoning out by not properly holding down the button when ringing the operator, however, to do this is either accidental or a deliberate intent to have others listen in on the conversation.

Although, "everyone listens in on the party line", and, "everyone knows they're all listening in" (informant) the conversation pretends to be a closed exchange between two persons. This pretense limits the potential social control value of some disclosures. To protect anonymity in monitoring it is necessary to avoid a direct confrontation with the conversationalists on the topic they conveyed over the party line under the pretext of a private closed communication. In this way the telephone creates an audience for conspicuous display since one can publicly deviate in some areas with impunity knowing that those who would dare to personally criticize expose their own fault of eavesdropping. Examples of conspicuous display by telephone include making several long distance calls to chat with relatives away, ordering materials from the catalogue and doing business over the phone. In this respect the use of the telephone breaks down the personal accountability of the visit and institutes the possibility of individuals exercising non-negotiable social identities. Adaptation to party line telephone can therefore be seen as a move away from traditional patterns of social control and a commencement of individual freedom within the community.

Social control: group activities

As visits are the personal (individual) manifestation of community relationship, wedding receptions, wakes and frolics are three public (group) manifestations of gemeinschaft.

The reception, wake and frolic were fully attended by all the community. They were vigorous and time consuming. Violins, liquor and a community "feed" were featured as important constituents. The family of the bride, deceased or ill-disposed were expected to provide the staples, everyone else was expected to provide the cooking, serving, music and any necessary work. With the growing use of large halls for receptions (catered reception away from the home), mortician arrangements for the deceased, and govermental aid to the old, widowed and needy, these activities are no longer occasions for full community participation.

The trend is away from the collective "all there together" gatherings and toward a shorter "putting in an appearance" occasion. As the wakes, weddings and charity frolics of the past demanded personal commitment to grief, happiness and unselfishness of others, those today are lacking in both personal commitment to others and in collective character. The long Gaelic litany, the all night vigil and the service of guests have all but disappeared from wakes. The extended drunken celebrations of at least a week's duration is missing from the marriage, and frolics are rarely held. Pig and whistles, bingos, and Scottish concerts seem to be the replacements for the traditional communal activities. The focus of these are decidedly individualistic; they are "come-and-go, as you wish" events that celebrate neither status passage of community members, nor exercise a communal function of the latency maintenance variety.

This movement from the organic response of traditional community functions to fragmented individual associations parallels earlier mention of the breakdown of community control by the change from social visits to telephone communication.

Equalitarian relationships

Community relationships in Poplar Grove appear to have been equalitarian. The effects of the disbanded clan system, migration to North America and subsequent experience of non-feudal settlements left the Poplar Grove Scot ambivalent toward leadership. For the first time in history the Scottish peasantry were their own masters. They were subject to neither Laird nor tacksman. Not only were they free, but they were equal, all being of the same social class in their native Scotland and freemen in the New Land. They felt it important to prevent one another from the assumption of local leadership.[14] Such was their vigilance of one another that it might be said that they were not so much equalitarian toward one another as they were suspicious of each other's intentions. A humourous illustration of this is the adage:

> "People here (Poplar Grove) are so anxious that no one get ahead of them, that, if you were to build a chicken farm here, someone would be sure to build a fox farm right beside you." (informant)

[14] Ensuring equality was a full time pursuit. The reference of the ceilidh in this regard has already been made. In Highland days there is some evidence of this on the clan level. Stealing Highland cattle did more than augment a money supply, it kept "opposition" resources in line with one's own.

For Poplar Grove Scots, the meaning of equalitarianism was not that taken from a perspective of co-operation, rather, from a memory of former dominance.

Kin relations were the first arbiters of an individual's place in the community. Individuals were located within a formal geneological framework, within a familial framework, and within an identity achieved by the individual's own actions. The first two components of social identity were thus ascribed by kin and familial status; the third achieved in interaction. While it would appear that little is negotiable in the ascribed identity, kin relations, it is possible for a family to entertain a separate identity within the generic of kin. Stock lines allowed families of the same kin to be thusly differentiated. A stock line may be defined as value added (status) to particular geneological lines, good stock and bad stock. For example, the men of some families, in following a particular trade through a number of generations achieved for their family a status related to their activity, i.e., "The MacLeans are good stock---they are all industrious." Such a statement refers only to the "carpenter" MacLeans. The significance of stock line use as a further determinant of social status (within kin) is related to the ancestral homogeneity of the residents. While the MacLeods of Broad Cove might look down on the Beatons of Poplar Grove (using kin as a basis) the Beatons cannot use the same criteria to look down on other Beatons. Stock lines allow the possibility of "good" Beatons and "bad" Beatons. It is important to note that stock,although ascribed to individuals within a family, was in process and was subject to negotiation.

Individuals could achieve skills, resources that would allow them to negotiate an acceptable social identity aside from kin or family stock influence. This was, however, not the usual means of establishing social identity. Individuals strongly identified with their families. Among family members and between families there were rights, and duties that were predispositional to individual interaction. To properly understand an individual in interaction it is necessary to understand him as a member of a particular family which family is related to other families with particular behavioural expectations. In some sense, individuals enter interactions with other individuals as representatives of their family. There exists an order in the relationships. It has already been mentioned that the relationships in Poplar Grove seem to be equalitarian; the ordering of the relationships can be termed, the "equalitarian ledger".

Equalitarian ledger refers to past indebtedness toward one another, an indebtedness of individual, familial and geneological extension to the degree that incumbents might entertain dispositions for current situations that were generated by deeds enacted years before their birth. The equalitarian ledger was temporally indefinite in that it assumed any favorable behaviour to another would not terminate at the completion of tasks, but would continue on as an obligation of indebtedness until some future fulfillment by the beneficiary or the family of the beneficiary.

What differentiates this from the everyday experience of "owing a favor" is: inclusion of family into the individual relationship between two members of different families, the duration and cumulation of memories of indebtedness and the implication this emphasis on paying back favors has on the social status of the families involved. It is not to the advantage of any family to be under any obligation to other families. Dependency is a sure indication of bad stock. A family will not attempt redress of obligation only if it is "uppity" (despises the obligations generated in the past) or impoverished (it is unable to fulfill its obligations). Another means for terminality of relationships among kin is the use of monetary payment for services rendered.[15]

An individual involved in a wage earning, non-farm occupation is more likely to want to dispense with the traditional relationships since the barter of obligations kin represents promises little financial return for his services. He might therefore elect to charge relatives for his services. Such a tactic is generally acceptable today but has not always been so nor is it applicable to all one's relatives.

[15]In speaking of friendship Paine (1969:518) points out how friendship may develop within kin relations. His observations are pertinent to the above cited development of monetary payment terminating kin obligation. "But one may require, from a selected few people, more than the services and goods that are one's rights by, e.g. kinship. By the same token, a person may be unwilling or unable to fulfill his obligations to all those who have a formal claim to them..... He will wish for a degree of terminality in some of his relations that kinship per se does not afford him."

To charge certain relatives (families to which your family is particularly indebted) for services rendered can result in the tradesman being treated in the performance of his duty much the same way a person from the outside would be. An instance of such an insult would be the non-offering of tea to a working man.[16]

Stress: traditional culture and modernization

It has been suggested that equalitarian relationships partly resulted from the competition between families seeking independence. With modernization some stress appeared to affect these equalitarian relationships. In the first instance, were they to be extended to outsiders (non-Scots) and secondly how could they be maintained when there existed obvious inequalities in the community?

[16]One reason they might not get tea is that the tradesman might not step inside the house. In order to alert the occupants of his intentions he might make some excuse about already having had tea, etc., but his meaning is that the relationship is a work-pay relationship: accepting tea, by its very sociability would perhaps cause ambiguity. Who gets tea and how it is prepared is one indicator of social status. For a person to enter a house and not get tea he would have to be recognizably from the outside, i.e. not cognizant of the offence rendered. This treatment of outsiders is recent. At one time outsiders were given privileges reserved for those of high status. Today a plentitude of outsiders and the observation of different predispositions in defining the situation has led some to discontinue the practice of tea for outsiders. In so far as the same does not hold true for local residents, the non offering of tea can be taken as an indicator of displeasure. In staying in the area and being geneologically of the area the author as outsider witnessed some ambivalence on the part of a few informants. A humorous compromise was reached in one place and coffee (the perceived drink of city people) was offered in deference to the perceived "outsiderness" of the visit. On a number of occasions informants wishing to solicit information on the disposition of neighbors would inquire as to their offering tea during an interview. The giving of tea seems to be one indicator of traditional hospitality.

It has been pointed out in Chapter 2 that a development from self-sustenance to greater dependence on outside goods and services had taken place in Poplar Grove. This historical development necessitated forms of exchange other than those based on kin. Scot-Scot exchange was able to continue and Scot non-Scot exchange was instituted. It would seem that the non-Scots were enjoined by different norms than the Scots and these norms came to prevail in their exchange.

Another aspect of stress in these changes of relationship originated in the developing technology itself. Technological advance (adaptation of new technology in farming, fishing or forestry) by single individuals represented a serious imbalance to the perceived equality of all workers. If the new technology shortened the individual's work, reduced his effort, or increased his crop then the possibility of his "getting ahead" was enhanced. For small scale technological developments, e.g., trap hauler, Cape Island boat, car engine for marine purposes, little effort was needed for "catching up" and operating on the same level. It was usual that any technological advance on this level be soon copied by all workers. For more complex and costly technological advances, however, the "catching up" strategy was not possible. Others would not have the resources necessary to "catch up". If the implement introduced was available for helping others in tasks that would ordinarily necessitate a high degree of collective exertion, the practice of free labour exchange among many would be changed to individual service for a number.

"Free labour" was thereby changed into a monetary reimbursement. In this manner technological advancements like tractors, high tonnage trucks and hay balers changed relationships of equality among individual workers by creation of specific rather than diverse work roles.

Authority: leadership roles

Much emphasis has been placed on the equalitarian perception of family relationships in traditional Poplar Grove. Individuals and families were little admired for "putting on airs", "getting ahead" and being "uppity". It has been suggested that the competitive familial independence stemmed from a leadership vacuum created by precedents of Scottish peasant history, and the fierce determination to prevent local ascendance to leadership. This is not to say that there was no leadership. The history of the Scot in Cape Breton is replete with the assumption by successive agents to authority positions left vacant by the Scots. The Scot would sooner accept authority from without than have it emerge from within. Professional authority, that derived from competence and political authority, that derived from office in Halifax or Ottawa are exceptions. In the past a Scot from Cape Breton who was a lawyer, doctor, judge or politician was more likely to be Protestant; if Catholic, there was a greater likelihood of his being from a small number of prominent families. In the past and even today it is rare for a Catholic Scot to be a merchant. Thus, the exercise of leadership in professional, political and commercial areas was largely taken up by Protestants and seldom by Catholics.

The one area wherein Catholic Scottish leadership was exerted over the people was that of religion. The clergy of Poplar Grove although neither locally born, nor locally raised to leadership became most vigorous in their exercise of the authority invested in them by their Church and the acceptance of the people. Yet despite the long tenure of priestly authority, their obvious involvement in the community and the faithful obedience of the people, there existed an element of reservation in the priest-people relationship. Proponents of the belief, "he's a man like the rest of us, a MacDonald from Antigonish" argued with "he's a man of God" advocates. Older respondents indicated that when a man took a girl behind the barn, took to drinking, made moonshine or committed some other "sin" it was as much the priest they were getting at as it was "Almighty God".

As the first three pastors of Mabou carried the leadership role for a period of ninety-five years, it is difficult to cull out in as short a sketch as this the major determinants of their exercise of power. The variables of spiritual belief in priestly authority, lack of local leadership, and idiosyncratic expression of the individual priestly personalities were of importance, but it also is possible that the other-worldliness of the clergy also made them acceptable to a people that had experienced a drain of their limited resources in the past. The authority of the clan asked rent and military service, the authority of the clergy asked prayer and penitence.

Bureaucratization in the Church has changed the usual close people-priest relationship. For one thing priests do not stay at a parish as long: three priests during the first ninety-five years, nine priests in the last thirty-five years. Church directives issued from Antigonish increase and those from the personality and piety of the pastor diminish as the priest becomes more of an agent of an institution unrelated to Poplar Grove instead of a lifetime community figure committed to "his people".[17] In making this transition of bureaucratic leadership for traditional (and even charismatic) leadership the Church has become the target for frequent criticism with the priest taking the major brunt of the attacks.[18]

[17] In speaking of Fr. Kenneth MacDonald a writer in The Casket (Feb. 10, 1898, p.3) said "... as a disciplinarian the severity of the means he used was often criticized, and perhaps with reason, but his aim and sincerity were never questioned." Informants commenting on the early clergy, especially those of recent memory (Father MacMaster (1894-1937), and Father Kenneth (1865-1894), indicated that these men were pious, intense, physically powerful, "hellish men". The predominant emotion they evoked was fear.

[18] Accompanying this change in the institution of bureaucratic procedures in the church is a change in the status of the pastor. His local respect has waned. Criticizing the priest (a practice that would have once "brought the fires of hell upon you") is commonplace. Residents see many of the changes resulting from outside directives and hence not able to be controlled but nevertheless still blame the pastor for other practices that are obviously locally made changes. In a church service announcement to the effect that there would be dances in the church hall with liquor served, the priest indicated his awareness of the perceived incongruence of his role by prefacing the announcement with the remark, "Father Kenneth (MacDonald) would roll over in his grave if he heard this...". It is a significant indication of the duration of this particular priest-people relationship that many people in the congregation nodded their heads in support of the remark as Father Kenneth had then been dead for seventy-six years.

Individualism - male, female varieties

Observers of traditional societies commonly note the restrictive aspects of kinship obligations on individuals. It has been argued that the move away from the extended family has freed the individual from many of these traditional restrictions. Without wanting to open up the question of whether individualism is more properly a characteristic of industrial societies rather than traditional societies, it should be noted that the social control effected in traditional societies through direct primary relationships with respect to an encompassing system of obligations and rights does not preclude a measure of individualism.

Private escape can be a recourse to social demand. Drunkenness and physical isolation are dramatic means for getting away from one's obligations. Since Poplar Grove people "don't" listen to a man when he's drunk" they effectively allow his insults, rages and general behaviour to be a separate and non-negotiable part of his social identity. They define it as "having nothing to do with us", he is considered "not responsible". Although men lose respect for being excessively drunk, people treat the content of the drunken period as if it were detached from the person. Since many males become scurrilous when drinking it is possible that the drunkenness allows escape from traditional obligations while at the same time preserving the nature of the relationship. This is especially true of the young. While drunk, you can tell your aunt that she's a silly old fool and the next day receive only a rebuke for being drunk, or, a "did I really say that?" routine.

However, there are times when the drunken spree is not permitted in Poplar Grove. Formerly it was the indignation of clergy that effected a change in the male's drinking habits. Now, the pressure of kin, or of one's women (mother, or wife) might come to bear on the drunken male. The former tolerance of the drunken state may then be replaced by the judgement that the behaviour has "gone to far" and some decision has to be made to remedy the situation. This reformation might apply generally to all males or to specific individuals. Drinking under such circumstances would be considered deviant.[19]

While the male's response to restrictive aspects of kinship obligations might be the occasional "drunk" such a tactic was not available to the female. Her individualism was far more radical. Perhaps it is a reflection on the women's role in traditional Poplar Grove society that when modernization came, first as outmigration and secondly as middle-class consumption, the women were more willing to adapt than their male counterparts. Evidence suggests that the female was more willing to leave the area. The content of letters home from departed females, and the results of my interviews with outmigrants now settled elsewhere indicate a possible stronger

[19]As drinking is considered to be either sinful or an occasion of sin, but is nevertheless condoned until it offends, its practice in Poplar Grove resembles the sub rosa incest violations of the Trobriand Islanders noted by Malinowski and cited by Becker (1963:11) in his discussion of labeling deviant behaviour.

correlation of sex and outmigration than might ordinarily be expected.[20] Secondly, with respect to middle-class consumption, a cursory investigation of household acquisitions would indicate the dress and the "conveniences" enjoyed by Poplar Grove females today to be closer to middle-class females in other areas than Poplar Grove males are to middle class males elsewhere. It would seem that the female as individualist was more likely to seek change of role than escape from role.

In this "footnote" on individualism the concept of freedom from traditional restrictions has been used as a basis for such divergent discussion as male drunkenness and female role change. What this section has attempted, more than anything else, is the description of these two very common escapes from cultural restrictions.[21]

[20] Of eighteen couples from Poplar Grove interviewed all suggested that they left the area due to lack of employment. Yet, fifteen of the couples suggested that the wife was more willing to leave, first to adjust, and more reluctant to return even when "times were tough".

[21] Drunkenness and female desire for modernization are of course far more complex than escapes from obligations. I am reminded of the evening spent at a "country dance" in Glencoe (14 miles away) wherein the young girls spent the evening between "sets" seated around the perimeter of the dance floor--all dressed in their "city best" while the males virtually jammed the front door "passing the bottle"--all dressed in working clothes and work boots. Occasionally a small knot of males would break off from the others and walk around the perimeter eyeing the girls and making comments. In turn, the girls made comment among themselves on the rude behaviour of the males, the bolder ones snorting the word "pigs" as they walked by.

Summary

This chapter cannot justify the use of the term traditional. To fully operationalize this term far more has to be presented about social structure and social processes than are contained herein. The intent of the chapter was to indicate the author's general basis for using the term traditional. Elements of the traditional culture were seen to persist despite the modernizing developments pointed out towards the end of the first chapter. By adapting the ethnographic material of Poplar Grove to some of characteristics of traditional society it is hoped that certain traditional patterns may be highlighted.

Since the following chapter is heavily dependent on the definition of Poplar Grove as a distinctly different element within the Canadian mosaic the salience of some of these practices described herein is obvious. Who, today in Canada, recites geneologies? Can my family ghosts be traded for your stereophonic tape recorder? It has at least been established in this chapter that there are some who think it important to know geneologies and others who experience a spiritual reality they term ghosts. The task now is to contrast the salience of these activities with those of mainstream Canadian middle class life.

CHAPTER 4

STIGMATIZED INDIVIDUALS AND TACTICS OF SITUATION MANAGEMENT

In the introduction to this dissertation outmigration from rural areas and modernization were presented as important variables to be considered in their effect on those remaining behind in rural slow growth areas. It was stated that the concerns of this research were twofold: investigation of self-conceptions affected by remaining behind during widespread outmigration, and the investigation of any behaviour patterns resulting from these changes in self-conception. It was also stated that an interactionist framework was employed for the organization of the research and presentation of findings.

The first step in effecting this framework was the presentation of "boundaries" for the object researched. Herein, the McCall and Simmons (1966) meaning of "boundaries" is used. The object researched, self-conceptions, is projected against the boundaries of the historic dimension of Poplar Grove (Chapter 2) and the traditional culture (Chapter 3).

The significance of these presentations for this research lies in the sociological dictum that previous patterns of change (history) and specific styles of life (culture) determine many of the things that individuals can and cannot do and the probabilities of their doing still other things. To go further, all of the possibilities for human social life are not, nor cannot be expressed by any one culture at any given time. However, certain types of social situations dominate within cultures: Netsilik Eskimos usually enact Netsilik Eskimo situations and so forth. In the earlier Chapters it has been noted that Poplar Grove peoples have been inculcated into certain social situations; their history in Scotland as Highlanders (Scoti silvestres) and experience in Cape Breton has been largely an isolated experience, an out-of-the mainstream experience with only a comparatively recent history of initiation into the many aspects of institutional life of greater North America, Canada and the Province of Nova Scotia. Again this initiation has largely been through the continuous flow of outmigrants, a short industrial fling and more recently through the electronic media--recent history for a people whose memories are of long duration. Perhaps because of this isolation, or, perhaps because of choice, most likely because of a combination of comparative isolation, choice and the absence of alternatives the local culture has maintained many of its more traditional elements. It thereby stands differentiated from the majority of Canadian peoples.

Self-conceptions: definition of terms

In the context of the historic and cultural boundaries of the population of Poplar Grove (as presented in Chapters 2 and 3) and in the context of modernization in Poplar Grove the self-conceptions of local residents will be investigated. To utilize the term self-conception, the theory of interaction from which it is largely derived shall be addressed.

In the multiplicity of social situations, within which men find themselves and which selves create, certain elements are constant. Incumbents have intentions for entering situations, they identify others and their intentions, they identify the type of situation as being of a particular nature, and they respond to their own intentions, the intentions of the others and the type of situation; in short, they act. The mode of identifying the various participants of a social situation is through the mechanism of social identities. These are conventually recognized categories in which actors place themselves and others. All within the category are considered to be alike and may be treated alike. Social identities are closely related to the concept of role. Once a category is occupied by an individual a role is formed. The behavioural and valuative expectations of the role constitute the role expectations; the occupant's conception of what the role is and how it ought be fulfilled is the role identity; the actual performance of the occupant in a role is the role performance.

While some elements of situations are constant: identification, interpretation, definition and activity, the variability of these components within themselves is extensive. Many social identities exist and many occupants of the various social identities interact. What differentiates particular individuals within these social identities is their previous experience, their predispositions. Individuals have past personal definitions, goals (long range and short range), values, role identities, personal identities and a range of cultural definitions of situations into which they have been socialized. These individual predispositions are activated by particulars within the total objective situation. Not all values, goals, etc. will be activated but specific ones will be. Not only do the predispositions of the actor need be activated in this specific manner but the relevant personal characteristics of those with whom one is interacting must also be so ascertained. The social identity establishes the broad basis within which one has specific meanings and intentions. The actor has to ascertain these if they are not already predispositional. When such is completed; when both actors agree on who each other is, on what each intends, and on what type of situation it is, behaviour can follow. To this degree, the definition of situation is a consensual activity. Individuals make interpretations and permit themselves to be interpreted and through subsequent behaviour are supported in their interpretations. Individuals, of course, do not play only one role. They have many role identities. Individual conception of self is related to the support of these role identities,

especially to the support of those identities considered to be of importance, that hierarchial cluster of role identities that form one's personal identity. To support these identities is to essentially support one's personal identity, one's self. For the individual it is to be in the position where minimal conflict exists between what he generally should be, wants to be and is.

"Hauling traps: an illustration"

To set the concept of self conceptions within the cement of its theoretical framework and illustrate it by an appeal to the data of Poplar Grove the following case history is presented.

A fisherman (social identity) wanting tc haul traps (action orientation) might go down to the wharf to find someone "to go out with" as his current partner happens to be ill. Going into the fish house he meets five men (a social situation comprised of many elements that have to be subjectively selected, identified and interpreted within the physical, temporal and social boundaries of this situation). The presence of the men activates the fisherman's predispositions relevant to his action orientation and his previous knowledge of these five particulars. He identifies the social identities of two of the incumbents as not positive; one is quite "drunk", the other is too weak. As some of his predispositions include whether or not he should pay and how much, whether or not he should choose his relatives before his neighbors if he paying, whether or not he wants to bother with a less than skilled helper, and whether or not the

man he wants will be able to go, he must assess the intentions and motives of those he has loosely identified as potential helpers. In the same manner, this process of identification has been taking place among the other five who have already identified the fisherman in his relevant social identity (by such cues as dress, time of day) and have already identified his intention (by virtue of predispositional knowledge of the health of his regular partner). At this point some of the five may be said to have made a provisional definition of situation as a "taking on a helper" type of situation. These incumbents to this role of helper also know this particular fisherman to be a "hard driver" and must thereby assess the intentions of one another with respect to this relevant secondary social identity of the fisherman. The one who best fills the role expectations of "helper for a hard-driver fisherman" might then respond to test if his interpretation of the situation and that of the fisherman are similar. If so, they have a working agreement and may go off fishing. If the fisherman's expectations for his helper's role and his helper's interpretation of these expectations are aligned during the fishing session then the role performance of the helper may be said to be supported.

There does exist another possibility in this scenario that is more pertinent to this discussion of Poplar Grove Scots. There need not be consensus in the definition of situation. Conflicting interpretations are possible.

The drunk or the too weak individual whose relevant social identity the fisherman assessed as being incompatible with the expectations of the role of helper might not see their drunkenness or lack of strength as relevant identities. They might want to negotiate these interpretations that the fisherman is making. If negotiating "drunkenness" or weakness, the parties involved may walk straight lines or lift heavy weights to show either the perception to be incorrect, or their present conditions not to be incompatible with the expectations of the social identity of helper. They may even attempt to show their particular identities to be more than well suited for the task, an asset instead of a liability. If such attempts at negotiation are not successful, if the occupant is not permitted to assume the social identity he is claiming, or if after negotiation and capitulation by the fisherman, the helper's role performance falls far short of the expectation and is either not permitted or not able to carry on in the role, it can be said that the "drunk" or weak have not received support in their occupation of the role of helper.

In this illustration the social identities of the participants have been related to this particular situation of acquiring a helper. Within the total context of Poplar Grove life many different social identities exist. Certain social identities exist in Poplar Grove with greater frequency than outside the area. For example, those social identities that arise from kinship, uncles, grandparents, cousins exist with far greater frequency in a traditional setting than in an urban setting.

Not only are certain social identities more likely to be frequently employed but the salience hierarchy of the identities is likely to be different than that of people and groups outside the area. Urban Canadians may incorporate into their personal identities different social identities than do the people of Poplar Grove. Occupation may well be of higher salience in one's personal identity in urban Canada than in Poplar Grove, whereas little salience is attached to one's ability to relate family geneology.

Since the pattern of salience hierarchy for the social identities in Poplar Grove and the actual frequency and types of social identities that are present in Poplar Grove are resultant from and in turn result in the particular instance of cultural life that Poplar Grove is, the importance of tying this investigation of self-conceptions to the cultural matrix which establishes the salience hierarchy, frequency and types of social identities is obvious. The non-support of the "drunk" in the role of fisherman's helper is thus best seen when one is aware of what it means to be a "helper" in this particular cultural setting.

To operationalize this intention of locating social identities within a cultural matrix is an ambitious undertaking. It shall not be attempted here. Instead, the material of the previous chapter is recalled. The emphasis there on those elements of the traditional culture can be utilized as dominant cultural concerns and hence dominant social situations and social identities.

The material on kinship, social control and equalitarian values is especially relevant. For any actor not to interpret social situations in Poplar Grove from the perspective of these sentiments and activities is to misinterpret or violate local meanings. It has been mentioned earlier that Poplar Grove stands differentiated from other Canadian peoples. It shall now be seen that the current situational history of the area is one of misinterpretations and non-negotiable definitions of situation. The resultant lack of support for role performance carries with it changes in self-conception. Self-conception shall now be examined as that affected by outside definitions.

The formation of stigma: where cultures don't meet

In the context of Poplar Grove outside definitions are chiefly those of modernization. They have been present for as long as people have been migrating from Poplar Grove but their real impact is more recent -- the period of the last twenty-five years. If the long history of outmigration can be seen as Poplar Grove going to the city, the past twenty-five years has seen the city come to Poplar Grove. This penetration of the traditional isolation by modernization has created new personal relationships. One variety of these newer relationships is analagous to that Goffman (1963) has termed a "stigmatized relationship".

Goffman's use of the term, stigma, relates to the perceived discrepancy between virtual social identity (the character we impute to the individual) and actual social identity (the attributes he could in fact be said to possess).

If such attributes discredit or potentially discredit an individual, stigma may be said to exist (Goffman, 1963:2-3). Stigma is situational. Particular individuals notice the presence or lack of those attributes which it is thought the other should or should not possess. If such attributes are are contrary to what was imputed to be present then it might be said that between these two parties a stigmatized relationship exists. The essential components of a stigmatized relationship are: (1) the creation of a social identity, (2) the actual attributes of individuals (or groups) who fit the category of the social identity created, (3) the awareness of discrepancy.

(1) The creation of social identities

Goffman states (1963:2): "Society establishes the means for categorizing people and the compliment of attributes felt to be ordinary and natural for the members of these categories." Within the Canadian context it has long been a truism that the society is neither homogeneous in its composition nor equal in its distribution of power and privilege. In the mixture of life styles that are Canadian some groupings have a greater impact on the total society than do others. Factors of religion, ethnicity, race, age, sex, ideological belief and language have been used to provide explanations of those noticeable variations in the influence certain groups will exert within any society. In keeping with the limited nature of this work there will be no systematic tracking down of the variables so as to determine which (if any) are the salient peoples within the Canadian mosaic.

The typology used here is bipolar (rural-urban) and it has already been assumed that modernization is a common feature of Canadian life and the majority of the population has at least been introduced into the first principles of modernization through urbanization (Table 4). It is the urban population that is largely involved in social production and distribution (including consumption) and it is this population which determines the direction of the educational, economic and political institutions. In the broadest sense possible, what virtual social identity is expected of those in Canada who are urban residents? Perhaps the emanations of governmental agencies, communications media and educational bureaucracies can indicate the broad characteristics of this social identity through their common appeal to the urban dweller. In the broadest terms, the above cited agencies, media and bureaucracies carry the unmistakable message that the people they address, urban residents, are middle class and modernized men.

When a govermental agency announces a program for relocating a population to a place of viable economic employment, or when a television commercial announces through a well dressed (i.e. shirt, tie and suit) professional looking male that one's breath can smell sweeter, or when a school board introduces a program for "culturally deprived children" certain intentions and values are immediately recognizable to middle class participants. Even if there is disagreement, the fundamental understanding of position is present.

These understandings are not however limited to those agencies, media and bureaucracies that have been used here as indicators of the phenomenon; many Canadian groups and individuals have these expectations of one another. So prevalent is the Canadian middle class urban resident that it would seem everyone occupied that social identity were it not for the vigorous representation of minority groups within the mosaic.

The presence of French-speaking, Indian, Eskimo, Amish or Black Canadians in Canada and their poor numeric representation in either the middle class or even in modernization permits a contrast to the social identity of the urban resident. There do exist minority groups that are presently outside the expectations of the urban resident's social identity. They are the "exceptions" whose social identity are so defined that they be seen as "provisional" urban residents. This provisional character of social identity does not extend to every minority group but it can be extended to any group that would be assimilated had it not been for certain historic or social conditions.

(2) The actual attributes of individuals

The actual attributes of individuals that are of interest here are the residents of Poplar Grove. It has been seen that these people are rural, closer to subsistance agriculture than to conspicuous consumption and are enjoined by cultural definitions that are closer to traditional than rational-bureaucratic patterns.

It has been stated that some minorities are acceptable within the urban Canadian framework since they have been provisionally described as potential urban middle class residents with current impediments to their long range objective. It can even be said that such minorities are popular causes within government, educational institutions, religious institutions, charities, and certainly the press. All of these efforts are directed at some form of success for minority groups within the framework of modernized society.

Poplar Grove does not share in this optimism. As a rural area of white, "British Stock" the social identity of its residents approximates the social identity of urban middle class Canadians---at least from the perspective of the urban middle class. No "extenuating circumstances" such as race, ethnicity or language can be "applied" to Poplar Grove. The one circumstance that does "apply" is that of it being a depressed area, and this is "hardly" an impediment. Inverness County has for long been termed a depressed area as have all the Maritime rural areas yet because of its corresponding high outmigration an "out" is provided for those wishing escape from the condition of regional depression. Mobility is seen as an "easy" solution and a common solution.

There is present in Poplar Grove a discrepancy that makes it quite different from the more popular minority groups in Canada. The singularity of a group of people who maintain traditional cultural patterns and achieve low income with corresponding low consumption is greatly emphasized by the apparent success of their kin within the middle class in urban centers.

There is an aspect of selection present among the residents of Poplar Grove that is not present among such minorities as Black Canadians. So successful have the outmigrants of Poplar Grove been in assimilating that those remaining could be imputed to have potentially similar characteristics. Thus the potency for middle class urban residence can be compared with the actuality of life in Poplar Grove.

(3) Awareness of discrepancy

From the perspective of the awareness of discrepancy it is important to determine which social identity the Poplar Grove Scot is working under. To a large extent this will be situational. Under some circumstances there will be no possibility for stigma of the "modernizing" type since the participants will be enacting traditional roles in a traditional setting. In other situations the social identity might well be affected by the requisites of a modern situation and in still other situations the social identity imputed may be ambiguous.

It has been noted that situations are interwoven in the fabric of the cultural definitions. Situations affect each other as predispositions for future situations and as such it is important to examine particular types of situations within the cultural matrix. In this regard, "modernizing" situations have to be seen in the context of two principle types of modernization perception within Poplar Grove. The first perception is impersonal, the second is personal. Both perceptions result in the awareness of discrepancy, hence both are potential sources of stigma.

Impersonal perception of modernization

While the lure of the city has been long depopulating the area of Poplar Grove it was only the past generation that felt the drastic forces of rural depopulation. The War Boom of the 1940's came as a staggering impetus to all those would-be outmigrants who had been kept home during the depressing 1930's. In the 1940's whole families moved, especially younger families. Those young families that did stay were often surrounded by older people (whose families had gone) or by bachelors. As these young families matured their children also left for the city. Those who stayed have witnessed the dissolution of their communities (in Mabou Coal Mines there were sixty families in 1933; today, there are two). By not going to the city those who stayed behind have not necessarily enjoyed the advantages of the traditional life since that very life was sorely affected by the pattern of outmigration. Informants all reiterated this position with this claim; "I never, in my wildest dreams ever thought they'd all be gone like this". This perception of outmigration can then be seen as an impersonal factor that while initially directed at another objective could have direct and personal influence on the life of the Poplar Grove resident, i.e. it could shake his confidence in his original decision to remain behind.

Another impersonal modernization perception is that of the communications media, especially the medium of television.

In graphic fashion the resident of Poplar Grove can discover such factual information as: his county is a depressed area, services (police, hospital and professional) are below the provincial average, their unemployment rate is among the highest in Canada, their educational level is lower than the National average, their per-capita income is below the poverty level. Not only is information presented on local affairs but comparison is constantly present with shows, commercials, and the presentation format of the urban middle class, so that no doubt can exist in Poplar Grove that the televised world and their existence differ. Looking at television they (unlike many other Canadians) do not see as clearly reflected their aims, values, possessions, hoped for possessions, etc. The impersonal programming of television does not try to consciously form new self conceptions within Poplar Grove. Television, however, can effect such personal and direct changes.

Personal modernization perceptions

The impersonal aspects of modernization perception that have just been examined are not situational. They are private inferences that individuals might make from contrasting their life style with that effected by outmigration or that presented in television programming. These private inferences may be consensually employed by all Poplar Grove residents (and in fact are) but they need not be. It might be hypothesized that what brings these private inferences into community discussion is the immediacy of personal modernization perceptions that each day require some response on the part of local actors.

Brothers return home from the city, fishery inspectors want to look over one's boat, a tourist wants a sight-seeing trip in one's boat, a man from "the government" wants information on boundary markers.

In all of the above situations the knowledge of life styles elsewhere becomes important since the situations call for a response to a social identity that a local Poplar Grove resident perhaps would not otherwise employ. A clear illustration is provided by the brother returning home for the holidays. Coming from his urban home and place of employment this former inhabitant is in a position of making comparisons between his city experience and the current state and practices of Poplar Grove. Work habits, consumer articles, and other varieties of activities and sentiments are noted as being different from the present standard of the outmigrant. Outmigrant informants used the words "shock", "dispair" and "unhappiness" at the "laziness", "inefficiency", or "destitution" of their former kith and kin. The returning vacationers will extend their own social identity to their relatives (thinking it perfectly natural) and will notice the apparent discrepancies in those who were "given the farm". The one who stayed behind is thus treated as if he were in a social identity that he had earlier in life rejected. Although such notice of discrepancy "hurts" local residents when they are made by relatives little defence is taken up lest "bad feelings" are caused with those who are "only home for a short while".

Although this familial situation is most often handled by ignoring such perceptions of discrepancy (even subtle innuendoes) local residents will sometimes "spruce up" their domestic circumstances before a summer vacation and will point out all additions and refinements to familial visitors. Certain noticeably middle class additions are most often touted which perhaps indicates an inclination to adopt the social identity imposed upon themselves by this circumstance of the returning relative. It also points out the susceptibility they have for stigma under such circumstances.

Not only do relatives engage in interaction with residents of Poplar Grove and not only do relatives notice the discrepancy between the projected virtual and actual social identity of Poplar Grove people. The social agencies generated by governmental policy to reduce disparity on the regional level and poverty on the local level send emissaries to Poplar Grove. The Extension Department of St. Francis Xavier University send co-ordinators and researchers, Federal Government programs send agricultural or fishery representatives, the Provincial Government sends representatives. Those sent to "work in" Poplar Grove will be college trained (or have "equivalent experience"), originate from outside the area, be familiar with and operate according to bureaucratic principles, receive incomes significantly higher than those in the local population and live at a standard of life that might be identified as middle class.

While it is not the intention herein to suggest that these agents or agencies operate in concert or are even aware of each other it is important to note that from the perspective of Poplar Grove people the uniformities suggested above can be so perceived as to treat these agencies as quite similar to one another. It is within the context of these agencies of governmental help that the stigmatized relationship is best seen.

Many local peoples, clergy, teachers, town influentials (especially merchants) see the activity of governmental programs to be enlightened social policy. While bickering does exist about particulars they generally see such policy as "in the people's best interest". The utilization of federal-provincial policy in agriculture by the Dutch farmers is to them ample illustration of its local effectiveness. The role of the government worker is defined as "helper-leader". The emphasis is constantly on what the local people can learn and what they have to learn to "get out of their present condition". The "helper-leader" role does not, however, include any local learning. As one informant put it: "in all my years dealing with them fellows, not a damn one ever thought he had anything else to learn".

There is little doubt that the relevant social identity that governmental agents use in dealing with Poplar Grove residents is that with expectation of middle class values. In conversation about Poplar Grove there was a tendency for these agents to speak about the residents as "conservative", "backward", "lacking in ambition", "lazy", and "accultured to poverty".

While such interaction between agents and residents was infrequently observed in this research (it would be hard to say if such words as cited above were used in conversations) it may be noted that regardless of any oral expression these feelings did exist on the part of the agents and, what is more important, were communicated to residents by the agents' attitudes.

In these dealings with governmental agents there is little likelihood that the Poplar Grove resident is going to be able to interact without taking the lead from the governmental agent's definition of situation. The very rigidity of governmental definition of situation (the "program") is such that the social identity of the Poplar Grove Scot is that of the recipient. Whatever social identities the local culture may desire to select are irrelevant. To interact with the government on the basis they establish is to personally accept their definition of one's personal discrepancy and their response to the discrepancy. Thus such interaction is stigmatized. One's cultural characteristics become the attributes of discrepancy and hence things to be "rooted out". The only face-saving (Goffman, 1967:13) that can be done is the occasional negotiation of particular relevant identities.

Negotiations of relevant identities: occupational diversity

It has been seen that the self conception of the Poplar Grove resident has been affected by outmigration in its effect on community, by communications media in its presentation of middle class life, and by governmental policy in its attempt to create homogenized living standards within the nation.

In all these situations, whether they be personally experienced (talking with others) or impersonally experienced (watching television), the possibility of being seen in their discrepancy is a constant threat for residents of Poplar Grove since the expectations that are generated by and reflective of the urban middle class experience are scarcely realized in Poplar Grove. Yet, stigma is more than not measuring up to expectations; it also involves the possible negotiation of what is in fact present. The negotiation of social identities implies that one actor in a social situation has one or more social identities he thinks to be relevant for a particular situation. He wishes these identities to be accepted as relevant by other participant actors. Thus, a Poplar Grove actor might wish certain traditional social identities to be considered relevant in a given situation. Such negotiation of identity would either present a better impression of the Poplar Grove actor or give alternate meanings for his activities. Yet, as has been shown in the case of the "drunk" who wished to negotiate his social identity of intoxication in the light of the expectations of fisherman's helper, such negotiation of social identity is not always permitted. At this point other management techniques sometimes have to be utilized to "save face".

In the "saving face" activities that the Poplar Grove resident enters into it must be first noted that seldom are any of them strategies. There is no Poplar Grove Union to fight middle class values, or Union to preserve the traditions of the past, nor, does there even seem to be a move towards such collective objectives.

However the one social form that in fact does militate against governmental economic rationality and does preserve to some extent traditional values is the almost universal tactic of occupational diversity. The evolution of occupational diversity has not been consciously directed toward these ends (preservation of traditional values) rather it seems to have been largely an ad hoc adaptation to particular local circumstances (pointed out in Chapter 2). Today its meanings differ and it offers quite different advantages.

To examine these new meanings and advantages of occupational diversity it is of advantage to briefly analyze the resources required, demands entailed and strategies involved. My objective in this section is the demonstration of how available resources are utilized for the purpose of avoiding frequent contact with agents of modernization while at the same time preserving some of the elements of the traditional culture.

The resources required for occupational diversity are personal access to land, water and woodlot and a minimum of equipment to work holdings. Access and, to some extent, equipment is achieved through inheritance. The demands entailed principally include the various seasonal work adjustments necessitated by the nature of farming, fishing and woodlot harvest. The strategies involve a perspective on investment (in accord with the limited involvement and expected success of diverse operations), a maintenance of income over periods when all activities slow down, and a mechanism for achieving additional income if one does not achieve success in one's self-employments.

Occupational diversity in Poplar Grove may be defined as the annual involvement of the local work force in a variety of marginally productive and often simultaneous operations. Success is variously measured by farm produce, fish products, wood products and cash income.[1] The three major resources available for cash income are sale of farm, fish or wood products, unemployment insurance, and employment by others (wage work). The first two resources are preferable to the latter (wage work) since they permit the continuation of simultaneous occupations while the latter precludes simultaneous continuation of these occupations. As the receipt of a certain cash income is a necessary condition for "collecting unemployment" this income must be accumulated either through the sale of products in certain self employments or by wage income when employed by others.[2]

Within the perspective of self-conceptions and the negotiation of self-identity the tactic of occupational diversity can be seen both as a means for avoidance of situations which are potentially discrediting and as a means for the enactment of self-set standards for success.

[1]Generally speaking the successful occupational pluralist effects in a year: a good catch (lobster), the sale of either Christmas trees or cut pulp, the shipment of either several sheep or a few yearling calves, some work on the road, and at least two months of unemployment insurance benefits.

[2]Collection of unemployment insurance benefits is dependent on the number of weeks worked. The amount of the benefits is dependent on what income was derived from the initial work. "Stamps" are given on the job to indicate these values or they are given proportionate to the "catch" taken during a fishing season. The object is to collect enough stamps from early spring through late fall to qualify oneself for winter unemployment benefits.

As a self-employed worker, the Poplar Grove Scot need not meet production standards, time schedules, evaluations and similar other-defined phenomena arising from the values of others. The residents of Poplar Grove who work their own land, own a fishing boat, or harvest a woodlot may set their objectives, complete their tasks and then market their goods with very little direct intervention from those buying the goods.

Not only is the Poplar Grove Scot directly removed from those who might have different or opposing values but he is also able and does justify his production on the very grounds of his diversity. He is not only a fisherman, a farmer, a logger, a wage earner, and officially unemployed but he can be all of these. He knows he can't be compared with the "real" logger or the "real" fisherman. In this respect it is not uncommon for a man to draw attention to his limited capacity in a special area and maximized profit from this capacity. At the wharf fishermen would tell me: "seeing as how small our boats are (or, as how few traps we have) we're doing pretty damn good"; in the field the fisherman now farmer would say: "She's a fine looking heifer even if she don't have papers and I don't have a degree for farming". This pride in the maximized profit from their limited capacity exists to the degree that Poplar Grove males will sometimes argue that they have a decided edge over the "real" fisherman or "real" farmer since the Poplar Grove males can do "what they do" and more. This sentiment is sometimes expressed in the observation: "They only know one thing".

As all in Poplar Grove share the same social identity (occupational pluralists) the immediate standard of comparison can be seen as homogeneous; according to their own interests they are successful or not successful, and the intents of others become somewhat irrelevant.[3]

Although the tactic of occupational diversity does remove some within Poplar Grove from the standards set outside and does allow self-set standards to be operationalized this tactic is not however divorced from outside pressures and standards. In the first instance the paucity of cash income derived from these marginally productive activities militates against the purchase of desired consumer items. Even the means for achieving this income is subject to outside market conditions as the prices for lobster fluctuate, pulpwood becomes unprofitable to cut, Christmas trees boom in price, etc. To gain more cash, or a surer supply of cash the workers may concentrate more in one activity than another, or may leave one activity that is time consuming and take up wage work.

[3]As mentioned in Chapter 2 there are Dutch farmers in Poplar Grove who are not occupational pluralist. Their initial success was met with some scepticism by the Scots. It was felt that they would eventually not "make a go of it". Yet they have been successful as farmers and the following half-truths have been proffered as reasons for this success:

(a) They have degrees in farming.
(b) Over in Holland that's all they know how to do.
(c) They're all in it together.
(d) They have no time for anything else-they're always at it.
(e) They got big help from the government.
(f) They're hard workers.

These "reasons" fault the Dutch for their lack of Scot characteristics. They are resented for their willingness to invest (big help from the government), their diligence (no time for anything else), but most of all for their obvious success. When most Scots are leaving farming because it doesn't pay the Dutch are making it pay. The Dutch are guilty of "getting ahead" and not "having any time" for others, from the beginning their exchange with the Scots was based on cash and not "in kind" barter. Although much of the early resentment has ameliorated through time one individual was bitter enough to remark: "Och, they're just like Protestants".

In this regard, farming has been heaviest hit since it is the more time consuming, pays little for its products and the staples it produces can be purchased through increased cash income. Eventually it can be seen that such specialization in one area, or wage-earning, will break down the present structure of occupational diversity and render its community justification (homogeneous self-set standards of success) inadequate. At this time of writing such a trend is becoming more evident.

The tactic of occupational diversity must therefore be seen as only a marginal adaptation to the new social identities enjoined upon local residents by modernization. Its flaw arises from within;the desire for modern commodities outstrips the ability of local production to purchase these commodities without a change of life style (specialization through heavy investment, or increased wage-work). The generation of these desires for expensive modern commodities is especially pertinent to the female population. The need for cash is principally a domestic need and the female is a prime mover in the male's motivation to achieve a higher cash income. This pattern of modernization through the kitchen perhaps indicates the moderate success occupational diversity had for the more "traditional" male. He was less effected in his work by outside determinants (and perhaps could defend himself from such influence) whereas the effort of raising children called for a closer involvement with the children's world--that of the school. As interesting as this possibility of the sex variable in modernization is, it can only be suggested here since it was not observed that closely in the field nor systematically speculated on in the process of this research.

It has been seen that although the future of occupational diversity is in some doubt it has been up until now a means for escape from those situations wherein the influences of modernization are likely to adversely prejudice the role identities adopted by the Poplar Grove male resident. Within the context of the diffuse work roles afforded by occupational diversity Poplar Grove males may expend more time and energy on other social relationships. One may take time off for a visit with neighbors, a wake, a drunk or any other social event without experiencing the obligations enjoined by a "boss". The life style of those involved in occupational diversity is also affected by the "getting-by" ethos of the endeavours. Both freedom of working hours and limited goal aspiration are conducive to traditional rather than middle class values. Occupational diversity as practiced in Poplar Grove is so removed from either the values of modernization or from the agents representing modernized institutions that it is in fact their best defence. This, however, does not make it their only defence.

Resolving non-negotiable social identity; other tactics

It is not always possible nor desirable to use withdrawal as a means of escaping from unpleasant situations. Even in the tactic of occupational diversity some interaction does take place with those representing modernized institutions. One has to get work, collect unemployment, buy goods, etc. Tactics forthcoming in such situations entered out of necessity are: role distance, and manipulation.

The possibilities for role distance are numerous, enactment common.

Role distance is that aspect of role performance enacted so as to demonstrate that the role being played is not consistent with the self-conception of the actor. Role distance is a common tactic under such Poplar Grove circumstances as: working as a representative for a governmental agency in some local capacity; dealing with agricultural or fishery representatives before other Poplar Grove residents (for example, dealing with the fishery inspector at the wharf); and, enacting an imposed identity because it is only the "polite thing to do" (i.e. accepting the role of "quaint" person with visiting tourists).

The tactic of role distance was often observed in the field. The examples cited above are illustrative of three types. The first type accents collaboration, the second confrontation and the third type frivolity. When a resident of Poplar Grove takes up a position with some outside institution and goes about the work of that institution he must still effect a posture of maintaining local values over outside values. The most common positions involved in this first type of role distance are those achieved through political patronage: ennumerators, census takers, distributers of literature, political fence-menders and foremen of work-gangs. No matter how one comes to occupy such a position he is not expected to use it in a manner that could be said to be "putting on airs". Such an office holder will therefore attempt a local definition of self through the tactic of enacting role distance from his official role. To others he will make it known that he was lucky to get the job (it wasn't based on any special merit), that he is hoping for a speedy end to the work since he has other things to do, and

finally that any business the job entails is of minor importance for making a particular visit (even if it is his sole reason for the visit). Since most Poplar Grove residents see such positions as desirable this type of role distance is usually thought to be quite acceptable. However its acceptability is contingent on how much collaboration is suspected since it is one thing to drop role expectations because of a disbelief in their validity and another thing to drop role expectations for purposes of ingratiation.

The second type of role distance indicates the stress occasioned by non-negotiable social identities. As was seen above it is possible in Poplar Grove to reach agreement on the relative importance of some activities. For example, it could happen while taking the census that only approximate answers are jotted down by the census taker since the Poplar Grove consensus is to minimize the official job requirements. However, when the agent with whom one must interact is from outside Poplar Grove the readiness to drop onerous expectations is not so apparent. Rather, it is apparent that the outside agent will maintain expectations that are unacceptable to local residents. They may not wish to negotiate these expectations or may not be able to without confrontation so they enact another variety of role distance. In this type of role distance hostility may or may not be present. As opposed to taking up a position than can be dropped at will this type of role distance is much less voluntary since the role is less voluntary. Roles involved in this type are best illustrated by the fishery inspector-fisherman relationship or the agricultural representative-farmer relationship.

These interactions that take place at the wharf, in the field or within closed quarters differ according to those who might be present. If the interaction is between only the fisherman and the fishery inspector there is the possibility of a rather subtle form of role distance. The fisherman may pretend to accept the expectations of alter, may even foster these expectations but when the fishery inspector is gone he will use the conversation to illustrate how "ignorant" the fishery inspector really is. One agricultural representative had assured me that he saw "eye to eye" with a certain farmer; this was the same farmer who used the representative as a fine example of an incompetent bureaucrat. Generally, role distance is enacted before others and again is not usually all that overt. If one fisherman happens to be involved in conversation with an inspector others will be in communication with him and among themselves by smiles and eye movements. If the outside agent in the interaction is particularly susceptible there might even be attempts to make a fool out of the individual. A fisherman may ask an inspector if he is the man in charge of stills since he seems in charge of everything else, or he may anticipate some behavioural characteristic of the inspector and with a show of innocence employ the characteristic, or he may get the inspector going on a particular point that others find humourous. Although role distance does allow the Poplar Grove male to laugh off many expectations direct confrontation is sometimes inevitable.

The veneer of humour can wear thin and it has been known for fishery inspectors to be told to "fuck off".[4]

There are others who have expectations of Poplar Grove residents. Drifting tourists, land-hungry city people, and the avid (back-to-the-land) admirer all will make the occasional demands on Poplar Grove residents. The role distance enacted with these peoples differs from the first and second types of role distance. It would be possible in some circumstances to change alter's perception of the Poplar Grove resident's role (look here, we're not quaint) if one had the time or patience, however since no threat is involved (as with government agents) residents often play along with these outsiders until they go away. Older persons who have the Gaelic will sometimes make comments to one another about their visitors but generally speaking Poplar Grove residents would sooner not meet these people and when they do are more likely to only engage in the most superficial of conversations: "Oh yes, we fish a lot here."; "Yes, we farm too."; "No, we don't do much of that."; "Yes, very little gaelic spoken today."; "No, I don't have any gaelic myself" (he has).[5]

[4]It should be remembered that inspectors have power over the affairs of local fisherman. For what Poplar Grove males consider minor offences fishing operations may be closed down, or a barn ordered vacated. On one occasion the local fish-house was almost shut down because it did not have running fresh water or toilet facilities. With the attempt to enforce federal standards in these matters some confrontation is inevitable.

[5]One use of Gaelic I observed (through a translator) was in the local co-op store where two tourists were waxing ecstatically on the "real mud roads" in the Mabou area. They expressed the hope that the mud splatters would remain on the car until they got back home so that they could show their friends. At this point two older men kept others in the store amused by starting into Gaelic with appropriate comments on the content of the overheard conversation.

While it is somewhat easy to "get rid of" tourists and other admirers of the quaint or scenic it is not so easy to dispose of those wanting information on land. It is usual during the summer months to have several visitors make serious offers for the purchase of some piece of land they picked out from a resident's holdings. They then badger the resident for a price requesting the resident to make the first quote since they are certain from stories told and from their own perception of the resident's comparative sophistication that any price quoted will be low. For those not interested in selling land they either leave by the back door when a car with out-of-province plates drives up to the front door, or they deny they own the land, or if pressed say they promised it to someone else--a brother away or something similar. The last thing they want is a discussion about the land or the possible selling price.

The enactment of role distance is but a passive response to non-negotiative definitions of situation. Rather than truly collaborate, confront or engage in frivolity with alter, the Poplar Grove resident finds the entire situation uncomfortable and seeks relief from the expectations pressed upon him. This passivity of role distance and its psychological withdrawal stands in contrast to another tactic used in non-negotiable situations--the tactic of situation manipulation through information management. This tactic is of some consequence in effecting self-set standards.

The willingness of the federal-provincial governments to solve unemployment, poverty, and subsistance farming problems is frequently liable to the tactic of manipulation. Many Poplar Grove people cynically view these governmental programs; they realize the politician's desire to be elected. As reporter Lynden MacIntyre notes in the Halifax Chronicle Herald (6/9/70, 16):

> "In Inverness County...bulldozers, graders, picks and shovels have been thrown into the election contest with gay abandon. It is conceivable that there is not an idle piece of machinery with the possible exception of snowploughs - on Cape Breton Island."

The residents of Poplar Grove realize other programs unrelated to their status of voters but derived from their citizenship in Canadian industrial society. There are winter (make-work) programs to stimulate the economy, fishery and agricultural development programs, trades training programs and a number of social assistance programs involving direct transfer payments such as family allowance, old age pension, unemployment insurance, and welfare payments. While none of these programs are actually intended to foster occupational diversity most are especially advantageous to the local economy. The necessity of collecting unemployment insurance has already been pointed out. It should also be mentioned that the particular utility of unemployment insurance benefits during the winter months is its allowance of continuing income while a fisherman makes his traps, overhauls his boat engine and generally prepares for the spring fishery. Instead of using unemployment insurance when "out of work" the Poplar Grove fisherman uses it as part of his work.

In such circumstances he does not attempt to get work (wage employment) since such would actually be unprofitable for his fishing endeavours.[6] The use of unemployment insurance as a manipulation of governmental intent may be seen when contrasted with receipt of welfare payments. There is no embarrassment with "going on unemployment" but the sheer dependence of being on welfare is seen as a condition of disgrace. It was rumoured that one such family received the "dole" while I was in Poplar Grove. People in Poplar Grove felt that such was not necessary: "Surely, they can get some help from their family away". The very fact that there remains such a distinction between welfare and other types of transfer payments seems to indicate that Poplar Grove residents perceive limits to their dependence on alter for sustenance. In this regard I would suggest these limits to be part of the local self-set standards and hence part of the local stance to a modernizing world.

Local standards are also used to evaluate the governments efforts to develop the fishing and farming industries. There can be no doubt that the governmental subsidy of these industries is most selective. It hopes to promote rational farming and fishing techniques by specialization, capital investment in advanced technology, and by the encouragement of fewer farms but larger farm operations and fewer inshore fishermen but more off-shore trawlers and draggers. ARDA (Agricultural Rehabilitation and Development Act) sent researchers and field workers into the Poplar Grove area.

[6] In some quarters winter works programs are greeted as interim solutions to the problem of seasonal unemployment. In Poplar Grove these programs represent no great advantage. They would get the same money on a winter works program as on unemployment insurance and in the process lose the advantage of the free winter period. One must therefore appear to be out of work yet escape from the prospect of work.

In Poplar Grove ARDA was seen to be willing to develop agricultural land, create fishing facilities and put roads through to woodlots. While the Dutch used such programs to both their own advantage and within the intents of ARDA policy other residents of Poplar Grove were likely to see what they could get out of the local representative. One example of manipulation was the setting up of the fish house at the wharf. ARDA agreed to the setting up of a fish house since it was felt that such a house would permit the local landing of groundfish as well as the cleaning and preparation of groundfish. This would allow for diversification in the fishery and eventually allow for specialization (full-time fishermen)[7]. In the five years the building has been there this building has most often been used for the sole purpose of the lobster catch.[8] Instead of creating a diversity this ARDA project more firmly entrenched the tactic of occupational diversity (at least in the initial years) by creating favorable conditions for local fishing practice. Local farming practice was also helped through the utilization of certain ARDA subsidized programs but not in any manner that changed the nature of the farm operations. Better feeds were introduced, some fields improved, and cattle stock improved; the combined effect was to make present farming more efficient but not more extensive.

[7] H. McNeil (local ARDA representative) on the reasons for building the fish house at Poplar Grove wharf.

[8] Recently two longliners have come to Poplar Grove and indications are the fishery there will now diversify. It can be noted that the price of groundfish has improved significantly and so justify the presence of longliners.

The Manpower in-training grants are the best illustration of the manipulation of role preformance by local residents. Under the old ARDA program these grants would be given to local fishermen or farmers to update their skills.[9] A weekly salary was paid to those taking the courses. The courses were practical exercises in navigation, net mending and engine repair. These courses were very popular, especially the engine repair course since it afforded the opportunity to work on one's own boat with expert guidance. It was common for some to attempt to take such a course twice (officially not permitted) and usual to take all the courses of a series once. It must be noted that since the introduction of these in-training programs there has been a shift away from those courses suited to the tactic of occupational diversity. The early courses were located in Poplar Grove, were open to all regardless of age, and were of such a level that they were immediately practical (even to the point of being "old hat" to the fishermen). The new type of course is geared to the industrial society, is located away from Poplar Grove and is selective in picking candidates. While it was common to take the courses previously it is now seldom that residents go away for training; if they do, as did a few, it was for the money and not the skill.

[9]The "old ARDA program" is meant to indicate the ARDA programs of the middle sixties which I see as directed at upgrading rural life. Since DREE this emphasis has been changed and ARDA has been re-directed to industrializing agriculture irregardless of the rural life. If DREE (Department of Regional Economic Expansion) is aimed at growth centers and manpower mobility to these centers then its programs will be less suited to occupational diversity than were ARDA's; at least ARDA was liable to manipulation.

Summary

If the Poplar Grove Scot is looked at from the context of the modernization process it becomes apparent that what is at stake is a judgement based on middle class values. The social identity of the middle class is sometimes placed upon residents of Poplar Grove and the expectations of consumption of goods, life style, etc. are automatically expected of people whose cultural definitions include identities other than those of the middle class. In interaction with outsiders it is difficult to negotiate elements of one's identity since the ideology of modernization is so dogmatic and pervasive. To one's relatives and even to oneself the resident of Poplar Grove may experience stigma; he may also wish to determine the situation in other ways. Occupational diversity, role distance and manipulation are ways of keeping self-set standards operating and minimizing the effects of outside standards. Through these tactics one's identity may be somewhat protected since it finds a measure of social justification.

CHAPTER 5

CONCLUSION

By way of a conclusion I should like to resolve two problems of this research presentation. The first problem is that of the research format and the second that of the research perspective I have taken. In the course of this research I have long been bothered by both problems since the cannon of parsimony seems at variance with the research format and the fact-value dichotomy seems adverse to the perspective I have taken. The problems are related and they are able to meet some resolution.

It would appear that two major chapters of this dissertation (those following the introduction) include a great amount of information that is purely descriptive and not related analytically to the problem at issue. To answer the question, "What can be said of those who remain behind?", it could be argued that the situational aspects of stigma (Chapter 4) are far more <u>a propos</u> than the long historic chapter (2) or even the ethnographic chapter (3).

If chapters 2 and 3 be taken as background chapters why have I spent such a major portion of the research time on them?

I shall suggest two possible answers to this question. The material of chapters 2 and 3 may be explained as the product of disorganized research or it may be explained as a deliberate effort to present a group of people to the attention of others. I feel both answers have merit.

Blumer (1969:1-60) warns the neophyte of the bitter-sweet lessons of field work. In exchange for intimate acquaintance with an area of life one is compounded with a miasma of leads, observations, hypotheses that alternately distract, stimulate and perplex the participant observer. When the work is produced the critics frequently claim it to be either "soft science or journalism" (Blumer, 1969:38). If the format of this research be disorganized by virtue of the disorganizing effects of field work then the problem is understandable and ordinary.

However, there does exist another reason for the choice of chapters and this is significant for an understanding of the research process and the training of sociologists.

The question raised in this research is: "What can be said of those who remain behind?". In a sense this question is ambiguous. The sociologist could go on to say that people who remain behind have specific characteristics, or that they are perceived to have specific characteristics. The sociologist, however, could not go on to say: "These people who remain behind are alright". To do the latter would seriously violate the fact/value dichotomy that science rests upon; it would not be sociology, it would be politics.

As a sociologist one will attempt to escape the rapture of political sentiment. Yet, in this conclusion it is perhaps significant that a period of sociological research be ended with a few questions on the character of the research activity. Throughout the duration of the first drafts of this work it would never have occurred to myself that my value perceptions of Poplar Grove had unduly influenced this research. Despite efforts I have made to keep a value free format it has recently been my understanding that a unity of perspective is present in this work which is other than that prescribed by factual necessity. The elements of this perspective are presented as follows.

This perspective is not explicitly stated in the text of this research presentation. It comes about from the selection of material to be presented. Much of what could have been observed in Poplar Grove was not attempted, what was attempted in turn was not all equally presented in the above text. It occurred to me that I was using some other criteria to include information other than criteria of scientific relevance. The motivation that perhaps directed the inclusion of historical material and ethnographic material in this research format did not arise from research procedures as much as from the procedure of research. While a research procedure can attempt to get specific answers to specific questions a procedure of research may not even settle upon which questions are worth researching. For example, the chapter on history came about simply because I was initially impressed with the local regard for history. In order to understand Poplar Grove I sought an understanding of their history.

This effort not only consumed the early part of the research but it placed a long term perspective on the modernizing process.

The ethnographic colour of Chapter 3 arises from an early need I experienced to clarify the difference between the traditional culture and its remnants in Poplar Grove and the middle class life style that is today so well known in the western world. At this point in the research process history had informed me and the knowledge of differences assured me that the ultimate destiny of Poplar Grove would be unfortunate. Either the place would be vacated of Scots and settled by non-resident summer visitors or it would keep going under present unfavorable conditions. What was unfavorable was the undesired omnipotence and omnipresence of the modernizing ideology. While interviewing people on this section of the research each new day brought some new change that picked away at the foundations of the local community. By the time I had formulated a hypothesis on situation management as a means to subverting agents of modernization my sympathies clearly lay with the residents of Poplar Grove. As I mentioned early, I had felt that this sympathy in no way hampered my efforts to be objective in making observations.

Upon reflection it would now seem that the history of Poplar Grove and the unique aspect of its cultural life were of such importance in directing my procedure of research and my resulting sympathies that I have included these same approaches so that the reader would not only grasp the sociological elements of the research but also the political implications.

By so doing it is possible to be justly criticized for this inclusion of material not relevant to the research purpose. A consolation remains; in answer to an ambiguous question a sociologist took the liberty of responding to both queries.

APPENDIX I

QUESTIONNAIRE

QUESTIONNAIRE

FATHER _____ AGE ____ NAMED AFTER _____

TRACED HOW MANY GENERATIONS _____

MOTHER _____ AGE ____ NAMED AFTER _____

TRACED HOW MANY GENERATIONS _____

FATHER _____ FROM _____
MOTHER _____ FROM _____
FATHER _____ FROM _____
MOTHER _____ FROM _____
FATHER _____ FROM _____
MOTHER _____ FROM _____
FATHER _____ FROM _____
MOTHER _____ FROM _____
FATHER _____ FROM _____
MOTHER _____ FROM _____
FATHER _____ FROM _____
MOTHER _____ FROM _____

) Children's

Name	Age	Named After	Time Away	Place	Occup.	Visits Home

) Brothers and Sisters

Names	How Long Away	Where	Visits Home

Amount of land _____ Origin of land _____
Same _____ Added _____ Sold _____
How Long in Family _____ Intention to keep in Family _____

Farm
Milkers _____ Yearlings _____ Bales of Hay ____
Sheep _____ Pigs _____ Help for the Farm ____ Arrangement _____
Hens _____ Horses _____ Vegetables grown ____
Calves _____

Fish ____ With whom ____ Arrangement ____ Type & Quality of Equipment __
Type of Fish _____ Whether any of the fish is for self-use _____

Condition of house
Generally _____ Major Appliances _____ Toilet indoors ____
Running Water _____ Central Heating ___

. Attitudinal Probe of Social Institutions
Family Composition
Visiting
Church and Religious Life
Frolics, Wakes, Weddings
Spoken Gaelic
Investment in Education
Out-Migration
Political Patronage

. What will become of this area?
Potential value of land here.

APPENDIX II

TABLES

TABLE 1

POPULATION OF INVERNESS COUNTY, NOVA SCOTIA, THE MARITIME PROVINCES AND CANADA, 1851-1961 WITH DECADAL GROWTH RATES.

	Inverness County		Nova Scotia		Maritime Provinces		Canada	
	Census Pop.	% Change	Census Pop. 000's	% Change	Census Pop. 000's	% Change	Census Pop. 000's	% Change
1851	---	---	277	---	533	---	2,436	---
1861	---	---	331	19.5	664	24.5	3,230	32.6
1871	23,415	---	388	17.2	768	15.6	3,689	14.2
1881	25,651	9.5	441	13.6	871	13.5	4,325	17.2
1891	25,779	.5	451	2.2	881	1.2	4,833	11.8
1901	24,353	-5.5	460	2.0	894	1.5	5,371	11.1
1911	25,571	5.4	492	7.1	938	4.9	7,207	34.2
1921	23,808	-6.6	524	6.4	1001	6.6	8,788	21.9
1931	21,055	-11.5	513	-2.1	1009	0.9	10,377	18.1
1941	20,573	-2.2	578	12.7	1130	12.0	11,507	10.9
1951	18,390	-10.6	643	11.2	1257	11.2	14,009	21.8
1961	18,718	2.0	737	14.7	1440	14.6	18,238	30.2

SOURCE: Statistics Canada, Census of Population 1951 and 1961.
* Decadal growth rate for Inverness County derived from Census figures.

* Figures not available for 1851 and 1861 population in Inverness County. Inverness County population actual Census population, Nova Scotia, the Maritimes and Canada rounded to thousands.

TABLE 2

Intercensal Net Migration, Maritime Provinces, 1851-1961.
Net Migration as a Percent of Base Year Population.

	000's	%
1851-1861	+ 23	+ 4.3
1861-1871	- 13	- 2.0
1871-1881	- 25	- 3.3
1881-1891	-101	-11.6
1891-1901	- 89	-10.1
1901-1911	- 75	- 8.4
1911-1921	- 76	- 8.1
1921-1931	-107	-10.7
1931-1941	- 5	- 0.5
1941-1951	- 93	- 8.2
1951-1961	- 82	- 6.5

SOURCE: Population Migration and Economic Development in the Atlantic Provinces. Atlantic Provinces Economic Council, Frederiction: 1968, p. 12.

TABLE 3

Male and Female Migration by Age, Inverness County, 1941-1951.

MALES			FEMALES		
Age Groups	Mig.	%	Age Groups	Mig.	%
0 to 4	-44.	-4.	0 to 4	-83.	-9.
5 to 9	-260.	-24.	5 to 9	-276.	-27.
10 to 14	-556.	-48.	10 to 14	-483.	-48.
15 to 19	-614.	-52.	15 to 19	-527.	-50.
20 to 24	-441.	-45.	20 to 24	-292.	-36.
25 to 29	-155.	-19.	25 to 29	-126.	-19.
30 to 34	-91.	-13.	30 to 34	-48.	-10.
35 to 39	-97.	-17.	35 to 39	-65.	-15.
40 to 44	-47.	-10.	40 to 44	-60.	-14.
45 to 49	-59.	-13.	45 to 49	-53.	-13.
50 to 54	-29.	-6.	50 to 54	-41.	-10.
55 to 59	-4.	-1.	55 to 59	-34.	-8.
60 to 64	13.	3.	60 to 64	7.	2.
65+	-108.	-8.	65+	-105.	-8.
TOTAL MALES	-2449.	-18.	TOTAL FEMALES	-2138.	-18.

SOURCE: Net Migration Rates By County For the Maritime Provinces. J. R. Winter. Wolfville, N.S.:1970

TABLE 4

Proportion of Population Classified as Rural and Urban, Canada and the Atlantic Region, 1901-1961.

	Canada Rural/Urban		Atlantic Region Rural/Urban	
1901	64	36	74	26
1911	55	45	68	32
1921	49	51	63	37
1931	46	54	62	38
1941	47	53	61	39
1951	38	62	54	46
1961	30	70	50	50

SOURCE: Rural Canada in Transition, D. Whyte in Rural Canada in Transition. Ottawa: Agricultural Economics Research Council. 1966. p. 11.

TABLE 5

Occupational Distribution of the Labour Force, Inverness County, Nova Scotia and Canada, 1961.

Occupation	Inverness County	Nova Scotia	Canada
Professional, Technical	7.8	9.0	9.7
Clerical	3.5	10.1	12.9
Sales	3.8	6.2	6.3
Service, Recreation	9.8	18.5	12.3
Transport, Communication	5.7	6.8	6.1
Farmers, Farm Workers	17.0	5.2	10.0
Fishermen, Loggers, Hunters	15.0	4.7	1.8
Miners, related workers	2.2	3.0	1.0
Craftsmen, related workers	18.0	21.1	24.1
Labourers	8.1	5.7	4.9
Managerial	6.7	7.7	8.3
Not Stated	2.4	2.0	2.6

TOTALS = 100%

SOURCE: Statistics Canada. Census of Population 1961.

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