

CARRIAGE MAKING IN ST. JOHN'S
NEWFOUNDLAND: A HISTORICAL STUDY OF
THE PRODUCTS OF A FOLK INDUSTRY

CENTRE FOR NEWFOUNDLAND STUDIES

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CARRIAGE-MAKING IN ST. JOHN'S, NEWFOUNDLAND:
A HISTORICAL STUDY OF THE PRODUCTS
OF A FOLK INDUSTRY

by



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ABSTRACT

Horse-drawn vehicles were necessary in St. John's from the early years of the nineteenth century until World War Two and Confederation. Small carriage factories began to appear in the city by the mid-nineteenth century and some continued to operate until well into the twentieth century. Between 1850 and 1910, at least fifteen carriage factories were established within St. John's.

These factories were not large assembly line operations. Individuals who worked in the factories were able to have a great amount of input into the products produced. Research into industries of this kind has not been conducted by folklorists and craft scholars because these factories do not fit the standard definition of craft.

This thesis is an attempt to assess the limitations of the term craft by reconstructing aspects of the carriage-making industry in St. John's. It focuses particularly on the ways in which this urban industry was similar to so-called rural crafts. Research involved both archival and field investigation. Information was obtained on the historical development of the industry, the construction

process as it occurred in one factory, the products of this industry and the contemporary functions of the extant factory products in the St. John's area. Wherever possible sketches, tables, maps and photographs have been used to illustrate aspects of this industry and its products.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

During the preparation of this thesis, I have received the assistance of numerous individuals. The guidance, support and friendship of Dr. Gerald Pocius, Department of Folklore, helped make this thesis possible. Edward Tompkins provided needed archival guidance. A major debt is owed to the many individuals who supplied me with information about the carriage-making industry. Informants are too numerous to list; however, a few who gave generously of their time must be mentioned. Aly O'Brien and Mike O'Brien provided a great amount of information on life in early twentieth century St. John's. Geoffrey Carnell and Robert Butt answered many of my questions about the operation of Carnell's Carriage Factory. Robert MacKinnon and David Taylor assisted in the final preparation of the manuscript.

Many thanks are also due to the following: Memorial University for financial support, the Newfoundland Museum, Memorial University of Newfoundland Folklore and Language Archive, Maritime History Group Archive, the staff of the Provincial Archives of Newfoundland and Labrador and Memorial University Library, particularly those from the Centre for Newfoundland Studies and Interlibrary loans. Damien Morrissey provided cartographic guidance and drafted one of the maps. Mrs. Elaine Nardocchio typed the thesis and assisted in its final preparation. Special thanks to

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INTRODUCTION

During the summer of 1978, I was a member of a student research team at Mount Allison University, Sackville, New Brunswick. For four months, we conducted historical and cultural research in the Tantramar marsh region of New Brunswick.¹ One of the advantages of working on this research project was that we were able to visit many of the communities of this region. On one of our excursions, we discovered a small carriage factory in Middle Sackville, a community located on a ridge overlooking the Tantramar marsh. The building looked more like an outbuilding for one of the many farms in the area. However, inside this small, plain structure, amidst dirt and dust, were the tools, machinery and materials necessary for the construction of horse-drawn vehicles. Parts of carriages were even found in various stages of completion. This building had not been greatly disturbed since the factory closed in 1949. We recorded its features by photographing both the interior and exterior. What interested and puzzled me most was the juxtaposition of what I thought to be an urban industry in a rural setting.

My interest in carriage manufacturing developed from this discovery and, as a first year graduate student at

¹ See Richard Mackinnon, Robert MacKinnon, Elaine Bowser, Karen McClure, Diane Tye, Katherine Skerret, Sara Lohead, A Profile of the Tantramar Marsh (Sackville, New Brunswick: Mount Allison University Press, 1978).

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Memorial University of Newfoundland (fall 1978), I decided to further investigate the carriage-making industry. The capital of Newfoundland - St. John's - was the site of many carriage factories throughout the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. However, none could be recorded like the one in Middle Sackville, for all have long disappeared. After talking to older St. John's residents, I soon learned that many people still remembered the carriage factories of the past. Thus, because oral and documentary sources could be utilized, I chose to embark upon further research on the carriage-making industry in St. John's, and, ultimately, to write a thesis on this topic.

While conducting initial research, an extensive body of literature on horse-drawn vehicles was found. Much of this varied in quality, ranging from popular photograph books on vehicle styles to historical accounts of the development of horse-drawn transport.² Some European

²Some popular photograph books: James Arnold, All Drawn By Horse (London: David and Charles, 1979); Don H. Berkebile, American Carriages, Sleighs, Sulkies and Carts (New York: Dover Publications Inc., 1977); Felton's Carriages, Being a Selection of Coaches, Chariots, Phaetons, etc., from 'A Treatise on Carriages' by William Felton, Coachmaker (London: Hugh Evelyn, 1962); New York State Historical Association, The Carriage and Harness Museum (New York: New York State Historical Association, n.d.); Marylian Watney, The Elegant Horse-Drawn Vehicles at the Shelburne Museum (Shelburne, Vermont: The Shelburne Museum, 1974). Some detailed historical studies on the history of carriages: Ivan Sparkes, Stagecoaches and Carriages: An Illustrated History of Coaches and Coaching (Buckinghamshire: Spurbbooks Ltd., 1975); Ezra M. Stratton, The World Runs on Wheels (New York: Benjamin Blom, 1972).

works focused on the origin and diffusion of vehicle-types and on the way in which rural craftsmen constructed vehicles.³ In North America, few studies were found to be of the same quality as the European research.⁴

³Some studies of origin and diffusion are: Alexander Fenton, "On the Mapping of Carts and Waggon in Europe," Ethnologia Europaea, 9 (1976), 1-13; Cyril Fox, "Sleds, Carts and Waggon," Antiquity, 5 (1931), 185-99; J. Geraint Jenkins, "Two-Wheeled Carts," Gwerin, 2 (1959), 162-75; Michael Robbins, "A Note on Early Wheeled Vehicles in Europe," Journal of Transport History, 4 (1959-60), 53-55. For a discussion of the way in which rural craftsmen constructed vehicles see: James Arnold, The Farm Waggon of England and Wales (London: John Baker, 1969); Gosta Berg, Sledges and Wheeled Vehicles (Copenhagen: Levin and Munksgaards Forlag, 1935); J. Geraint Jenkins, Agricultural Transport in Wales (Cardiff: National Museum of Wales, 1962); J. Geraint Jenkins, The English Farm Wagon: Origins and Structure (Reading: The University of Reading, 1969); George Sturt, The Wheelwright's Shop (1923; rpt. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1974).

⁴Some exceptions in the United States are: John Omwake, The Conestoga Six-Horse Bell Teams of Eastern Pennsylvania (Cincinnati: John Omwake, 1930); Blanton Owen, "The Farm Sled of the Southern Appalachian Highlands: Its Construction, Use and Operation," Pioneer America Society Transactions, 3 (1980), 25-45; George Shumway, Edward Durrell and Howard C. Frey, Conestoga Wagons, 1750-1850: Freight Carriers for 100 Years of America's Westward Expansion (York, Pennsylvania: George Shumway, 1966); for Canada see: L.K. Ingersoll, Over the Cobblestones: Notes on the History of the Sloop (St. John, New Brunswick: The New Brunswick Museum, 1975); Paul-Andre Leclerc, Les Voitures a Chevaux a la Campagne (La Pocatiere: Musee Francois-Pilote, 1978).

Construction manuals and trade journals written by individuals involved in the carriage-making industry in both Europe and the United States were published in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.⁵ These enabled carriage-makers to be aware of current construction techniques and vehicle styles. One contemporary journal, The Carriage Journal, reprints articles from these earlier trade journals, as well as publishing studies of interest to carriage collectors and enthusiasts.⁶ Topics covered include various vehicle types, vehicle restoration, carriage museums and historical origins of particular vehicle styles. Even though this wide variety of literature exists, we know little about urban carriage-making in much of North America. One objective of this thesis is to fill this lacuna by providing a study of the St. John's, carriage-making industry.

One of the major reasons for this gap is the assumptions which are held about the term craft. A craft is often termed a "handicraft" and is usually defined as the process

⁵For a list of construction manuals and trade journals see: Don H. Berkebile, Carriage Terminology: An Historical Dictionary (Washington: Smithsonian Institution Press and Liberty Cap Books, 1978), pp. 483-87.

⁶This journal was first published by the Carriage Association of America in 1963. It is still being issued at the present.

of making hand-made objects for everyday use with few tools in a traditional way. Craftsmen are stereotyped as rural, isolated country folk who utilize no machinery in the construction of their products.⁷ Additionally, products of craftsmen are assumed to be localized in construction and design; unaffected by external influences.⁸ The use for which a craft was originally designed is often viewed as a craft object's only use worthy of study;

⁷ See the definitions of craft by the following: James Arnold, The Shell Book of Country Crafts (London: John Baker, 1968), pp. 47-48; Warren Roberts, "Folk Crafts," in Folklore and Folklife: An Introduction, ed. Richard M. Dorson (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1972), pp. 233-40; J. Geraint Jenkins, Traditional Country Craftsmen (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1965), pp. 1-6; Norman Wymer, English Country Crafts (London: B.T. Batsford Ltd., 1946), pp. 5-7. Only a few scholars recognize that craftsmen use machines and exist in urban settings. See, for example: J. Geraint Jenkins, ed., The Wool Textile Industry in Great Britain (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1972); J. Geraint Jenkins, The Craft Industries, Industrial Archaeology Series, No. 10, ed. L.T.C. Rolt (London: Longman Group Limited, 1972); Kenneth Hudson, The Archaeology of Industry (New York: Charles Scribner and Sons, 1976).

⁸ For example, Warren Roberts states that the craft of the goldsmith, "probably lies outside the realm of folk crafts" because the goldsmith "drew his designs often from printed rather than traditional sources." Roberts, "Folk Crafts," p. 234.

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secondary or later uses are rarely examined.⁹

Clearly, these assumptions about crafts are too limiting. Urban industries such as carriage-making have not been looked upon as viable research topics because of the narrow focus which these assumptions establish. This thesis attempts to assess the limitations of the term "craft", and to provide broader and more realistic definitions for this term. This is accomplished by examining the form, construction and use of the historical products of a St. John's folk industry - carriage-making.¹⁰

In order to conduct an examination of the St. John's carriage-making industry, the historical background must first be provided. Chapter Two of this thesis discusses the historical development and decline of this industry. Issues examined include: the number of factories engaged in carriage-making; the dates of their operation; the number of workers involved; the diversity of products.

Following this I will illuminate the production context of this industry by providing a case study of one St. John's carriage factory - Carnell's. It will be

⁹ Only a few scholars have examined the secondary or later uses of craft objects. See, for example: William F.H. Nicolaisen, "Distorted Function' In Material Aspects of Culture," Folklore Forum, 12 (1979), 223-33; E.N. Anderson, "On the Folk Art of Landscaping," Western Folklore, 31 (1972), 179-88.

¹⁰ The term "folk industry" derives from George Sturt who calls his rural wheelwright shop by this name. See: Sturt, The Wheelwright's Shop, p. 17.

shown that terms such as "hand-made," "tool," and "machine" need to be reassessed. Even though this particular factory was located in an urban area and made extensive use of machinery, there were characteristics which are similar to those often attributed to rural craftsmen. Specific issues addressed in this chapter include: the patrilinear inheritance of the factory; the way in which workers learned their respective trades; craftsman-client interaction; the informal record-keeping system; drinking within the factory; and the design and construction process.

Chapter Four will delineate the various horse-drawn vehicle types common on the streets of St. John's throughout the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Not only the local, traditional vehicle types will be examined, but also the externally-derived, non-traditional types. In addition, the manner in which one particular St. John's vehicle type, the side sleigh - developed from a synthesis of traditional and modern design features will be discussed. Finally, I will provide a chronological survey of service vehicles such as coaches, cabs and night carts in order to demonstrate that both traditional and modern vehicle styles were used side by side. One of the main themes of this section will be that the St. John's carriage-making industry was not isolated, but very much influenced by external ideas.

Investigated next are the various ways in which the products of the St. John's carriage factories are used at the present. While much effort in craft research has been expended upon descriptions of the construction process and the intended use of objects, the secondary or later functions of artifacts are rarely examined. At present, the products of the St. John's factories are no longer used for the purposes for which they were originally designed. At a time when Newfoundland society is rapidly changing, the contemporary functions of the horse-drawn vehicles and parts of vehicles which remain reveal some of the attitudes residents of St. John's and vicinity have toward their past. In essence, this chapter will show that craft objects can change in function with concomitant temporal and contextual changes. Failure to perceive these changed functions will only result in faulty assumptions about artifacts within any given culture or group.

A central point to be made in this thesis is that the concept of craft as it has been heretofore defined has limitations. More meaningful research could be achieved by broadening the term to include the products of folk industries such as carriage-making. A folk industry is one which utilizes machinery, yet, retains many of the characteristics of rural craftsmen. The broadening of the term craft will not only be an impetus for more research

into the many industries like carriage-making which were once prevalent in Atlantic Canada, but will also instigate further investigation of issues such as the interaction of folk and popular artifacts, and the secondary or later functions of craft objects.

From a methodological point of view, this kind of study is difficult to approach, since no remaining carriage-making factories are in operational condition. Consequently, participant-observation fieldwork, a necessity in much ethnographic research, cannot be conducted. Instead, adopting the historical ethnographic approach utilizing historical documents, oral interviews, and an examination of the cultural landscape, I attempted to reconstruct a portrait of this industry.¹¹ From September 12, 1978 to May 1, 1979, initial research was conducted. It was soon discovered that much time had to be spent in Newfoundland's various archives - the Centre for Newfoundland Studies, Memorial University of Newfoundland; the

¹¹ The term historical ethnography is used by Don Yoder in: Don Yoder, *American Folklife*, ed. Don Yoder (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1978), preface. Some works in this field include: David J. Winslow, "Tollgate Lore From Upstate New York," in *American Folklife*, pp. 209-38; Walter Lee Robbins, "Wishing In and Shooting In the New Year among the Germans in the Carolinas," in *American Folklife*, pp. 257-79; Solon J. Buck and Elizabeth Buck, *The Planting of Civilization in Western Pennsylvania* (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1939); Anthony N.B. Garvan, "Historical Depth in Comparative Culture Study," *American Quarterly*, 14 (1962), Supplement, 260-74.

Newfoundland Provincial Archives; Provincial Reference Room, A.C. Hunter Library; Maritime History Group Archive; and the Memorial University of Newfoundland Folklore and Language Archive. Newspapers, photographs, census data, business directories, and private collections such as photograph albums, personal papers and diaries, contained the most useful information. Nineteenth century St. John's newspapers held a vast amount of valuable information on the industry and its products in the sale advertisements, court news, and social columns.¹² The time-consuming task of searching these documents was begun in January, 1979. This was a part-time endeavour until September, 1980 when three months of full-time archival research was initiated. Information was recorded on file cards which are now on deposit at the Memorial University of Newfoundland Folklore and Language Archive (MUNFLA 81-637).

Throughout 1978, 1979 and 1980, fifteen interviews were conducted with individuals once involved in this industry. Approximately ten hours of taped interviews

¹² Some research has been done showing the usefulness of newspapers for folklife research. See, for example: Peter O. Wacker, "Historical Geographers, Newspaper Advertisements and the Bicentennial Celebration," Professional Geographer, 26 (1974), 12-18; Don Yoder, "The Newspaper and Folklife Studies," Folklife, 15, No. 3 (1966), 16-23.

were collected. All pertinent tapes, transcripts, notes, photocopies and articles were also placed in the Memorial University of Newfoundland Folklore and Language Archive.

From May, 1979 to September, 1980, fieldwork was conducted in St. John's and the surrounding communities of Mount Pearl, Newtown, Flatrock and Pouch Cove. This fieldwork consisted of searching for and recording the remaining products of the carriage-making industry. The majority of this industry's products have not been preserved by museums, but by residents who have chosen, for various reasons, to retain and restore these artifacts. Fieldwork first took the form of traverses, a methodology often used by cultural geographers, in searching for extant vehicles and vehicle parts. Over this one year and four month period, every street in St. John's and the surrounding communities was travelled by car. When a vehicle or vehicle part was located, the methodology set by Glassie in his various architecture studies was followed: artifacts were mapped; artifactual types were assigned; examples of particular types were recorded by taking photographs and making drawings; and interviews were conducted with carriage owners.¹³ In many instances,

¹³See: Henry Glassie, Folk Housing in Middle Virginia: A Structural Analysis of Historic Artifacts (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1975); Henry Glassie, Pattern in the Material Folk Culture of Eastern United States, University of Pennsylvania Monographs in Folklore and Folklife, No. 1 (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1968).

vehicles and their parts were situated in sheds, backyards and basements, places not visible from the road. Information about the location of these artifacts was obtained in interviews with individuals once involved in the carriage-making industry and by talking to artifact owners. In this way, an attempt was made to record all extant vehicles and parts in the region.

The St. John's carriage-making industry and its products will be discussed in this thesis in order to show that the present concept of craft is indeed limiting. Through a discussion of the industry's history, a case study of the construction process in one factory, the various vehicle types which existed in nineteenth and twentieth century St. John's and the functions of the vehicles and parts which still exist, a better understanding of the nature of this industry will be obtained. Any material culture study requires that the historical context be set. Thus, the next chapter will consider the development and decline of this industry in St. John's.

CHAPTER TWO
HISTORICAL BACKGROUND: THE DEVELOPMENT AND DECLINE
OF THE ST. JOHN'S CARRIAGE-MAKING INDUSTRY

Carriage-making was once an integral industry in many rural and urban North American communities. In some large urban centres there were highly automated assembly-line operations. For example, in the Eastern United States, as early as 1820, some vehicle factories were employing more than one hundred men, turning out vehicles with a gross value of \$100,000 annually, and shipping products all over the United States, Europe and South America.¹ In other urban centers and in rural areas, there were small craft shops operated by craftsmen and their families, which, according to Bridenbaugh, "belonged in the economic category known today as small business."² In Atlantic Canada there were large carriage manufacturers and small craft shops; however, most prevalent were small carriage factories which possessed some of the characteristics of

¹Victor S. Clark, History of Manufactures in the United States (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1929), I, 476.

²Carl Bridenbaugh, The Colonial Craftsman (1950; rpt. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1961), p. 126.

craft shops.³ St. John's Newfoundland, like the urban centres of Truro, Sydney, St. John and Charlottetown, had numerous carriage factories throughout the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.⁴ Few of these factories still exist and little is known about this industry. St. John's, the capital of Newfoundland, had more carriage factories than any of the other Newfoundland communities. This chapter discusses the development and decline of the

³ For a description of a large Nova Scotia carriage factory see: David E. Stephens, Forgotten Trades of Nova Scotia (Halifax: Petheric Press, 1973), p. 53. According to Stephens the Nova Scotia Carriage Company of Kentville, Nova Scotia was the fourth largest carriage factory in Canada. By 1890 it supposedly employed more than fifty men and produced over one thousand carriages per year. Stephens, Forgotten Trades, p. 53. For an excellent photograph of a small carriage factory in Liverpool, Nova Scotia see: J. Lynton Martin, "Wagon Wheels in Nova Scotia," The Occasional: An Occasional Journal for Nova Scotian Museums, 4, No. 1. (1976), p. 18.

⁴ Some Atlantic Canadian carriage factories are listed in a gazetteer for 1898. See: The McAlpine Directory Company, McAlpine's Gazetteer and Guide, Maritime Provinces and Newfoundland 1898 (St. John, New Brunswick: The McAlpine Directory Company, 1898), pp. 25, 55, 65. In addition to the carriage factories in the communities stated, there were carriage manufacturers in Amherst, Nova Scotia; Andover, New Brunswick; Bear River, Nova Scotia; Chester, Nova Scotia; Fredericton, New Brunswick; Montague, Prince Edward Island; North Sydney, Nova Scotia; and Westville, Nova Scotia. See: McAlpine's Gazetteer, pp. 1046, 19, 21, 27, 29, 47, 49, 64.

carriage-making industry in St. John's, Newfoundland.⁵

Carriage factories began to appear in St. John's in the mid-nineteenth century. Before this time the local horse-drawn vehicles were either imported or constructed in blacksmith and wheelwright shops. The carriage factories, which had developed by 1850, were small in size - only five out of the fifteen documented factories had more than five employees (Table 1). Some consisted merely of one large room where all activities occurred, while others were three stories in height with separate rooms for the different manufacturing procedures. All utilized some machinery. Lathes, band saws, circular saws and planers were found in most factories. In the mid-nineteenth century, machines were powered by steam engines; in the early twentieth century by gasoline engines. Each factory had only one power source to which was attached a network of belts running to the various machines. These factories were part of the machine age which, according to Herbert Read, "by 1830, was fully and

⁵ A study has been done on early trades and manufacturing in St. John's; however, the carriage-making industry was not included in this work. See: John L. Joy, "The Growth and Development of Trades and Manufacturing in St. John's, 1870-1914," M.A. thesis Memorial University of Newfoundland 1977.

Table 1

Carriage Factories in St. John's in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries

NAME OF FACTORY	LOCATION	DATES OF OPERATION	# OF EMPLOYEES		PRODUCTS	PRESENT FATE OF FACTORY SITE
			< 5	> 5		
Carnell	1st wheelwright shop - not available	1804-1872	*		horse-drawn vehicles of all descriptions; agricultural implements; caskets and coffins	1st shop - not available 1st factory - burned in 1892 2nd factory became a warehouse in 1966, a restaurant in 1978, and burned in 1979. It is now a parking lot.
	1st factory - 12-14 Cochrane Street	1872-1892		*		
	2nd factory - 120 Duckworth Street	1892-1966				
Thomas Lyon	Duckworth Street Exact location not available	1851-1875	*		horse-drawn vehicles of all descriptions; agricultural implements	Not available
Okes	1st factory - Water Street	1859-1879		*	horse-drawn vehicles of all descriptions; agricultural implements, coffins and caskets	1st factory - not available 2nd factory - the Sir Humphrey Gilbert Building is now on this site. 3rd factory - became a warehouse in 1965. It is now a retail store owned by Atlantic Films Ltd.
	2nd factory - 123 Duckworth Street across the street from Carnell's and McGrath's factories			*		
	3rd factory - corner of Duckworth and Prescott Streets - 214 Duckworth Street			*		

(cont'd)

Table 1

NAME OF FACTORY	LOCATION	DATES OF OPERATION	# OF EMPLOYEES		PRODUCTS	PRESENT FATE OF FACTORY SITE
			< 5	> 5		
Thomas McGrath	1st factory - 115-116 Duckworth Street	1867-1885	*		horse-drawn vehicles of all descriptions; agricultural implements	1st factory - the site is now a parking lot. 2nd factory - a house on the corner of British Square and Gower Street now stands on this site. 3rd factory - not available
	2nd factory - 124 Gower Street	1885-1892		*		
	3rd factory - not available	1892-1915		*		
St. John's Carriage Factory owned by the Furlong Brothers	123 Duckworth Street, across the street from Carnell's and McGrath's factories	1877-1879		*	horse-drawn vehicles of all descriptions; agricultural implements	The factory was sold to Oke's and Sons in 1879. On the site now is the Sir Humphrey Gilbert Building
Myrick and Windsor	1st factory - 87 Military Road	1877-1900	*		horse-drawn vehicles of all descriptions; agricultural implements	1st factory - a house now stands on this site. 2nd factory - a house now stands on this site.
	2nd factory - 17 Monkstown Road	1900-1935	*			
S.G. Collier	8 Waldegrave Street	1885-1935	*		horse-drawn vehicles of all descriptions; repair work, agricultural implements	The site is now a parking lot.

(cont'd)

TABLE 1

NAME OF FACTORY	LOCATION	DATES OF OPERATION	# OF EMPLOYEES		PRODUCTS	PRESENT FATE OF FACTORY SITE
			< 5	> 5		
The West End Carriage Factory - owned by Nicholas J. Murphy	32 Bambrick St.	1885-1955	*		horse-drawn vehicles of all descriptions; agricultural implements	The building was demolished when the St. John's arterial road was constructed in the west end in 1978.
Lawrence Brothers	139 Gower Street	1900-1960		*	horse-drawn vehicles of all descriptions; trunks, suitcases, caskets, coffins, racing boats	The building is now a warehouse and a retail company - Century Ltd.
John T. Nash	24 Adelaide Street	1905-1932	*		horse-drawn vehicles of all descriptions; agricultural implements	Now a Newfoundland Telephone Company building and the Sundance Saloon Bar and Restaurant stand on the site of this factory.
M.J. O'Keefe	1st factory - 14 Waldegrave Street 2nd factory - George Street (exact location not available)	1895-1924 1924-1945	*	*	horse-drawn vehicles of all descriptions; agricultural implements	1st factory - now a parking lot. 2nd factory - not available

(cont'd)

TABLE 1

NAME OF FACTORY	LOCATION	DATES OF OPERATION	# OF EMPLOYEES		PRODUCTS	PRESENT FATE OF FACTORY SITE
			<5	>5		
Phillip Wall	8 George Street	1895-1965	*		horse-drawn vehicles of all descriptions:	From 1965-1978, the building was a ware- house. In 1979, it was renovated into a bar and restaurant called "The Carriage Works"
T. Jackman	not available	c. 1909-1930	*		horse-drawn vehicles of all descriptions; agricultural implements	Not available
Albert Mathews	Barnes Road - exact location not available	c. 1909-1920	*		horse-drawn vehicles of all descriptions; agricultural implements	Not available
John Cole	Not available	c. 1910-1930	*		horse-drawn vehicles of all descriptions; agricultural implements	Not available

finally established" in Europe and North America.⁶

It appears there were three periods in the development of the carriage-making industry in St. John's: early 1850's - late 1870's; 1880; post 1892 fire - 1910. Between 1850 and 1879 there were five carriage factories operating within the city. At this time, at least one craft shop had been expanded into a factory. Carriage factories were opened by Thomas Lyon on Duckworth Street in 1851, William Oke on Water Street in 1859, Thomas McGrath on Duckworth Street in 1867, the Furlong Brothers on Duckworth Street in 1877, and Myrick and Windsor on Military Road in 1877 (Table 1). The Carnell family which had operated a wheelwright shop on Cochrane Street since the first decade of the nineteenth century, had transformed their establishment into a factory by 1872 (Figure 1). Each of the St. John's carriage manufacturers was located in the east end of St. John's, the area where most of the city's residents lived. In addition to supplying the needs of urban residents, these businesses also supplied agricultural implements and vehicles for the farmers who had established farms on the outskirts of

⁶Herbert Read, Art and Industry: The Principles of Industrial Design (New York: Horizon Press, 1954), p. 4.



Figure 1 - 1880 Insurance map of St. John's showing Carnell's, Oke's and McGrath's Carriage Factories. Map is located at the Provincial Archives of Newfoundland.

St. John's by this time.⁷

By the eighteen eighties two of the six original factories - Furlong Brothers and Thomas Lyon's - had ceased to operate; however, two factories opened to replace them. One owned by S.G. Collier appeared at 8 Waldegrave Street, and another owned by Nicholas J. Murphy at 32 Bambrick Street. By this time, Oke's and McGrath's had relocated to larger premises; Oke's moved to the building formerly occupied by Furlong Brothers on Duckworth Street, and McGrath's to 124 Gower Street.

The third period of carriage factory construction began after the devastating fire of 1892.⁸ At least three of the factories destroyed in the fire - Carnell's, Oke's and McGrath's - were reconstructed at this time. In addition, the Lawrence Brothers opened a factory on Gower Street in 1892, M.J. O'Keefe at 14 Waldegrave Street and Phillip Wall at 8 George Street. In the first decade of the twentieth century John T. Nash opened a factory at 24 Adelaide Street and three other factories

⁷ A historical reconstruction of this farm community has recently been completed. See: Robert MacKinnon, "The Growth of Commercial Agriculture in St. John's: A Study of Local Trade in Response to Urban Demand," M.A. thesis Memorial University of Newfoundland 1981.

⁸ For a discussion of the fire see: D.W. Prowse, A History of Newfoundland (London, 1895; rpt. St. John's: Dicks and Company, 1971), p. 518.

were established by Thomas Jackman, Albert Mathews and John Cole, the locations of which have not been established.

A pattern is evident in the development of carriage factories. In the first stage of development, factories were situated in the east end of the city (Figure 2, 3). As the city expanded and commercial premises and family dwellings began spreading towards the west end, factories appeared in this section in order to obtain the business of these residents.

The late nineteenth century was a period of great prosperity for Newfoundland and this prosperity was reflected in the increase in the number of carriage factories. In 1894 a massive mining development occurred at Bell Island, about twelve miles from St. John's. The Nova Scotia Steel and Coal Company which had acquired property on the island commenced open-pit mining and shipped their first cargo of iron ore a year later. In 1899 the Nova Scotia Steel and Coal Company constructed a duplicate tramway system, a second pier, and sold their original transport system to the Dominion Iron and Steel Company which commenced open-pit mining in this year. Since 1898 the Reid Newfoundland Company was busy establishing a railroad, quarries, sawmills, and flour,

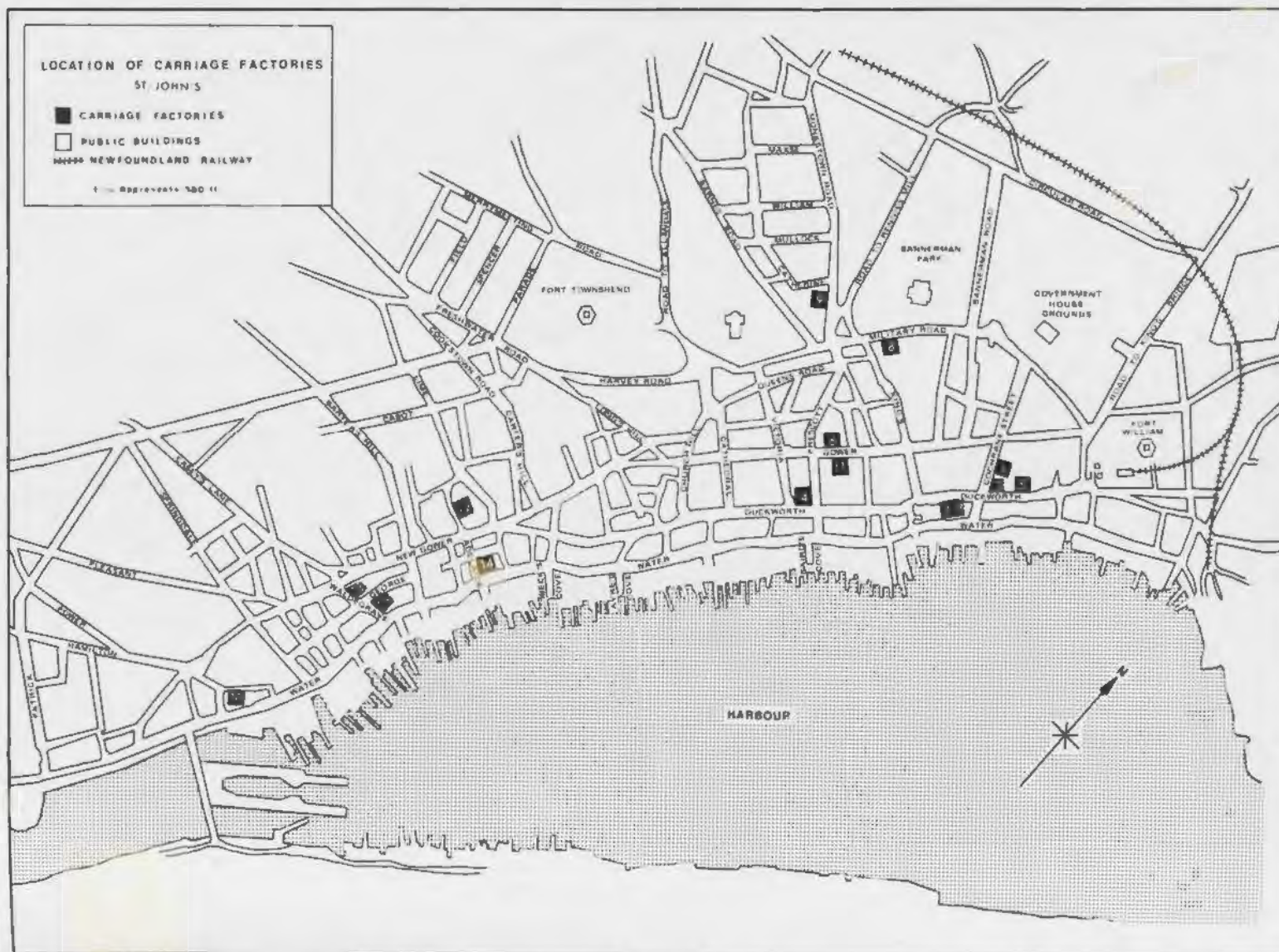


Figure 2 - Map of the location of carriage factories in St. John's.

- 1 - Carnell's first factory - 12-14 Cochrane Street
- 2 - Carnell's second factory - 120 Duckworth Street
- 3 - Oke's second factory - 123 Duckworth Street
- 4 - Oke's third factory - 214 Duckworth Street
- 5 - McGrath's first factory - 115-116 Duckworth Street
- 6 - McGrath's second factory - 124 Gower Street
- 7 - Furlong Brothers' factory - 123 Duckworth Street
- 8 - Myrick and Winsor's first factory - 87 Military Road
- 9 - Myrick and Winsor's second factory - 17 Monkstown Road
- 10 - Nicholas Murphy's factory - 32 Bambrick Street
- 11 - Lawrence Brothers' factory - 139 Gower Street
- 12 - Nash's factory - 24 Adelaide Street
- 13 - Okeefe's first factory - 14 Waldegrave Street
- 14 - Wall's factory - 8 George Street
- 15 - Collier's factory - 8 Waldegrave Street

Exact location is not available for the following factories:

Carnell's first wheelwright's shop.

Thomas Lyon's factory.

Oke's first factory

Thomas McGrath's third factory.

Okeefe's second factory.

Jackman's factory.

Albert Mathew's factory.

John Cole's factory

Figure 3 -
Legend for the Location of Carriage Factories Map.

mills.⁹

Concomitant with this flurry of economic activity in and around St. John's was a need for more horse-drawn vehicles. It has been pointed out that after 1884 there was a sharp decline in the number of men working in the traditional fishery.¹⁰ Much of this labor must have been absorbed by the Bell Island development and small urban manufacturing industries such as carriage-making which developed during this period.

With an increase in the number of carriage factories and their products, fewer vehicles were imported from England and the United States. These factories produced not only catamarans, box carts, slides and long carts for the local farmers, but also slovens, express waggon and cabs for the St. John's service industries. Ornate two and four-wheeled vehicles were also produced for the growing merchant and professional classes of the town. In addition, agricultural implements such as hand plows,

⁹ For a discussion of the Bell Island development see: Donald R. Woodford, *Bell Island a Community Study*, MS, Maritime History Group Archive, Memorial University of Newfoundland, St. John's; David William Mercer, "Bell Island, An Economic Analysis," B.A. thesis Memorial University of Newfoundland 1963.

¹⁰ See: David Alexander, "Newfoundland's Traditional Economy and Development to 1934," in *Newfoundland in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries*, ed. James Hiller and Peter Neary (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1980), p. 23.

wheelbarrows and handles for tools were supplementary items of trade constructed in most factories. The larger companies - Carnell's and Oke's - became involved in the undertaking business in the latter years of the nineteenth century. Not only did this include the activities of embalming and organizing wakes and funerals, but also making coffins and the vehicles used in funeral processions. One particular factory owned by the Lawrence Brothers specialized in making trunks, suitcases, and racing boats for the annual St. John's Regatta. Another factory even began building wooden tricycles which could be marketed at a quarter of the cost of steel models.¹¹

Such product diversity undoubtedly kept the factories open and employees working when carriage orders were not plentiful. This ability to construct a variety of products is a characteristic often attributed to rural craftsmen.

¹¹A newspaper account states, "At the present time the improved style of tricycle [sic] - for which a patent was taken out a few days ago by Mr. Monsieur Des Isles, Consul for France in Newfoundland - is being constructed at Oke's factory. The principle feature in the machine by which it differs from the ordinary tricycle [sic], is that, the seat is very much lower and the means of propulsion is slightly different. The circumference of the wheel is much larger than in the steel model. There are two seats so arranged that the occupants will sit back to back. If the machine works in the manner anticipated by the Consul, it will very likely become popular; for it being made mostly of wood, it will be much cheaper, in fact it will not cost more than quarter the price of the other." See: "Our Local Industries," Daily Colonist, 9 July 1887.

Like George Sturt's wheelwright shop in Surrey, England which built vehicles, plows, harrows and hames, the St. John's carriage factories supplied the demands of local residents.¹²

Accurate quantitative information about the workers in these factories is difficult to obtain. Those owned by Carnell, Oke, McGrath and the Lawrence Brothers employed more than five men each whereas some of the smaller factories only employed one wheelwright, one blacksmith and one painter. In addition to these craftsmen, the largest factories employed upholsterers. It appears that by 1924, the number of craftsmen in the St. John's factories began to decline (Table 2). In some cases, St. John's directories list the carriage factories where particular craftsmen worked. However, these lists are not entirely accurate (Table 3). Some individuals who worked at factories were possibly listed as craftsmen, yet were not recorded as being affiliated with their particular place of work. For example, a newspaper account reveals that in September, 1908 Carnell's Carriage Factory employed twenty workers.¹³

¹²George Sturt, The Wheelwright's Shop (1923; rpt. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1974), pp. 17-20.

¹³A short description of Carnell's Carriage Factory appears in a newspaper account in 1908. See: "Our Local Industries," Evening Telegram, 15 September 1908, p. 5.

Table 2# of Craftsmen in St. John's

	<u>1909</u>	<u>1924</u>
Wheelwrights	21	14
Blacksmiths	97	52
Upholsterers	10	9
Painters	63	50
Total Workers	191	75

Source:

McAlpine's St. John's Directory Halifax: McAlpine
Publishing Company Ltd., 1909; St. John's City Directory,
1924 St. John's: The St. John's Directory Company, 1924.

Table 3Incomplete List of Workers at Carriage FactoriesOke's Carriage Factory 1909

Robert G. Belbin, wheelwright
 Edward D. Burke, blacksmith
 Edward L. Oke, painter
 Gordon Oke, wheelwright
 Frank Kenny, wheelwright
 Michael J. Skeans, carriage builder

Oke's Carriage Factory 1924

Edward D. Burke, blacksmith
 Edward L. Oke, painter
 Gordon Oke, wheelwright
 Frank Kenny, wheelwright
 J.C. Oke, carriage builder

Carnell's Carriage Factory 1909

Ralph Day, painter
 John McGrath, painter
 Andrew Carnell, wheelwright and owner
 Alexander Morris, wheelwright
 Denis White, wheelwright
 John Winslow, blacksmith
 William Downton, blacksmith
 Walter Duffett, upholsterer
 R. Hamlyn, blacksmith

Carnell's Carriage Factory 1924

Andrew Carnell, wheelwright and owner
 Alex Johnson, worker
 Fred Lush, painter
 John Maher, blacksmith
 Samuel Merils, blacksmith
 Alex Morris, wheelwright
 Ralph Day, painter
 John McGrath, painter
 R. Hamlyn, blacksmith
 Samuel Harris, wheelwright
 William Downton, blacksmith
 Walter Duffett, upholsterer
 Radial Dwyer, wheelwright
 Radial Dwyer, Junior, wheelwright

(cont'd)

Table 3Carnell's Carriage Factory 1946

Geoffrey Carnell, manager
 Donald B. Penney, worker
 Robert C. Butt, wheelwright
 George Ford, worker
 Thomas Miller, worker
 Maxwell Gillett, worker

Lawrence Brothers Carriage Factory 1909

Kenneth Bursey, blacksmith
 Joseph Patrick Caul, wheelwright
 Lemuel Hynes, worker
 Edwin L. Lawrence, upholsterer
 William H. Lawrence, wheelwright
 Abram Stone, worker

Lawrence Brothers Carriage Factory 1924

Patrick Caul, upholsterer
 Joseph Patrick Caul, wheelwright
 Peter Furlong, wheelwright
 W.H. Lawrence, wheelwright
 E. Power, wheelwright
 Robert Sexton, carriage builder

Samuel Collier's Carriage Factory 1909

Samuel Collier, wheelwright
 Michael Halley, blacksmith

McGrath's Carriage Factory 1909

John P. Duffey, painter
 John T. Murphy, worker
 Thomas Murphy, Senior, worker
 Thomas Murphy, Junior, worker
 Edward Ryan, worker
 William Walsh, worker

J.T. Nash's Carriage Factory 1909

J.T. Nash, wheelwright
 James Grant, blacksmith
 Edward Bailey, blacksmith

Source:

McAlpine's St. John's Directory Halifax: McAlpine
 Publishing Company Ltd., 1909; St. John's City Directory,
 1924 St. John's: The St. John's Directory Company, 1924.

However, the directories indicate that only nine employees were employed in this factory at the time (Table 3).

The Newfoundland census material, like the directories, is also inaccurate with respect to the carriage-making industry.¹⁴ Even though there were at least eleven carriage factories operating in 1921, the Newfoundland census only accounts for three (Table 4). Despite problems of reliability, these statistics give an indication of the scale of these factories. The value of the physical plant and equipment of those recorded in 1921 amounted to forty thousand dollars. Employees consisted of five "officers and clerks" earning in total nine thousand dollars and thirty workers earning forty-four thousand, eight hundred. This amounts to about thirty-one dollars per week per factory worker. According to the Newfoundland censuses, between 1869 and 1921, production in the factories increased steadily throughout the nineteenth century (Table 5). The data indicates a slight decrease in productivity in 1901; however, it appears that it was not until 1921 that the number of carriages manufactured

¹⁴ Warren Roberts points out that census records are usually not reliable indicators of the number of craftsmen in a region. See: Warren Roberts, "Turpin Chairs and the Turpin Family: Chairmaking in Southern Indiana," Midwestern Journal of Language and Folklore, 7. (1981), 99.

TABLE 4Carriage Making in St. John's in 1921

<u># of Factories</u>	<u>Value of Buildings and plant</u>	<u>Capital Invested</u>	<u>Officers and Clerks on Salary</u>
3	\$70,000	\$40,000	\$9,000

<u># of Workers on Wages</u>	<u>Total Wages Paid in 1920</u>	<u>Values of Goods Manufactured</u>
30	\$44,000	\$90,000

Source:

Newfoundland Department of the Colonial Secretary.
Census of Newfoundland Labrador, 1921.

Table 5

Value of Carriages Produced in St. John's, 1869-1921

	1869	1874	1884	1891	1901	1911	1921
St. John's East	£1700	£1328	£2550	\$17,200	\$13,000	n.a.	n.a.
St. John's West	£900	£2128	£2000	\$2500	\$3000	n.a.	n.a.
St. John's TOTAL	£2600	£3456	£4550	\$19,700	\$16000	\$95,000	\$90,000

Source:

Newfoundland Department of the Colonial Secretary. Census of Newfoundland and Labrador, 1869, 1874, 1884, 1891, 1901, 1921.

in St. John's greatly declined.

It was at this time that automobiles began to replace horse-drawn vehicles. The first automobile to arrive in St. John's, according to local historians, was a Rolls Royce imported from London by Robert Reid Jr. in 1903.¹⁵ Although registration of motor cars became mandatory in 1906, it was not until after the Second World War that a great influx of automobiles occurred.

The carriage-making industry did not decline to negligible levels until the nineteen forties. The few factories still existing during the nineteen fifties and early sixties were the ones which had successfully made the transition from carriage-making to undertaking or box and trunk making. Carnell's and Oke's, in their latter years, devoted most of their attention to the undertaking business. They possessed the tools, machinery and expertise for constructing coffins and caskets. As the twentieth century advanced, St. John's residents began having funerals and wakes in funeral parlours rather than in their own homes. This trend kept the carriage factories busy in the latter years. One craftsman describes the work he performed in a carriage factory during this period:

¹⁵ Paul O'Neil, A Seaport Legacy: The Story of St. John's, Newfoundland (Eric, Ontario: Porcepic Press, 1976), II, 512-13.

ah, besides the carriage business we also had the funeral business, such as it was in those days. And if you got a call in the night-time or Sundays, you never got paid for it.... In those days we'd do the pall bearing and, if we had a funeral say on Tuesday afternoon, well, your boss would come along and say we need a couple of men for the afternoon, for the funeral. So you'd go home at twelve o'clock and change from your working clothes and get washed and get dressed up and come back and do the funeral, and usually the funeral was over at 3:30, so you'd be off the rest of the afternoon.¹⁶

In addition to being a trained wheelwright, this worker had to become familiar with the duties of an undertaker. At the present this worker is the manager of an undertaking business presently operated by Carnell's.

The majority of buildings which housed carriage factories are no longer extant; however, the remaining ones have been used in various ways. When the industry died completely in the mid nineteen-sixties, some of the buildings were converted for use as warehouses. Carnell's, Oke's and Lawrence's, because of their size, were used for this purpose. All the machinery and tools were sold, dismantled or destroyed at this time. Other factory sites were transformed into parking lots or residential housing. More recently, there has been a trend to utilize historic buildings for commercial purposes, and carriage factories

¹⁶ Memorial University of Newfoundland Folklore and Language Archives, 79-321.

are no exception. Carhell's Carriage Factory was converted into a restaurant and bar in 1978, but was completely burned in 1979. Phillip Wall's Carriage Factory on George Street was transformed into a bar and restaurant called The Carriage Works in 1979. Photographs of ornate carriages along with vehicle parts such as springs and axles now adorn the walls of this once productive factory.

The acceptance of the automobile caused the demise of this industry. Automobiles produced in central Canada and the United States reigned supreme and carriage factories, craftsmen and products became obsolete. The firms which did successfully diversify into other business such as undertaking or the fabrication of truck bodies eventually were forced to close their factories because of the influx of externally produced caskets and trucks.

This chapter has outlined the development and decline of the carriage-making industry in St. John's. It has shown that carriage factories were established in St. John's by 1850. Three periods of carriage factory development occurred: 1850-1870 & 1880s; post 1892 fire. These factories were small in size - only five out of the fifteen examined employed more than five employees. The factories were situated in the east end of the city in the first period of development; however, in the latter two periods, factories began appearing in the west end. This industry was urban and supplied not only horse-drawn vehicles,

but also various artifacts for the everyday needs of St. John's residents. These establishments began to decline when automobiles appeared. The factories did not drastically decline until the nineteen forties. At this time the Americans began operating an air base near St. John's. It is possible the increase in the use of automobiles was related to the rise in wages which was partly due to the impact of American wage levels.

This historical survey illustrates the size and extent of the local carriage-making industry. In order to fully understand the way in which these factories operated, a close analysis of one factory is necessary. The next chapter examines the production context of one typical factory - Carrell's - by providing a case study of its operation.

CHAPTER 3
CASE STUDY OF
CARNELL'S CARRIAGE FACTORY.

The majority of craft studies stereotype craftsmen as rural, isolated country folk who construct "hand-made" objects with few tools and without the use of machinery.¹ Characteristics of craftsmen include: the passing down of craft techniques within one family for many generations; the learning of a craft through a formal apprenticeship system; close craftsman-client interaction; the craft transaction as a social event as well as a business matter; use of a bartering system rather than cash payment.² By providing a case study of the production context in one urban

¹For examples of typical studies see: Albert H. Eaton, Handicrafts of the Southern Highlands (1937; rpt. New York: Dover Publications, 1973); Allan Jobson, Household and Country Crafts (London: Elek Books, 1953); Dorothy Hartley, Made In England 3rd ed. (1939; rpt. London: Methuen and Company, 1951); Freda Derrick, A Trinity of Craftsmen (London: Chapman and Hall, 1950); Freda Derrick, Country Craftsmen (London: Chapman and Hall, 1945); E.J. Stowe, Crafts of the Countryside (1948; rpt. Wakefield: E P Publishing Limited, 1973); John L. Jones, Crafts from the Countryside (Newton Abbot: David and Charles, 1975); John E. Manners, Country Crafts In Pictures (Newton Abbot: David and Charles, 1976).

²This list of characteristics is from: Warren E. Roberts, "Folk Crafts," in Folklore and Folklife: An Introduction, ed. Richard M. Dorson (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1972), pp. 233-40.

St. John's carriage factory it can be shown that characteristics often attributed to rural craftsmen were prevalent in this factory. Historical industries such as carriage-making have not been studied by craft scholars because of the limiting nature of the definition of craft. Before a case study of this factory can be provided, we must examine the terms often used to define craft.

The terms "hand-made", "tool" and "machine" are used in most definitions of craft, yet are seldom clearly defined by most scholars.³ Objects are sometimes said to be "hand-made" even though the maker utilized a variety of tools and machinery in the construction process.⁴ If the strict, literal definition of hand-made is used, few of our so-called "craft objects" could be included under

³ A typical example is found in: Allen H. Eaton, Handicrafts of New England (1949; rpt. New York: Bonanza Books, n.d.), pp. 337-38. According to Eaton, "there are roughly two general divisions of handicrafts - one, those made entirely by hand, including the preparation of all materials and sometimes even the shaping of the tools required; and two, those which in their early stages may be formed by machines but which are finished by the hand and given the unmistakable characteristic of handwork."

⁴ Examples of artifacts made with the use of machinery, yet, classified as hand-made objects are found in: James Arnold, All Made By Hand (London: John Baker Publishers, 1970); Sigmund A. Lavine, Handmade in England: The Tradition of British Craftsmen (New York: Dodd, Mead and Company, 1968).

the rubric of "hand-made". Most crafts involve the use of some form of tool or machine in the process of constructing objects from natural materials.

The term hand-made is used frequently to refer to any kind of workmanship before the industrial revolution. People assume this transformation occurred in the nineteenth century and that before this most artifacts were constructed without the use of machines. This assumption is inaccurate; it has been aptly shown that various kinds of machinery ranging from windmills to water-powered saws were common as early as the middle ages.⁵ The term hand-made is too vague to be used as a major concept in the definition of craft. There are too many connotations attached to this word for it to be useful.

Tools are usually viewed by folklorists and craft scholars as simple, hand instruments which are manipulated by craftsmen. As James Arnold says:

tools are quite simple in themselves and in many cases are little more than perfections of the original tool of centuries ago.⁶

Most craft scholars include in their studies detailed sketches or photographs of the tools employed by craftsmen.

⁵See: Jean Gimpel, The Medieval Machine: The Industrial Revolution of the Middle Ages (New York: Holt, Rinehart, and Winston, 1976).

⁶James Arnold, The Shell Book of Country Crafts (London: John Baker, 1968), p. 47.

The term "hand" often precedes tool in many studies. Tools are accepted as being essential for craftsmen who make hand-made objects.

In contrast, scholars are unsure of how to categorize machinery in the definition of craft. Some assume machinery to be a destructive force arguing for example, that:

no machine can reproduce the outstanding flexibility, manipulation, sensitivity and response of the human arm, wrist or hand.⁷

Others assume that machine-made products are totally distinct from and inferior to hand-made crafts:

The design of machine goods naturally belongs, of course, to an order entirely distinct from that of hand-made objects. It is in the first place the work of an external designer, impersonal, with a hard but delicate precision, but lacking the organic freedom and irregularity of objects individually wrought to the design of the craftsman-maker.⁸

Others side-step the issue by saying it is too difficult to delineate the traditional aspects of "professional crafts", like cabinet making, metal working and glass blowing, and that, "more relevant to contemporary folklife studies are the continuing crafts of making toys and

⁷ Arnold, The Shell Book, p. 53.

⁸ W.B. Honey, Introd., British Craftsmanship, ed. W.J. Turner (London: Collins, 1948), p. 6.

musical instruments".⁹ J. Geraint Jenkins acknowledges that machinery is essential for many crafts, yet he too, is unsure of how to categorize machinery. One of the characteristics of craftsmanship according to Jenkins, is that "a true craftsman does not depend on complex machinery and equipment to complete his work".¹⁰ Unfortunately, he does not fully define "complex machinery" nor does he define the opposite - simple machinery.

Ironically, many craftsmen, even those in rural, isolated settings, utilize machinery in the making of products. The chairmaker from Kentucky, in Michael Owen Jones' The Handmade Object and Its Maker used an electric drill press and a lathe for constructing his chairs.¹¹ To argue that making objects is no longer folk if machines are used is analogous, as Michael Owen Jones says, "to arguing that electrification and amplification destroy folk song and music."¹² It is the conventional modes of

⁹ Jan Harold Brunvand, The Study of American Folklore (New York: W.W. Norton, 1968), p. 279.

¹⁰ J. Geraint Jenkins, Traditional Country Craftsmen (1965; rpt. London: Routledge and Keagan Paul, 1978), p. 5.

¹¹ Michael Owen Jones, The Handmade Object and Its Maker (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1975), p. 95.

¹² Michael Owen Jones, "'There's Gotta Be New Designs Once in a While': Culture Change and the Folk Arts," Southern Folklore Quarterly, 36 (1972), 59.

expression, the way in which knowledge is transmitted, and the traditional skills, not the machines or the hand tools which create artifacts.

It can be shown by providing a case study of one particular St. John's carriage factory, that even though machines were integral to the construction process, there are many characteristics of factory workers which are similar to those possessed by so-called pre-industrial rural craftsmen. This chapter provides a case study of Carnell's Carriage Factory, outlining some of the characteristics possessed by workers, and providing a description of the construction process.

Carnell's Carriage Factory developed from one of St. John's earliest wheelwright shops. Gilbert Carnell, a millwright by trade, came to Newfoundland in 1804 to build water wheels. He saw a great demand for repairing and constructing vehicles, and soon began operating a wheelwright's shop in the downtown of St. John's. Two of his sons became wheelwrights and worked in his shop. Gilbert died in 1841 leaving an estate worth 500 pounds, a substantial sum at this time.¹³

Samuel, Gilbert's oldest son, began running the shop after Gilbert's death. By 1872 business had expanded to such a degree that the shop was referred to as Carnell's

¹³ St. John's Registry of Wills, 9 November 1850.

Carriage Factory. In this year, the factory was situated on Cochrane Street adjacent to the Carnell family residence. It is difficult to locate the first shop because of the great number of devastating fires occurring in St. John's throughout the first half of the nineteenth century. In 1880, Samuel retired from the business leaving the operation of the factory to his son, John T. Carnell.¹⁴ This building was burned in the fire of 1892 and a new factory was reconstructed at 120 Duckworth Street on the corner of Cochrane and Duckworth Streets (Figures 1, 2, 3). After overseeing the building of a new factory, John died and his son, Andrew, inherited the business. Andrew's son, Geoffrey, inherited the factory in 1935 and managed it until 1966, when the closedown occurred. The building became a warehouse in 1966, a restaurant in 1978 and

¹⁴ Samuel's retirement notice appeared in a local St. John's newspaper: "Notice is hereby given that, the undersigned, Samuel G. Carnell, has retired from the business heretofore carried on by him which will be continued in future (dating from the 1st January, 1880) by and solely on account of John T. Carnell, who will pay all liabilities of, and is authorized to collect all debts due by the said Samuel G. Carnell, in connection with the said trade and business. January 19th, 1880. Samuel George Carnell, John T. Carnell. Witness - J.H. Bourne, Solicitor. I take this opportunity of tendering to all who have so generously favored me with their extensive patronage for such a long period of years, my sincerest thanks; and would at the same time respectfully solicit a continuation of that patronage to my successor. Samuel George Carnell." Royal Gazette, 20 January 1880.

burned to the ground in 1979.

Little information has been found concerning the first factory operated by Carnell's. However, the second factory is closely examined here. This building was three stories in height with a flat roof (Figure 4). Two large doors, where products, materials, supplies and people entered and exited, were located on the facade facing Duckworth Street. One alcove on the east side of the facade led to the forge which was situated in a small building behind the factory. One former worker provides an excellent verbal description of the interior of the factory. Mr. Robert Butt recalled:

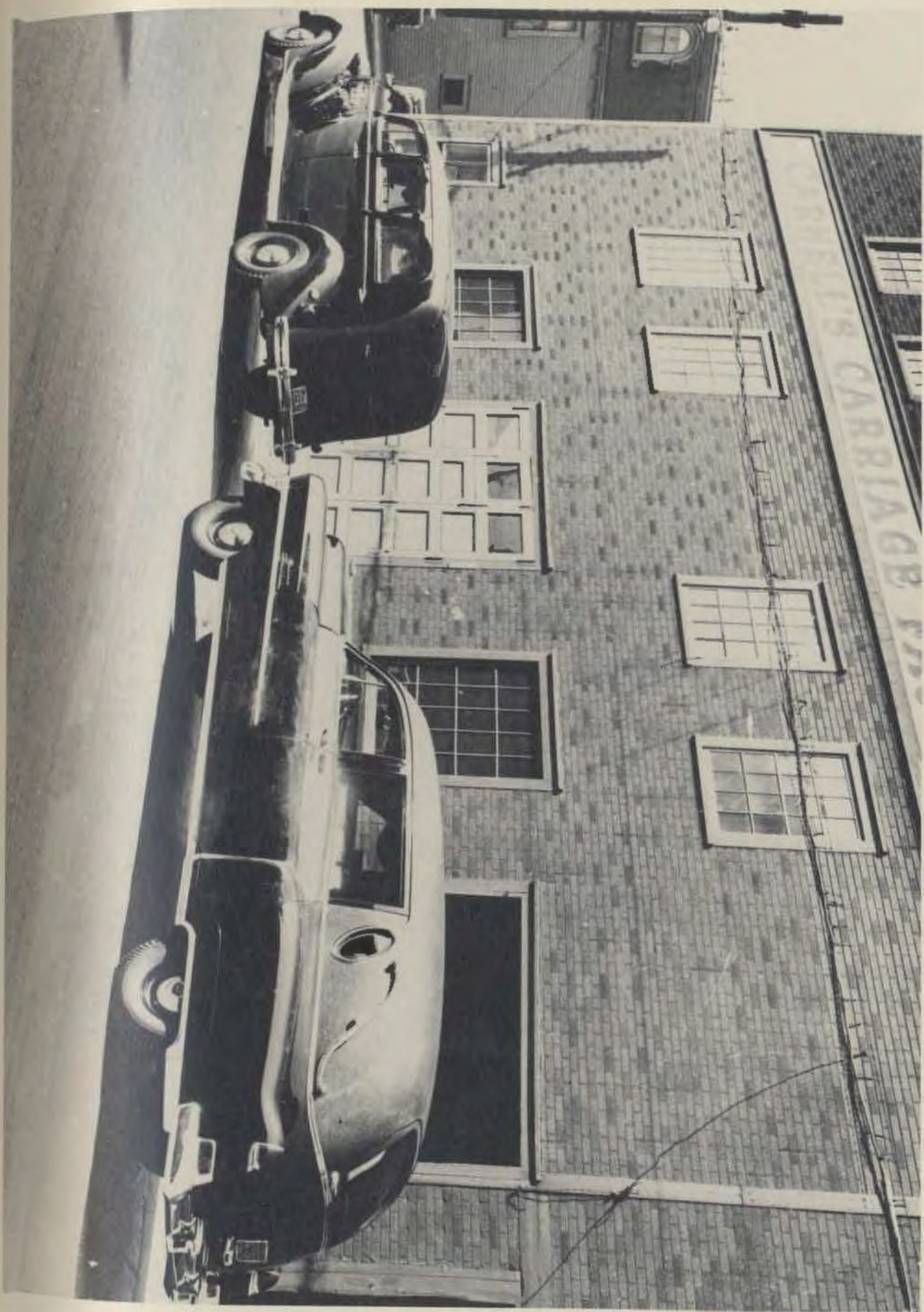
The one [factory] we had was three stories and the bottom story was the, ah, carriage making plant, if you like, with all the machinery and everything. The second story was, ah, a storage room where you stored, um, spokes and rims and extra boxes and shafts for wagons. And all of that kind of stuff. And um, keep your lumber there and keep your hub junks, as I mentioned before for making the hub junks out of, and then on the top of, that was usually the um, well, in our factory, the one we had was the paint shop and upholstering shop where you did all that work¹⁵

In addition, he provided an interior sketch of the first floor of the factory (Figure 5).

¹⁵ Memorial University of Newfoundland Folklore and Language Archives, 79-321 (hereafter listed as MUNFLA).

Figure 4 -

Carnell's Carriage Factory in the 1950s. Photograph
given to me by Robert Butt.



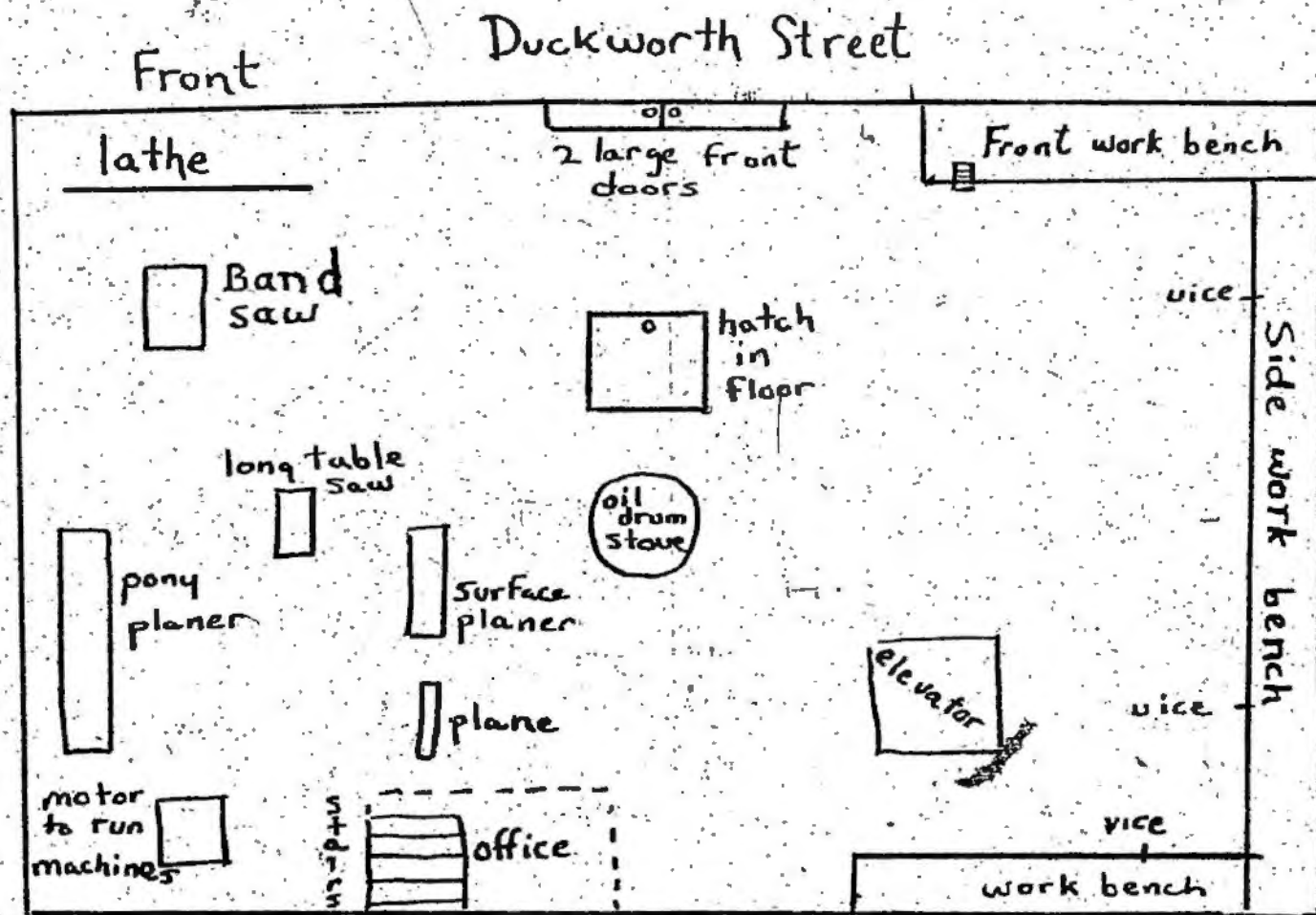


Figure 5 - Interior sketch of the first floor of Carnell's Carriage Factory as drawn by Robert Butt.

The materials and products were lifted from level to level by a hand operated elevator approximately 10 feet by 18 feet in size. Along three walls were long work benches, approximately fifteen feet in length and four feet in width. Attached to these benches were three vices. It was at these benches that the wheelwrights worked. A hatch in the floor to the half basement served as a chute where wood shavings were disposed. These shavings were used as fuel in the stove located in the centre of the room. This stove was an oil drum with the front cut out and a funnel going from the top through to the roof. Craftsmen's tools were stored on the walls in front of the benches.¹⁶

¹⁶ It seems that this three storey plan was common for St. John's carriage factories. A newspaper account reveals that the second factory operated by Oke's on Duckworth Street was similar to the plan of Carnell's Carriage Factory: "The carriage factory of Messrs. W.R. Oke and Sons is situated on Duckworth Street, just east of the Atlantic Hotel. The building contains three storeys and a basement, the latter of which is below the level of Duckworth Street. The premises proper is 40 feet wide. A long shed at the western end detached is 70 feet long and 40 feet wide. The shed is used for storing carriages, wheels and other articles incidental to the trade, left for repair... The basement is used wholly as a forge, where all the iron work of the firm is done... The second flat, the entrance to which is from Duckworth Street, is called the wood shop, and here all the woodwork of the trade is done... The next flat, higher up, is used as the stock room, where the goods used in the trade are kept before being used or worked into orders. The top storey is used as a paint shop, and it is here that all orders before leaving are varnished and painted..." "Our Local Industries," Daily Colonist, 9 July 1887.

The machinery in the room consisted of three planers, a band saw, a circular saw and a small lathe (Figures 6, 7, 8, 9). All the machinery was powered by a small gasoline motor connected to a web of belts which ran along the roof of the factory. This was an extremely dangerous system (Figure 10). Many of the craftsmen working here received severe injuries by getting fingers and hands caught in the belts.

In the post-1892 Carnell's Carriage Factory, and most likely in the earlier factory, an apprenticeship system existed. Individuals who began working for Carnell's lived in the Carnell house, located near the factory on Cochrane Street for five years and received room, board and a subsistence fee in return for their work. These apprentices were assigned to specific craftsmen - a wheelwright, blacksmith, upholsterer, or painter - for a five year training period. After this, the young men moved out of the house and were officially designated members of their trade. The age of the apprentice was usually 12 to 15 years of age.

This apprenticeship system changed as time passed. By the 1940s, the length of study time required by craftsmen had decreased to a year. One individual who began working at Carnell's in the 1940s, displays the change which had occurred by this time. Mr. Robert Butt began working at Carnell's in 1942. He was assigned to

Figure 6 -

An example of a lathe.

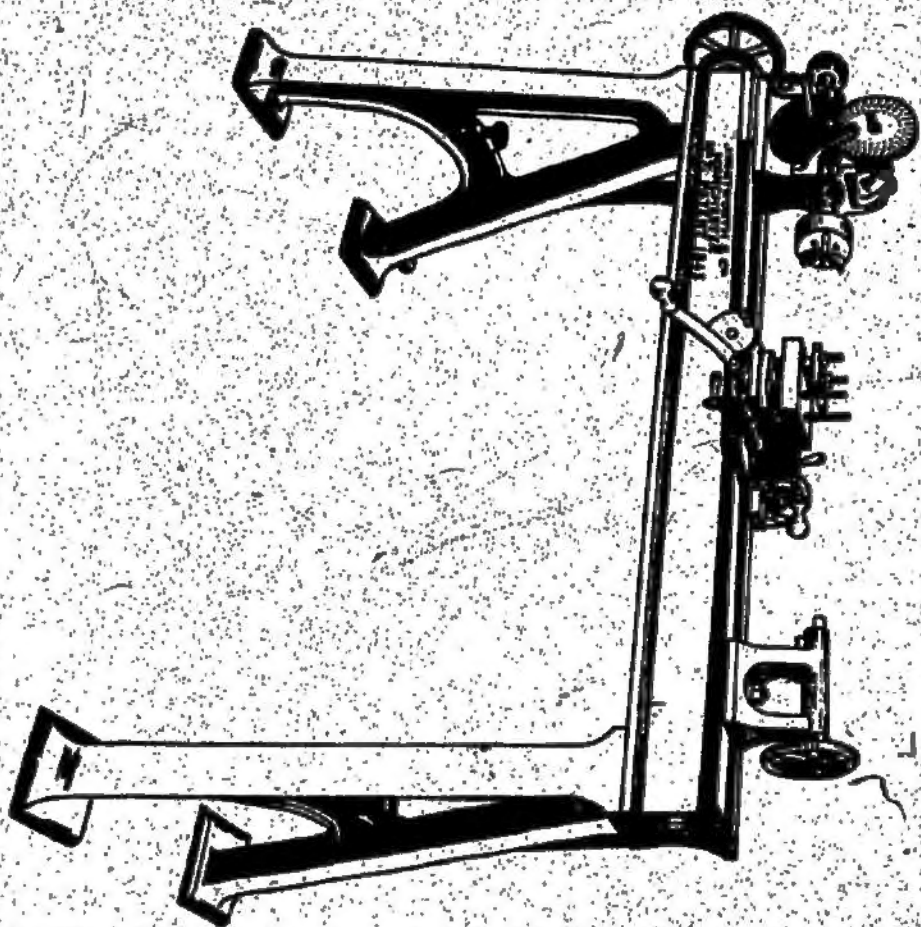


FIGURE 243—Whitworth's lathe, 1843. Note the hollow-box construction of the bed. (Cf plate 25 A.)

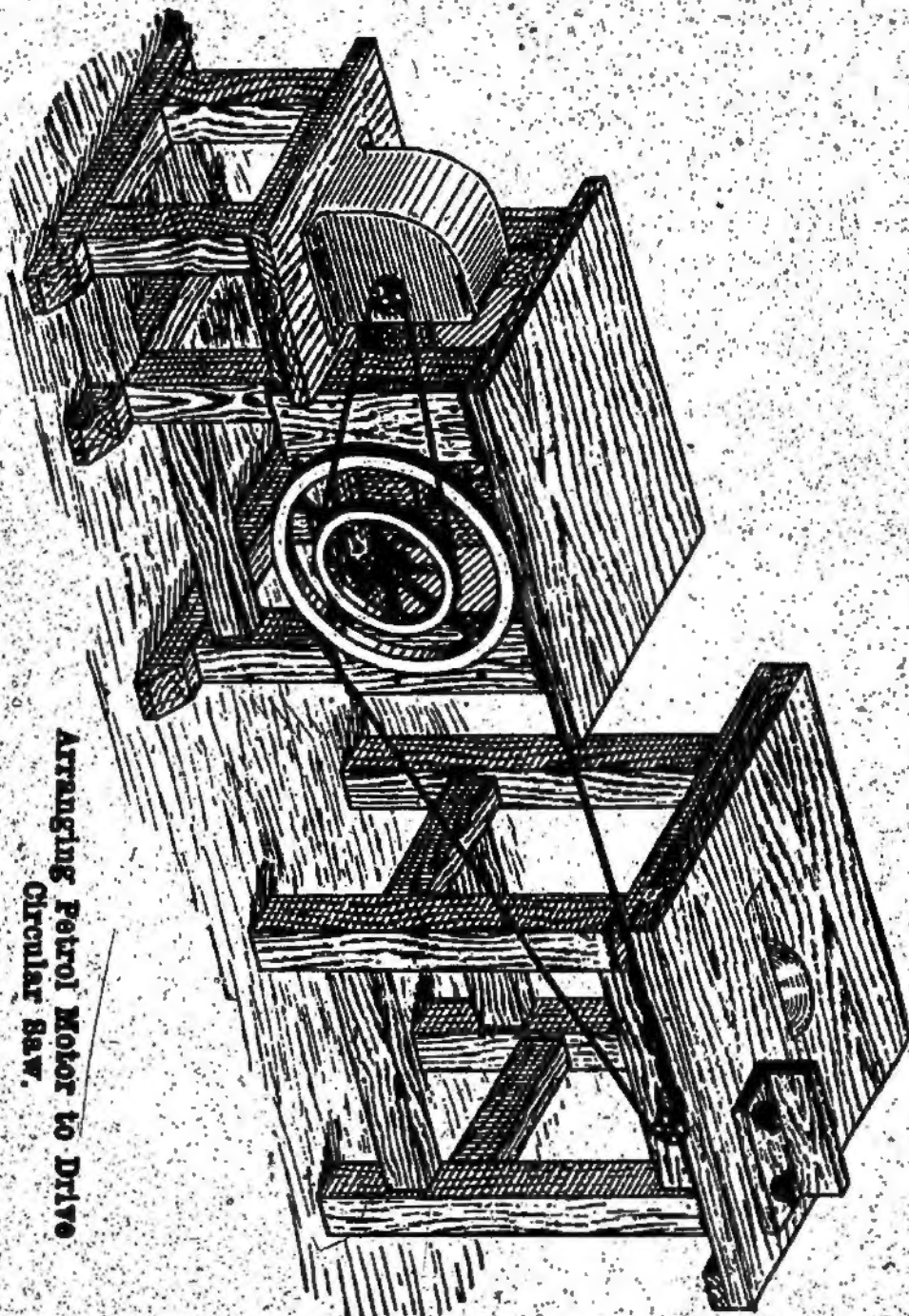
Figure 7 -

A wheelwright using a wheel pattern to be sawn out
with the band saw. From Jocelyn Bailey, Country
Wheelwright (London: B.T. Batsford Ltd., 1975),
p. 47..



Figure 8 -

An example of a circular saw. Found in Cassell's
Cyclopaedia of Mechanics, ed. Paul N. Hasluck.
(London: Cassell and Company, Ltd., 1904), VIII, 282.



Arranging Petrol Motor to Drive
Circular Saw.

Figure 9 -

An example of a planing machine.

FIGURE 243—Philworth's self-acting power-driven planing machine, 1842. The tool is reversed after each reverse of the bed, so as to cut both ways.

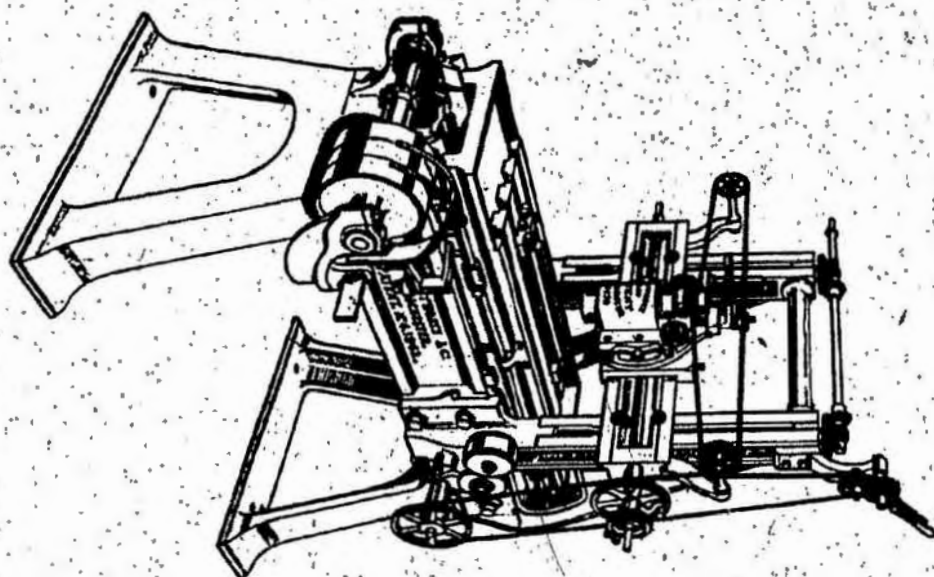
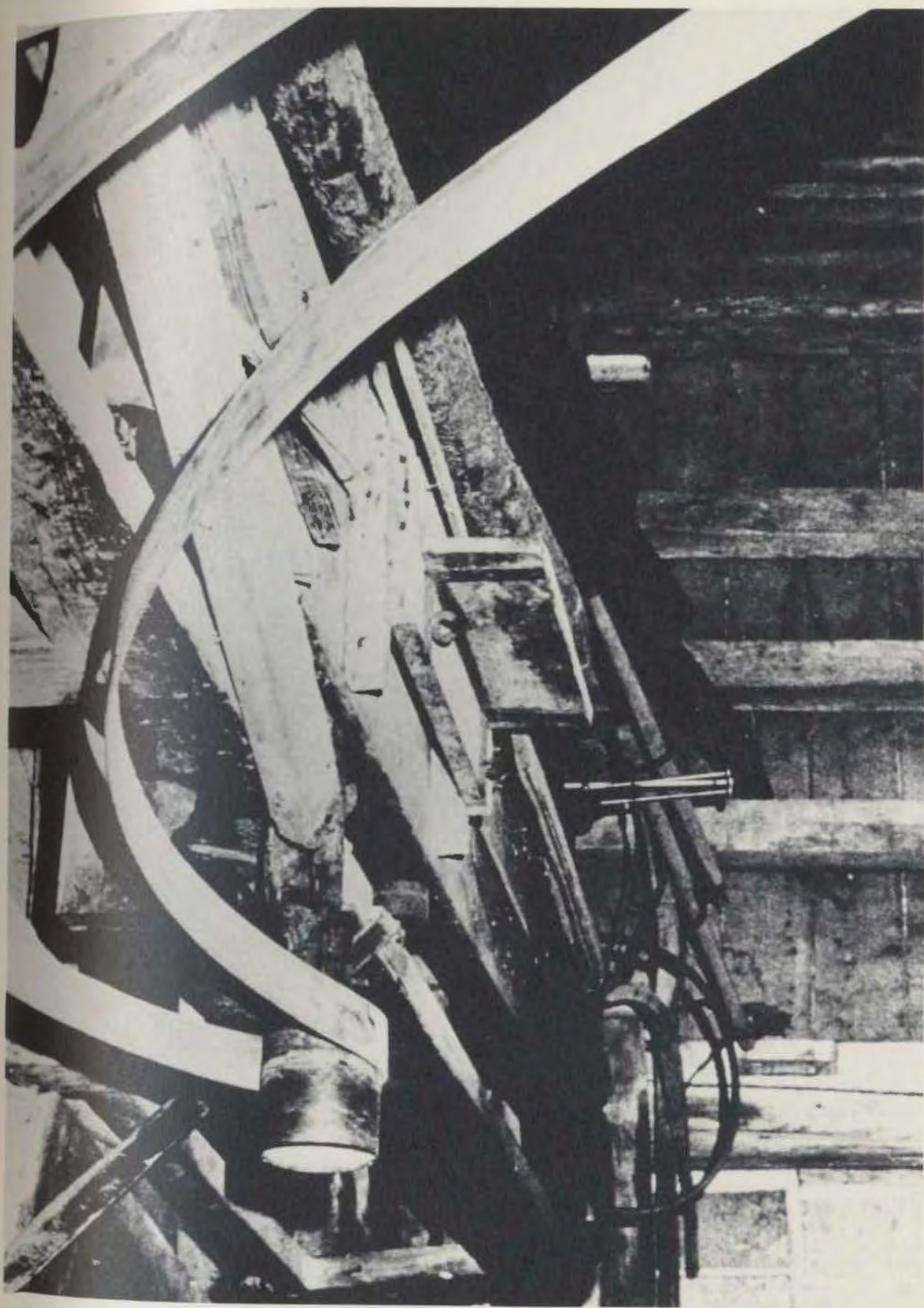


Figure 10 -

Belt system in Campbell's Carriage Factory, Middle
Sackville, New Brunswick.



"Uncle" Sam Harris, a wheelwright who had been with the firm since 1918. Mr. Butt describes how he obtained the position with Carnell's:

The situation was, this was in the early forties, 1942, just coming out of the depression when the war started and I was the oldest of five children, and I felt that I wanted to go to work to help out with the family. I didn't really have to, my father always worked with a good job, but I felt that I did, and I wasn't that fussy about going to school. So I just seen an ad in the paper one night and I applied for it.¹⁷

Mr. Butt obtained this job in a non-traditional manner, yet, he learned the trade in a traditional way by observation. The many nuances of the trade could only be learned by watching Mr. Harris closely and attempting to follow the example set by the older craftsman. Mr. Butt says:

You just learned by experience and many times you learned the hard way, let me tell you. So I went on from there and I went to work, and it was the only job I ever had really. I spent ten years 'at the wheelwrighting' as they say... They's [the older craftsmen] told you once by the way, that's all. They were very jealous over their trade. You had to learn the hard way. They'd tell you once but they wouldn't tell you the second time either. I don't know why either, but this was the way it was, so you had to learn by

¹⁷ MUNFLA, 79-321.

observing and watching. They [the craftsmen] were hard men to work for, very hard. As a boy I had to do a man's work. And they used to take great delight in making you work hard.¹⁸

Questioning the craftsman about how to perform certain tasks was not the sanctioned way of learning. Few words were used to describe the processes performed; eventually the apprentice had to learn the proper method by observing how tasks were performed.

At Carnell's, there was some craftsman-client interaction. A buyer was able to discuss the kind of vehicle he wanted with the craftsmen within the factory. In some cases buyers were even allowed to enter the factory and oversee the construction process. One worker describes a particular case:

There used to be a firm in St. John's, ah Lawlor's Meat Market, I don't know if they're still in business. Certainly the name might be on the butcher shop, ah, people, ah the Lawlors are not there anymore... And they had at that time [1930s and 40s] two or three butcher shops around town and they were always noted for having the nicest horses in St. John's, the best waggons, and when you'd make a waggon for these people they'd be in every day watching the progress, and if they seen a flaw in the wood they'd say "no b'y, you'd better put another piece over there". They'd be in picking over the wood and make sure you use the wood with no knots into it and stuff like that. And they

¹⁸MUNFLA, 79-321.

followed right through to the paint shop with the painter. In these days everybody knew everybody, and they were very fussy over their waggons and their horses, and kept their waggons in excellent condition. It was a pleasure to work for them really. Although they were very fussy they weren't hard to please, but they just wanted things right.¹⁹

This craftsmen-client interaction enabled the workers to become familiar with the local needs and preferences of St. John's residents.

When individuals arrived to buy a new vehicle or to repair an old one, drinking often accompanied the transaction. Often buyers arrived with a "flask of something on their hip" which they shared with the craftsmen who wanted a drink. One craftsman pointed out that this was very dangerous because the workers often had to work with the machinery in the shop after consuming this liquor.²⁰

Other researchers have noted that drinking often accompanies special occasions in some Newfoundland outports.²¹

¹⁹ MUNFLA, 79-321.

²⁰ MUNFLA, 79-321.

²¹ This was found to be the case in the Codroy Valley, Newfoundland. See, for example: John Szwed, Private Cultures and Public Imagery: Interpersonal Relations in a Newfoundland Peasant Society, Newfoundland Social and Economic Studies, No. 2 (St. John's: Institute of Social and Economic Research, Memorial University of Newfoundland, 1966), pp. 88-89.

Undoubtedly, the buying of a new vehicle or the repairing of an old one was a special occasion from the point of view of the client.

In the early years of the nineteenth century, according to oral tradition, some business was conducted on a barter system.²² For example, if a grocer needed a wagon repaired or constructed, he could make an agreement with the owner of the factory to supply groceries for a certain length of time, rather than pay in cash. At Carnell's, ledgers were kept; however, they were not detailed and focused mainly on the undertaking segment of the business. Even as late as the 1940s, the method of record keeping was quite primitive. For example:

Well, when I first started, um, a person came in and wanted a wheel repaired, right, "So they say you repair this wheel, ah, fine, so I take the wheel and we had a piece of wood about this size [he holds his hands in front of him and shows the size of the wood - approximately 1 foot by 6 inches] A piece of pine wood. And if I repaired a wheel I marked down after I had the wheel repaired, J. Smith, if you like, and I put down, 'repairing wheel, 2 spokes, 2 rims, ah, three 5/16ths inch carriage bolts' and so on and so forth and then when I was finished with it and the time I was at it, two hours or one hour. I'd just run a line through it and I'd start next with the other line. When my, my board got filled out... he'd [the owner] mark it up in the

²² MUNFLA, 79-321; 81-637.

ledger. And then I'd get my plane and I'd plane it off and start all over again.²³

This system was used until the late 1940s. At this time work orders came into use. These consisted of a sheet of lined paper with the carriage-maker's letterhead on the top of the page (Figure 11).

Like boat building and other traditional crafts, patterns and molds were utilized within the factory. These were made of iron and wood and stored in the rafters on the first floor of Carnell's factory. Molds were available for every vehicle type and for the various wheel sizes (Figure 12). Unfortunately none from the St. John's factories are still available.

These, however, did not destroy the creative abilities of the craftsmen. If a mold was not available for a particular type of vehicle, the craftsmen were able to design what was needed. For example, Mr. Robert Butt describes how he designed a horse-drawn ambulance:

Well, they didn't know what they wanted and I didn't know what they wanted. They had never had one before and they wanted something that was drawn by a horse. So they came to me and ah, ah, the first time that we ever made one like it I said. And, ah, they ah, weren't sure themselves. They gave me a rough idea, they wanted something that'd weather, you know, to put the person in out

Telephones:
FACTORY, 578-2419
FUNERAL HOME
123 Quidi Vidi Road
GORDON J. OKE, 578-2426

P. O. Box 5714

CORNER DUCKWORTH AND PRESCOTT STREETS

St. John's, Nfld.,19.....

m

IN ACCOUNT
WITH

OKE'S CARRIAGE FACTORY

OPERATING OKE'S FUNERAL HOME
PRESCOTT STREET AND 123 QUIDI VIDI ROAD

Figure 11 - Oke's Carriage Factory letterhead. Given to me by
Lilabel Oke.

Figure 12 -

Molds and patterns from Campbell's Carriage Factory,
Middle Sackville, New Brunswick.



of the weather. And I made them something on the style of the station wagon, I guess. Ah, basically the body, the running gear and the frame, we'll say, that I built the ambulance on was much the same as any standard wagon only a bit larger. Um, ah they said 'well make something', so I said 'O.K.' So I just went ahead and tried to figure out something in my brain, er, wrote it down on a sketch on a piece of paper and sort of got something that I thought I liked. And when I had it made, it turned out really good. I had something. Oh, and the wagon from the floor to top was about ah, four feet I guess and maybe a little less than that. And you could, ah the driver sat on the outside. He was out in the cold. He was on the front. I had seats sort of incorporated into the body of the wagon where he'd sit and really you could only put a stretcher in there. You couldn't even possibly sit up, it wouldn't be all that comfortable. But it worked apparently and they used it for years.²⁴

This shows that craftsmen did have some control over the design process.

Even though the factory was divided into various rooms, a great amount of interaction occurred during the construction process. The workers frequently talked with each other and discussed problems encountered while vehicles were being produced. The organization can best be described as a team. This interaction enabled each worker to become intimately familiar with the many work

²⁴ MUNFLA, 79-321.

processes within the factory. For example, a wheelwright was familiar with a painter's or blacksmith's duties. While the wheelwright did not possess the level of skill of these craftsmen, if necessary, he could still construct an entire vehicle by himself.²⁵

To examine the construction process of carriages in this factory, or that of any rural craft object, extensive participant-observation fieldwork is desired.²⁶ In this way each step of the construction process can be observed and documented. Clearly, when an industry is no longer in operation, it is difficult to obtain precise information about the way in which its products were once constructed. One way is to create an induced context (this could not be attempted with the individuals who once worked in Carnell's Carriage Factory because there are no extant tools, machinery or factories). Another way is by interviewing former factory workers. The latter method is here used in an attempt to describe the making of a vehicle as it would have occurred at Carnell's. The workers interviewed worked at Carnell's in the nineteen forties;

²⁵ MUNFLA, 79-321.

²⁶ For scholarship which exemplifies this point see: Jones, The Hand Made Object; Michael Owen Jones, "The Study of Traditional Furniture: Review and Preview," Keystone Folklore Quarterly, 12 (1967), 233-45.

however, the techniques used at this time did not differ greatly from the techniques used in the mid and late nineteenth centuries. Aside from gasoline engines replacing steam engines, and rubber being used on wheels in this factory, few technological changes occurred from the nineteenth to the twentieth centuries.

Wheels were the most important parts of a horse-drawn vehicle. If wheels were not properly constructed, a carriage could never have a smooth drive. The arduous task of making wheels required the skills of a blacksmith, wheelwright and a painter. A wheel consisted of five parts - a hub, spokes, felloes, a metal tire and an iron box. Some of the materials for these objects were obtained locally while others were imported from the United States.

Two different types of hubs were used at Carnell's Carriage Factory - metal ones were imported from the United States and wooden hubs were obtained locally.²⁷ The local hubs were constructed either from a wood known locally as witchhazel (white or yellow birch - *betula latea*) or from juniper (larch - *larix laricina*).²⁸ Trees were cut into lengths of approximately fifteen inches long and twelve inches in diameter. One craftsman described

²⁷ MUNFLA, 81-637.

²⁸ Personal correspondence with Dr. William Kirwin, September 1981.

a hub junk:

Well, they were trees cut down and cut up fifteen inches long, about twelve to fourteen inches in diameter and we used to bore a hole when we got them, we used to have chaps cut them for us, and they'd bring them in and we'd bore a hole right down through the center of them. Ah, about an inch and a half hole. Um, let the air pass through them, and then we'd put them there for two years before we'd use them so they'd dry out thoroughly. And then when they were ready for use we used to get them and, ah, put them in a lathe and turn them to the right size for the hub.²⁹

The right size varied for each type of vehicle. A turning chisel and lathe were the only tools used at this stage (Figure 6 - lathe). Calipers were used to gauge the proper width of the hub as it was turned on the lathe. The lathe was powered by the belt system attached to a small gasoline motor.

After turning the hub to its proper size, spoke holes were morticed into the hub. In doing this, the wheelwright placed the hub into a jig or low bench with vices attached to it. A compass was used to set the distance between the spoke holes. These were marked with a pencil. On the marks where they were to be drilled, three holes were bored with a hand drill. One was placed on the mark itself and the others were drilled on each side of the

²⁹ MUNFLA, 79-321.

first mark. Mr. Robert Butt, a wheelwright, describes this process:

You'd usually bore out the hole seven-eighths of an inch in your hub. You'd put three holes in your hub to where the spokes would go. You'd bore that out and after you'd have that done you'd send the, ah, hub into the forge, and on the end of each hub you'd have an iron band around the hub and the idea of that is so that when you're driving in your spokes you wouldn't split the hub.³⁰

A spoke was then placed by each of the twelve or sixteen spoke holes (Most long carts, box carts, slovens and heavier vehicles had twelve spokes. The lighter buggies and express waggons had sixteen spokes).³¹ Some spokes were imported in bulk from Nova Scotia while others were made from local juniper. Each spoke had a small tenon on each end where the spoke was connected to the felloe and hub. The local ones were cut with a small hatchet to the size required. The size varied depending on the vehicle it was used for. A hollow auger was used to cut the tenon of a spoke to its proper size. A hub was spoked by placing the hub in the jig and hammering the spokes into the hub. The spokes were then aligned.

³⁰ MUNFLA, 79-321.

³¹ These various vehicle types will be discussed in Chapter Four.

There were two different types of felloes (the bent section of a rim of a wheel) used. Imported rims were commonly termed half rims and held either six or eight spokes. Two half rims made up one wheel. Local rims on the other hand, only held two spokes. A wheel constructed from local rims had either six or eight sections. In constructing a felloe, a block of wood was first cut down the center making two half cylinders. Juniper was the predominant wood used in making local felloes. This part was then roughly shaped up with the band saw and placed in storage for two years. Patterns or molds for the different sized felloes were kept in the rafters in the first floor ceiling, above the woodworking department. A pattern was constructed of wood or metal and existed for each different vehicle style (Figure 12). After two years the patterns were marked out with a pencil on a rough felloe and the proper sized felloe was cut out with the band saw. The spoke mortices in felloes were done in the same way hub mortices were cut.

To tighten and compress the felloes, spokes and hub, a metal tire was placed over the entire wooden wheel. This tire varied in width from one and one-half inches on light waggons to three inches on box carts, long carts and heavy waggons. In thickness, these metal tires were all approximately one-half inch. One worker described this process as follows:

When you'd put your rim on, if you have two half rims on a wheel where they join you'd leave, on a big wheel, say a wheel three feet six inches high, you'd leave about three eighths of an inch and then when they'd, when that would go to the forge, they'd always make, they'd take the circumference of the wheel and say if it was four feet, they'd make the iron band, ah, well, ah, half or three fourths of an inch less than four feet. If it was four feet in circumference they'd make the iron band maybe a half to three quarters shorter than that depending on the heaviness of the wheel. And then when they'd, they'd take the iron after they had the band rounded up and welded, they put it on the fire or the hobbe as they used to call it... You'd lay your iron band over the fire and as it got red you'd move it around, move it around... When you finally got it right around, you take it out with the tongs... And then put in the garden the yard beside the forge you had a trough full of water and also a big iron bed with a hole in the center of it big enough for your hub to go down into. And you'd lay your wheel on that and you'd bring out the iron band and put it over your wheel, usually it slipped on fairly easily because, ah, when you heated the band, made it red, it expanded you see. So once you got it on then the trough was right handy, filled with water and you just put your wheel in that and turn it over you see. And as you turned it over, it, it kind of, you know, the wheel would come together, you could feel, you could hear the wood cracking where everything was tightened up.³²

Before the iron ~~and~~ cooled completely, the wheel was placed back on the bed and faired up. This consisted of hitting in the areas where it had moved off the rims with a sledge hammer. A "traveller" was then used to measure the circumference of the wheel.

Each hub had an iron box placed in the center of the hub where the axles attached to the wheels. Boxes were made of cast iron obtained from the Newfoundland Railway Company in the early years of the twentieth century. These were three inches square at the side of the wheel attaching to the axle. The hole cut in the hub for the box was always approximately one quarter of an inch less than the size of the box itself. The box was then squeezed into the hole made in the hub. Wooden wedges were used to firmly fasten the box in place. When this was completed, the wheel was trued up or balanced:

the way they used to true the wheel up, ah, you get an axle and clamp on to something, say on the woodhorse, the axle that was going into the wheel.... You'd put your wheel on over your axle and give it a flick you see. And then you get a piece of chalk and hold it, now the wheel is 'bobbing'... As an example, if the chalk mark struck here [he motions to a point in mid-air with his hands] then you put a wedge on this side and just give it a little tap and try it again. And finally when the wheel went true all around, you just,

you had your wedges at the back and then they were all set in, then you just set them up right and cut them off and trim around.³³

This balancing procedure was an important part of the building process, for if the wheel was not balanced properly, it would not turn correctly.

While the wheels of carts and heavy waggon used iron bands, the wheels of light waggons and carriages used imported rubber bands. Instead of using an iron band, a thin piece of channel iron, approximately one inch in width with two grooves in it, was used. The rubber was placed between these grooves (Figure 13). Rubber tires were not extensively used on horse-drawn vehicles until the late 1890s, even though as early as 1835, carriage builders were experimenting with the idea of using rubber to improve the durability of carriage wheels.³⁴ One craftsman described how rubber was put on wheels at Carnell's Carriage Factory:

Instead of putting on the iron band, usually the iron band would consist of iron... You had a roller here and another adjustable roller with a big handle. You'd turn it and push the rubber through, depending on the curve you wanted... The rubber was imported from the

³³ MUNFLA, 79-321.

³⁴ Don H. Berkebile, Carriage Terminology: An Historical Dictionary (New York: Smithsonian Institution Press and Liberty Cap Books, 1978), pp. 377-78.

Figure 13 -

Rubber band on wheels. Wheels owned by Max Dowden,
St. John's.



States. We used to import the rubber in different sizes. Instead of putting on the solid iron band we'd put on the channel iron... You put this on it and the rubber would fit into the grooves and keep it on. There was 2 wires and two holes going through the rubber... You push 2 steel wires through the holes and we had a machine there for pushing rubber back over the wire. You'd just cut the wire off, solder it and then push the rubber back together you see.... It used to make quite a difference in the ride.³⁵

This placing of rubber on the wheel to enhance the smoothness of the ride was a technological advancement obtained with the influence of industrialization on this industry.

The last stage in making wheels was the sending of the wheel to the paint shop. At Carnell's Carriage Factory, this room was on the top floor of the factory. The room had to be dust-free in order to ensure that a clean paint job would result. A wheel needed at least three coats of primer paint and then at least two coats of the color desired. Often fancy striping was done on the spokes. Yellow was a popular color with which to stripe spokes in the St. John's area.

While information was obtained about the construction of wheels, informants were not as descriptive in describing the complex process of constructing vehicle bodies (general term applied to the part of a vehicle which carries

³⁵ MUNFLA, 79-321.

passengers or freight). In many of the St. John's factories, wheelwrights were responsible for the construction of the bodies. At Carnell's Carriage Factory, pine, ash and elm were imported from Nova Scotia.³⁶ In building the body, knot-free wood was necessary. All the wood used had to be seasoned, just like that used for constructing wheels. Many of the construction manuals for carriage-making say that the first step in constructing vehicle bodies was to draw measured sketches.³⁷ This was not done at Carnell's Carriage Factory. Workers were trained to build the bodies by skilled craftsmen who had worked at the factory for a longer period. The knowledge was traditional in that it was passed on from experienced craftsmen to the apprentice. Like building a house, a frame was the first part of the body to be constructed. The bottom timbers, like the sills of a house, formed the base of the frame. Into these two bottom timbers corner upright pillars were morticed and tenoned. The corner pillars formed the main shape of the body. Standing

³⁶ Some of the other factories also imported materials for body making. For example: "W.R. Oke and Son have just received per Cartes, a large stock of material, and are now prepared to receive orders for the manufacture of sleighs of all descriptions. Painting of sleighs attended to in particular styles." Evening Telegram, 2 December 1879.

³⁷ See for example: J.B. Hampton, A Pocket Manual For the Practical Mechanic or The Carriage-Maker's Guide (Indianapolis: Frank H. Smith, 1886), pp. 8-14.

pillars or the pillars supporting the mid-section of the body were then morticed and tenoned. There were two standing pillars, one on each side of the body. They supported the roof in the middle. Next the various rails which frame out the windows and doors were put in place. The panels were then screwed to this framework and the roof (if it was an enclosed carriage) was built and attached. Moldings and other fancy embellishments were put on only after this framework was completed. As with felloes, different patterns and molds for panels were used on different vehicle types.

The undercarriage or gearing consisted of all the running parts of a vehicle including axles, springs, perch, wheels, and the fifth wheel. At Carnell's, much of this part of a carriage, except for the wheels was imported from the United States.³⁸ One of the most common spring types

³⁸ Some Boston manufacturers of coach hardware and carriage trimmings were advertising in the St. John's newspapers during the 1850s. For example: "American Harness and Coach Hardware. Edward Dana, Agent and Manufacturer, 29 Kilby (near State Street) Boston. Cloth, lace, bands, bolts, washers, half-patent and patent axles; elliptic and side springs, warranted quality malleable iron; extra enamelled top and dasher leather; superior enamelled cloth, black and fancy colors; bent rims; hubs; spokes; shafts, etc. Particular attention given to orders. May 6." Public Ledger, 20 May 1856. Another example: "Henry Taylor and Company, Importers and Dealers in Foreign and Domestic Saddlery Hardware, Patent Leather and Carriage Trimmings. 18 and 20 Kilby Street, Boston, Harness Leather, Lance Wood Poles and S.G. Reed's wheel stock." Public Ledger, 5 October 1852.

used on vehicles of St. John's was the elliptic spring. An elliptic spring is, "a carriage spring made up of two sets of overlapping steel plates or leaves hinged together by bolts"³⁹ (Figure 14). There were other forms of springs used, and these were named according to their shape - the S, the C, and the Elbow spring. The perch was the connecting rod between front and hind parts of the undercarriage. It was made of wood with a piece of wrought iron attached for support. The fifth wheel was a

horizontal metal circle or section of a circle, placed between the body and front axle of a carriage and generally connected with both by means of a King bolt, its purpose being to allow the axle to turn laterally and change the line of motion without disturbing the balance of the body.⁴⁰

The axles connect the wheels of vehicles. The blacksmith was responsible for much of this work. Blacksmiths also constructed much of the iron decorative work (Figure 15). According to one worker:

The blacksmith would, ah, every blacksmith had his own way of turning out a piece of iron to make it fancy looking to put on the front and sides and so on.⁴¹

³⁹ Berkebile, Carriage Terminology, p. 341.

⁴⁰ Berkebile, Carriage Terminology, p. 343.

⁴¹ MUNFLA, 79-321.

Figure 14 -

Elliptic springs on a horse-drawn hearse. Hearse
owned by Max Dowden, St. John's.

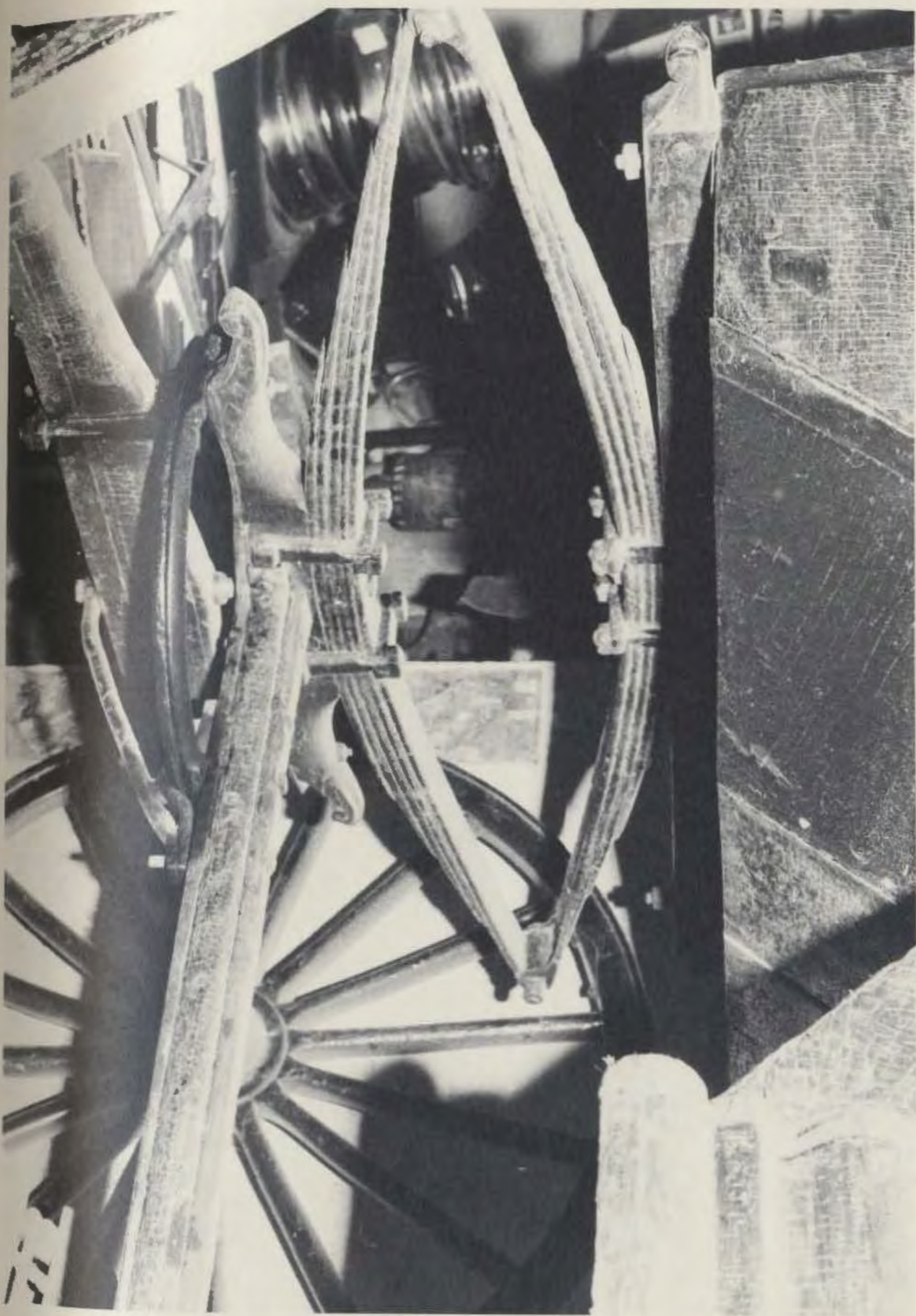


Figure 15 -

Decorative iron work on a horse-drawn hearse. Hearse
owned by Max Dowden, St. John's.



Only after the body was constructed did the painters and upholsterers begin to play a major role in the construction process. The painter had his own dust-free room within the factory where he placed the many coats of paint on vehicles. Often as many as three priming coats were necessary. Then, that base was rubbed down or polished with a pumice stone.⁴² After this, two coats of black paint or base color paint were applied. Only then was the paint viewed by the onlooker put on. Three or four coats of surface varnish or paint were then put on the vehicle. Often this process of painting and drying took as long as three weeks to complete. Brushes of varying widths were used. One particular skill that painters had to obtain was the ability to stripe and letter carriages and waggon. Striping pencils of varying widths were used. Wheels, spokes and the doors of carriages were often striped by carriage painters (Figure 16). Express waggon and other vehicles used by business establishments had, in many cases, the name of the firm painted on the side of the vehicle (Figure 17). This work required a steady hand.

Upholsterers were responsible for all the canvas, leather and cloth used in a vehicle. These individuals

⁴²MUNFLA, 79-321; 81-637.

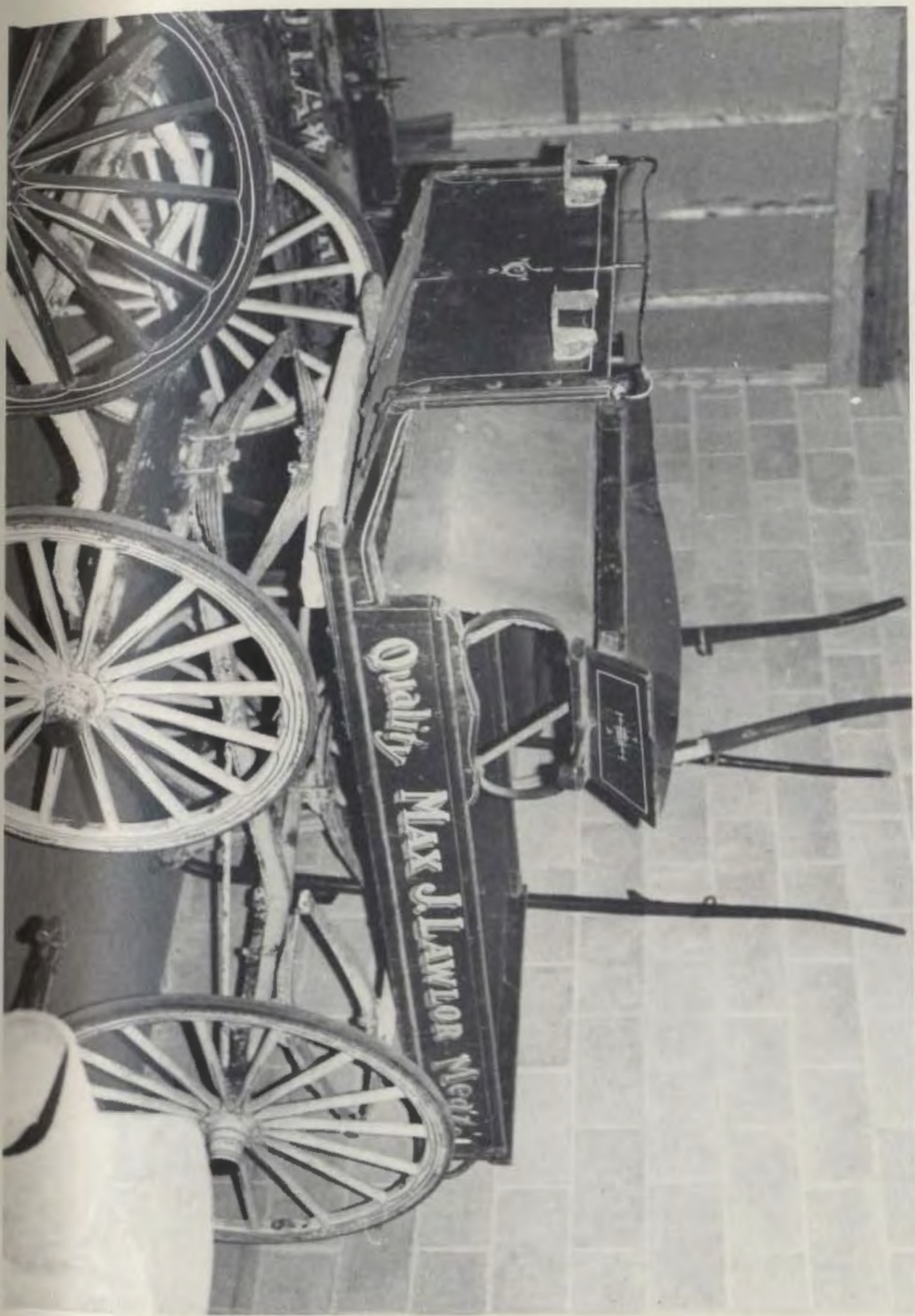
Figure 16 -

An example of fancy striping. This buggy is located
in the Newfoundland Museum storage building.



Figure 17 -

Name of firm painted on the side of an express waggon.
From Newfoundland Museum storage building.

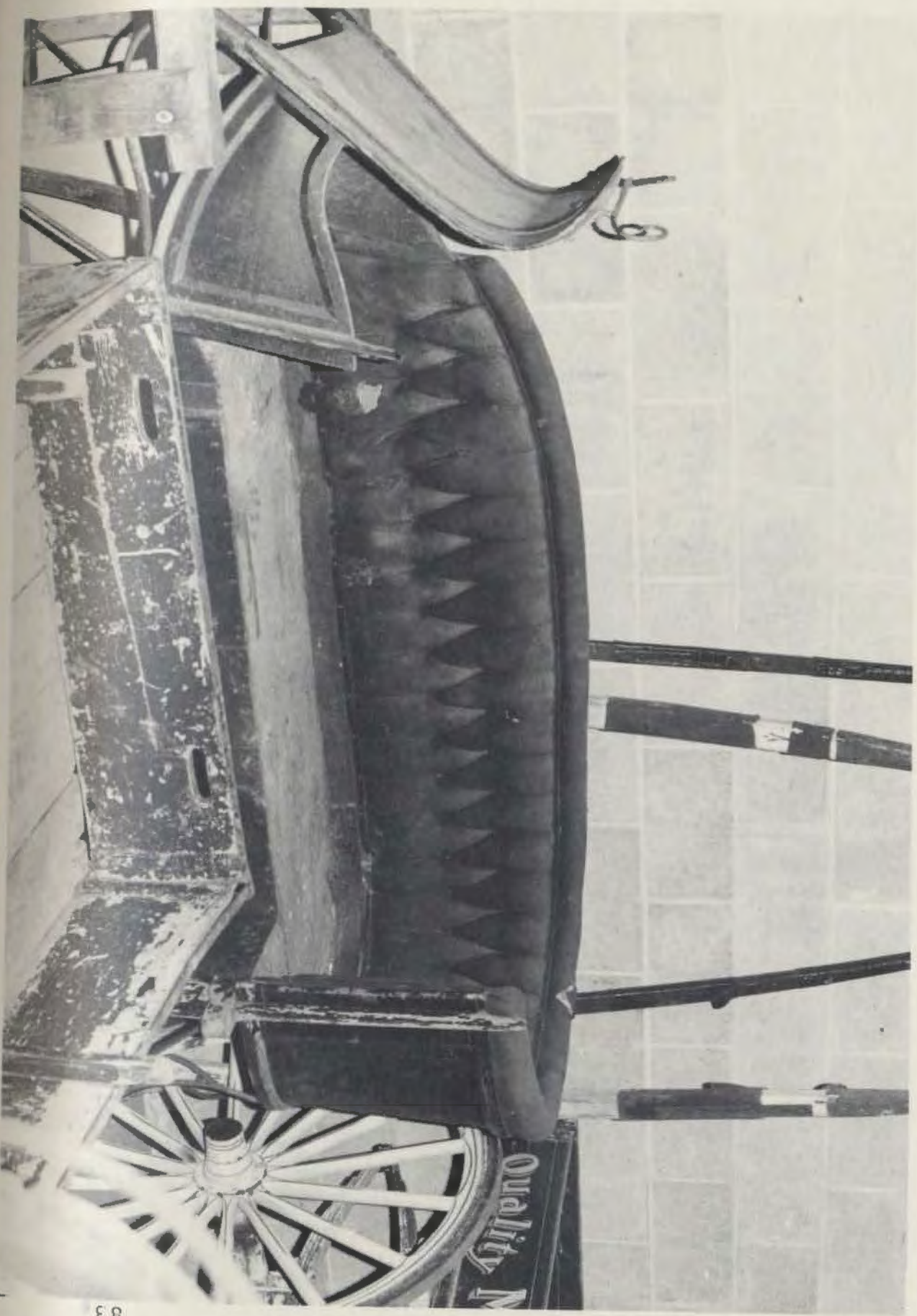


had to be familiar with the way to quilt and stuff seats, make cushions, curtains and to cover the interior panelling of the body (Figure 18). An upholsterer or a trimmer, as they were sometimes referred to, was familiar with all types of sewing needles, thimbles, scissors, clawed and clawless hammers, measuring tapes, pliers, screwdrivers, straight edges, punches, clamps and mallets.

As the above description illustrates, this construction process in a carriage factory was complex. Regrettably, as detailed as this description may seem, there are major gaps in this attempt at reconstructing the processes involved in the making of horse-drawn vehicles. A great amount of information on how wheels were constructed was provided; however, not as much attention to detail was given when talking about the construction of the body and the undercarriage. This points to a fundamental problem when attempting to reconstruct any craft - the craftsman's inability to verbalize work activities. The whole learning process in a craft tradition is built upon learning by observation, not by articulation. It has been shown that in some crafts, craftsmen not only do not, but cannot verbalize the ways in which forms are created. Ruth Bunzel, for example, found that Zuni potters were guided by unconscious rules of proportion and thus, were not aware

Figure 18 -

An example of an upholstered side sleigh. From
Newfoundland Museum storage building.



of them.⁴³ The workers formerly employed at Carnell's Carriage Factory in St. John's, like many traditional craftsmen, were not able to clearly verbalize their activities.

This case study of Carnell's Carriage Factory shows that even though the factory was located in an urban setting and machinery was utilized, workers still possessed many characteristics often attributed to rural craftsmen: (1) the factory itself was passed on in a patrilinear manner from father to son for five generations; (2) the factory workers had to go through a formal apprenticeship system; (3) factory workers learned their respective trades in a traditional way - by observing more experienced workers; (4) close craftsman-client interaction occurred within this factory, with the selling of a vehicle often accompanied by the drinking of liquor; (5) some business was conducted on a barter system and only the most basic record-keeping procedures were common; (6) the individual workers used templates and molds, yet, were able to have some input into the design process; and (7) although a certain amount of occupational specialization occurred in the factory, individual workers were expected

⁴³ Ruth Bunzel, The Pueblo Potter: A Study of Creative Imagination in Primitive Art (1929; rpt. New York: Dover Publications Inc., 1972), p. 8.

to know how to perform the tasks of other workers in the factory.

Some of the major characteristics of Carnell's Carriage Factory are identical to many of the characteristics often attributed to so-called rural, hand-made crafts. This in itself exposes the lack of utility of the term "hand-made" in determining what is or is not a craft. A more insightful concept to use is the notion of workmanship put forth by the design historian David Pye. Pye, in his work, The Nature and Art of Workmanship, delineates two kinds of workmanship - workmanship of risk, and workmanship of certainty.⁴⁴ Workmanship of risk includes any kind of construction process where the quality of the work depends on the care, judgement and dexterity of the maker. In this kind of construction process, the product can be ruined at any time. Workmanship of certainty, in contrast, is any construction process where the quality of the work is completely predetermined.⁴⁵ The more a construction process is similar to a fully automated factory, the less input the maker has into the objects being made. Carnell's Carriage Factory is an example of workmanship of risk.

⁴⁴ David Pye, The Nature and Art of Workmanship (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1968), p. 4.

⁴⁵ Pye, Nature and Art, p. 4

The hand tools, machines and patterns used by factory workers are shape-determining devices which predetermine, to a degree, what is being constructed in the factory. However, the many characteristics possessed by the factory workers and the way this business operated show that the workers had a great amount of input into the final product. If crafts and industries are viewed in terms of workmanship rather than whether or not they are hand-made, better understandings of man in relation to the objects that he fashions will result.

This chapter showed that the term craft is indeed limiting by providing a case study of one St. John's carriage factory. It suggested that the concept of workmanship is more useful than craft because it allows a wider variety of topics to be analyzed. The next chapter examines the products of the St. John's carriage-making industry to display that carriage factories, like most so-called crafts, constructed a variety of traditional and non-traditional products.

CHAPTER FOUR HORSE-DRAWN VEHICLE TYPES IN ST. JOHN'S

Many folklore items ranging from songs to houses consist of a combination of traditional and non-traditional features; few oral or material artifacts are either entirely traditional or entirely "new".¹ In some Newfoundland outport houses, spatial usage remains traditional, while exterior details such as roof styles are greatly influenced by external ideas.² With textiles such as hooked mats in Newfoundland, form and dimension often remain stable, while decoration is influenced by sources from outside Newfoundland:

Women also relied on familiar designs from other sources.... Dress designs, a ship printed on a calendar, a scene printed in a child's book -

¹ Glassie makes the distinction between folk and popular artifacts and states that items can be both popular and folk: "Popular material objects may be based directly on folk models, and a folk tradition may, in turn, derive from a popular model." Henry Glassie, Patterns In the Material Folk Culture of Eastern United States, University of Pennsylvania Monographs in Folklore and Folklife, No. 1 (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1968), p. 15. Glassie found that this interaction occurred with some houses in Middle Virginia: "Some of these blueprint houses bear an external resemblance to traditional houses, but internal inspection reveals that they were built after imported plans rather than designed according to the old system." Henry Glassie, Folk Housing in Middle Virginia: A Structural Analysis of Historic Artifacts (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1975), p. 57.

² See Gerald L. Pocius, "Calvert: A Study of Artifacts and Spatial Usage in a Newfoundland Community, Ph.D. Dissertation University of Pennsylvania, 1979, p. 252.

any image considered pleasing could be used to produce the cosmetic component of the mat.³

In most studies of crafts, only the conservative and traditional products of craftsmen are examined, while the influence of external ideas is neglected. This chapter compares the traditional horse-drawn vehicles in St. John's with the externally designed vehicles appearing in the city in order to show that the St. John's carriage-making industry was both conservative and innovative. St. John's carriage-makers, like most craftsmen, produced both new and old products as well as products which were a combination of the two. Much of the data upon which this chapter is based was collected from nineteenth century St. John's newspapers. This data provides an indication of when particular vehicle types were common on the streets of St. John's.

Traditional wheel-less and two-wheeled vehicle forms which date back to antiquity were common in St. John's in the early nineteenth century. Vehicles known locally as catamarans, box carts, long carts, Irish carts and wood carts, appeared frequently in early nineteenth

³ Gerald L. Pocius, Textile Traditions of Eastern Newfoundland, National Museum of Man Mercury Series, Canadian Centre for Folk Culture Studies, Paper No. 29 (Ottawa: National Museums of Canada, 1979), p. 57.

century newspaper advertisements (Table 6 and Table 7).⁴ Some of these vehicle types -- box carts, long carts and catamarans have existed up to the present. In the early nineteenth century, these vehicles were constructed in local craft shops as well as by individual owners.

The catamaran is sometimes referred to as a sledge or slide and was used for hauling firewood, lumber and boughs from the woods (Figure 19). Lewis Anspach, writing in 1819, provided a fine description of a catamaran:

These are formed of two pieces of plank, shoed underneath with hoops of iron or hardwood, joined by thick pieces from 2 feet to 2 feet and a half in length, and supporting four strong long knees, 2 at each end, fastened in an opposite direction.⁵

Philip Tocque in 1877 described one function of the catamaran:

In the winter season the environs of St. John's is crowded with persons drawing wood from the

⁴The dates in these tables are derived from the date when the vehicle type first appears in newspaper accounts and the approximate date when the vehicle type stops appearing in St. John's streets.

⁵Lewis Anspach, A History of the Island of Newfoundland (London: Printed for the author, 1819), p. 383. For a description of a catamaran see also: Philip Tocque, Wandering Thoughts or Solitary Hours (London: Thomas Richardson and Son, 1846), p. 128; George Patterson, "Notes on the Dialect of the People of Newfoundland," Journal of American Folklore, 8 (1895), 38.

Table 6

Horse-drawn Vehicle Types without Wheels

Name	Dates When Used	# of Seats	# of Passengers	Open	Closed	Commercial	Private	# of Horses	Use
Catamaran, slide, sledge	1810-present	0	0	*			*	1	For hauling firewood and sticks from the woods.
Single Sleigh	1810-1840s	1	2	*			*	1 or 2	For general travel about town in winter. Some were hauled by dogs.
Double Sleigh	1810-1940s	2	4	*	*	*	*	1 or 2	For general travel about town. Some were used as taxis in winter.
Family Sleigh	1851-1860s	4	8	*			*	2	For travel by large groups of people.
German Sleigh	1855-1870s	2	4	*	*		*	2	For travel about town.
Canadian Sleigh	1860-1880s	2	4	*			*	1 or 2	For general travel about town.

(Cont'd)

Table 6

Name	Dates When Used	# of Seats	# of Passengers	Open	Closed	Commercial	Private	# of Horses	Use
Cutter Sleigh	1850-1940s	1	2	*			*	1 or 2	For general travel about town.
Side Sleigh	1860-1940s	1	3 passengers and 1 driver	*		*	*	1 or 2 Some were hauled by dogs.	For general travel in winter. Some were used as taxis.

Source:

Newspaper Survey. See bibliography for a list of newspapers surveyed.

Table 7
Horse-drawn Wheeled Vehicles

Name	Dates When Used	# of Wheels	# of Seats	# of Passengers	Open	Closed	Commercial	Private	# of Horses	Use
Box Cart	1810- 1940s	2	0	1	*			*	1	For transporting root crops, manure, dirt, coal.
Long Cart or "Dray"	1810- 1940s	2	0	1	*		*		1	For moving barrels, hay, or any materials which can be strapped to its frame.
Wood Carts	1810- 1900	2	0	1	*			*	1	For moving wood.
Irish Cart	1810- 1840	2	0	1	*			*	1	Same as that of a box cart.
Chaise	1810- 1850	2	1	2	*	*		*	1	General travel.
Gig	1810- 1835 1880- 1948	2	1	2	*			*	1	Commonly used by doctors, military officials and the professional classes.

Table 7
Horse-drawn Wheeled Vehicles

Name	Dates When Used	# of Wheels	# of Seats	# of Passengers	Open	Closed	Commercial	Private	# of Horses	Use
Stanhope	1839-1880	2	1	2	*			*	1	General travel.
Irish Jaunting Car	1816-1850	2	2	4	*		*	*	1 or 2	For general travel. Sometimes used as a taxi.
Sedan Chair	1834-1850	2	1	1		*		*	1	Ornate vehicle - only used by wealthy individuals.
Phaeton	1832-1880	4	1 or 2 and a driver's seat	2 or 4	*	*		*	1 or 2	Ornate vehicle - only used by wealthy individuals.
Landau-Lette	1835-1850	4	1 or 2	2 or 4	*	*		*	1 or 2	Only used by wealthy individuals.
Chariot	1833-1860	4	2 and a driver's seat	4 and a driver		*		*	2	Only used by wealthy individuals.

Table 7
Horse-drawn Wheeled Vehicles

Name	Dates When Used	# of Wheels	# of Seats	# of Passengers	Open	Closed	Commercial	Private	# of Horses	Use
Carry- all; "Family Carriage"	1873- 1920	4	2 and a driver's seat	6 and a driver	*		*	*	2 or 4	Used for carrying a large group of people.
Brougham	1851- 1940s	4	2 and a driver's seat	4 and a driver		*	*	*	2	Originally used by wealthy citizens. Eventually was used as a cab.
Barouche	1847- 1890	4	2 and a driver's seat	4 and a driver		*		*	2	Used by wealthy citizens.
Brischtka	1851- 1890	4	2 and a driver's seat	4 and a driver		*		*	2 or 4	Used by wealthy individuals.
Victoria	1880- 1940s	4	2 and a driver's seat	4 and a driver	*	*	*	*	2	Commonly used as cabs.
Waggonette	1880- 1940s	4	2 and a driver's seat	6 and a driver		*	*	✓*	2	General travel.

Table 7
Horse-drawn Wheeled Vehicles

Name	Dates When Used	# of Wheels	# of Seats	# of Passengers	Open	Closed	Commercial	Private	# of Horses	Use
Buggy	1858-1940s	4	1 or 2	1, 2 or 4	*	*		*	2	General travel.
Express Waggon	1870-1940s	4	1	2	*		*	*	2	Transporting goods.
Coach	1822-1900	4	2 and a driver's seat	6 and a driver		*	*		2 or 4	Used for taking paying passengers to Portugal Cove from St. John's.
Omnibus	1860-1862	4	not avail.	not available		*	*		4	Bus service within St. John's.
Sloven	1850-1940s	4	1	1 or 2	*		*		1, 2 or 4	Used for hauling heavy freight and barrels along waterfront.
Bread Van	1850-1940s	4	1	2		*	*		1 or 2	Used for bread delivery.
Night Cart	1860-1940s	2	1	1	*		*		1	Used for collecting human waste.

Table 7
Horse-drawn Wheeled Vehicles

Name	Dates When Used	# of Wheels	# of Seats	# of Passengers	Open	Closed	Commercial	Private	# of Horses	Use
Sprinkler	1850-1940s	2	1	1	*		*		1	For wetting dusty streets.
Hearse	1862-1940s	4	1	2	*	*	*		2 or 4	For use in funeral processions.
Ambulance	1880-1940s	4	1	2		*	*		2	For transporting the injured.
Fire Engine	1812-1940s	4	not available	not available	*		*		2 or 4	For transporting buckets, water and fire fighters to fires.
Source:	Newspaper Survey. See bibliography for a list of newspapers surveyed.									

Figure 19 -

A catamaran.



interior with horses and dogs, on low sleigh-like vehicles, called slides and catamarans.⁶

This vehicle was sometimes drawn by a man or a dog, but more often by a horse. It was used for hauling any items around town as well as drawing wood from the forest (Figure 20). The origin of the term is unclear. According to the Oxford English Dictionary, the word catamaran was first applied to a West Indian raft-like craft in 1697.⁷ The word could possibly have been brought to Newfoundland in the eighteenth century during the active West Indian - Newfoundland salt fish trade. The catamaran appears in newspaper advertisements throughout the 19th and early 20th centuries and is still used in some Newfoundland outports at the present.

⁶ Philip Tocque, Newfoundland As It Was and As It Is in 1877 (Toronto: J.B. Magurn, 1878), p. 109.

⁷ "Catamaran," The Oxford English Dictionary (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1933), III, 171. There has been some excellent research on sliding vehicles in other areas. For example see: George B. Thompson, "Some Primitive Forms of Farm Transport in Northern Ireland," Ulster Folklife, 1 (1955), 30-36; Gosta Berg, Sledges and Wheeled Vehicles (Copenhagen: Levin and Munksgaards Forlag, 1935); Blanton Owen, "The Farm Sled of the Southern Appalachian Highlands: Its Construction, Use and Operation," Pioneer America Society Transactions, 3 (1980), 25-45; John R. Baldwin, "Land Transport in Gasadalur and Mykines, Faroe Islands," in Land Transport in Europe, ed. A. Fenton, J. Podolak, and H. Rasmussen (Copenhagen: National Museet, 1973), pp. 20-56; Ludvik Baran, "Transport in Czechoslovakia as an Ethnological and Social Phenomenon," in Land Transport in Europe, pp. 57-89; Cyril Fox, "Sleds, Carts and Waggons," Antiquity, 5 (1931), 185-99.


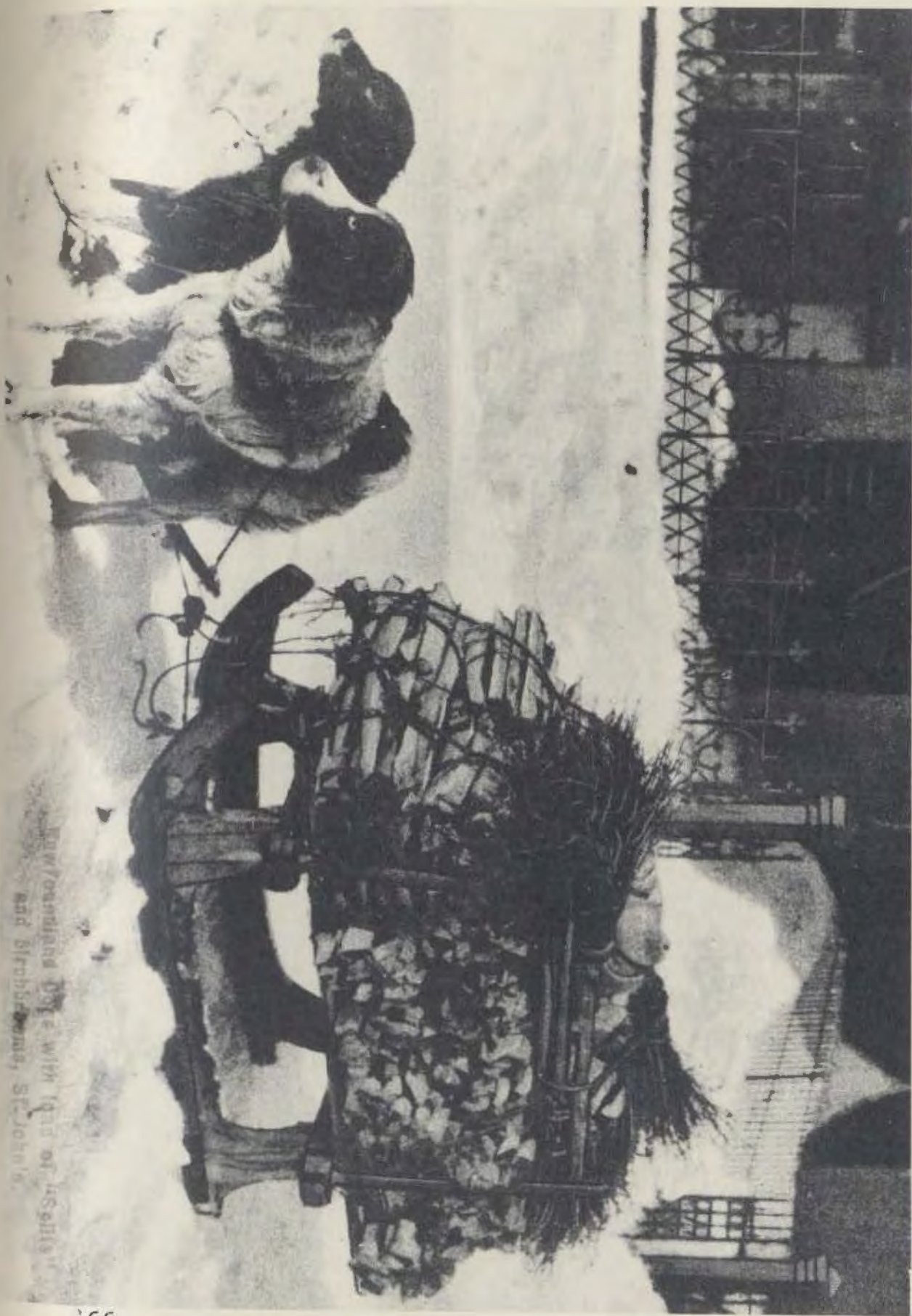


Figure 20 -

A catamaran hauled by dogs with a load of splits and birch brooms. From a postcard owned by Richard MacKinnon.



Newfoundland Dots with land or uselle
and Birchbark, St. John's.

A cart can be defined as any two-wheeled vehicle used solely for transporting goods and materials rather than people. Box carts, like catamarans, were common at least as early as 1810. These carts consisted of two wheels, an axle and a small wooden box attached to a frame (Figure 21). This vehicle was hauled by one horse and was used for a variety of purposes ranging from moving and spreading manure to transporting root crops and milk. Farmers living in the vicinity of St. John's used box carts for the collecting of caplin, for the subsequent spreading of the fish upon the fields for fertilizer, for transporting produce from the fields, and for carrying root crops to market in St. John's.⁸ Early newspaper accounts did not make the distinction between a box cart and a wood cart, which suggests that these vehicles were similar. Some early reports also indicate that the box cart was comparable to what was referred to as an Irish cart suggesting possible Irish connections for this vehicle.

The long cart was much like the box cart, yet it did not possess a box (Figure 22). It was used for hauling hay, provisions, barrels and any other articles which

⁸For a study of the farm community on the outskirts of St. John's see: Robert MacKinnon, "The Growth of Commercial Agriculture Around St. John's, 1800-1935: A Study of Local Trade in Response to Urban Demand," M.A. thesis Memorial University of Newfoundland, 1981.

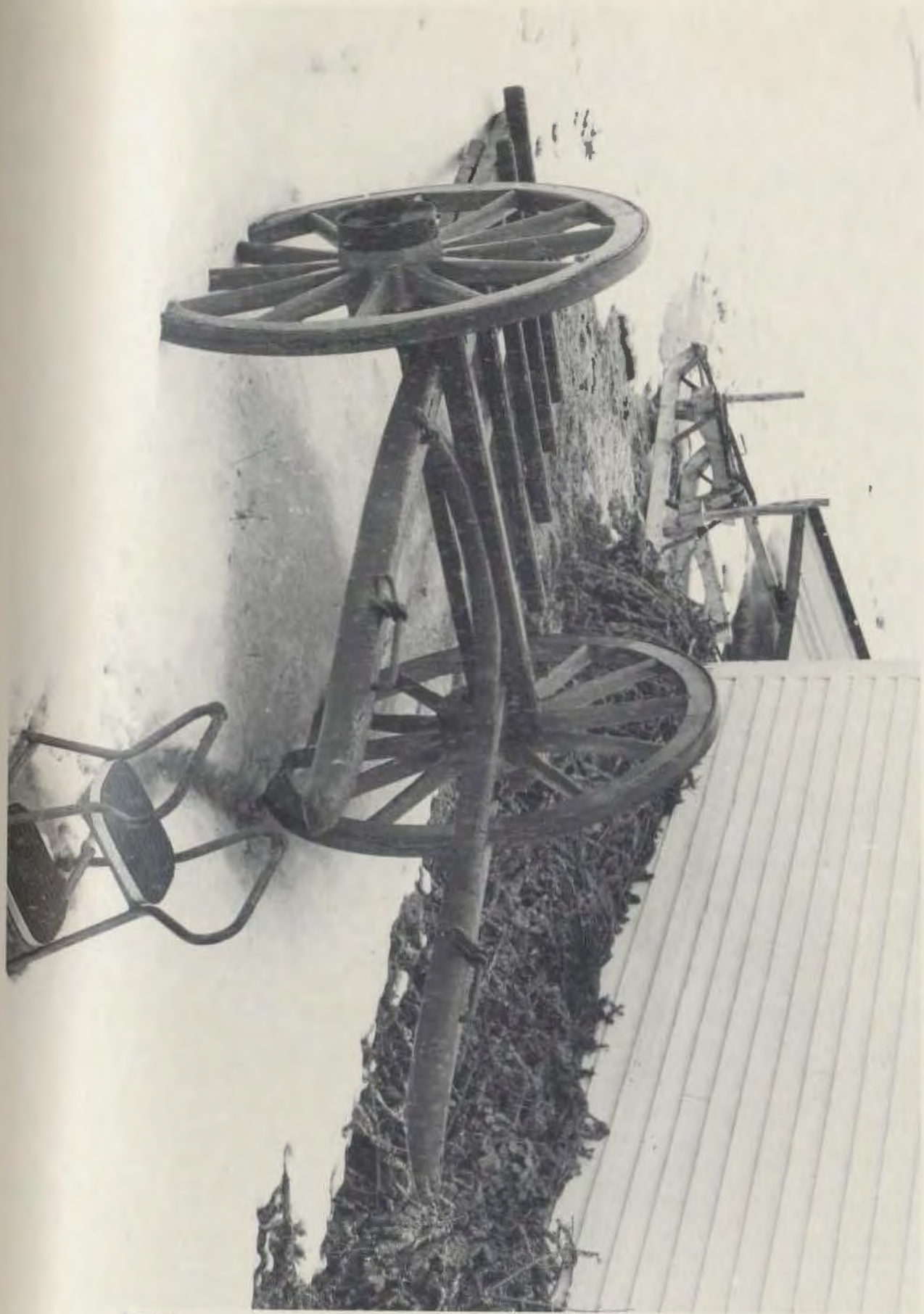
Figure 21 -

Box cart.



Figure 22 -

Long cart.



could be strapped to the frame of the vehicle (Figures 23, 24, 25). The long cart was characterized by its long narrow frame and shafts, which are extensions of the frame. Like the box cart and catamaran, this vehicle appeared in newspaper advertisements as early as 1810.

These carts and catamarans were traditional because they were often owner-built on a design which had been passed on from generation to generation. Owners often built their own frames and bodies, but obtained wheels from local wheelwrights in the early nineteenth century, and from carriage factories after 1850. In addition to supplying the wheels, carriage factories also constructed complete carts based on these same traditional designs.

The vehicles examined thus far were principally used for hauling goods and materials rather than people. In the early nineteenth century, travelling alongside these traditional vehicle types, were non-traditional passenger vehicles which had been invented and designed outside Newfoundland.

One type of non-traditional vehicle was the chaise. The word chaise often referred to all two-wheeled passenger carriages drawn by one horse. Newspaper accounts frequently listed only the words, "chaise for sale", supplying little structural information about the particular vehicle being sold. However, available data indicates that the general characteristics of a chaise

Figure 23 -

Long carts at Beck's Cove, St. John's. From postcard
owned by Richard Mackinnon.

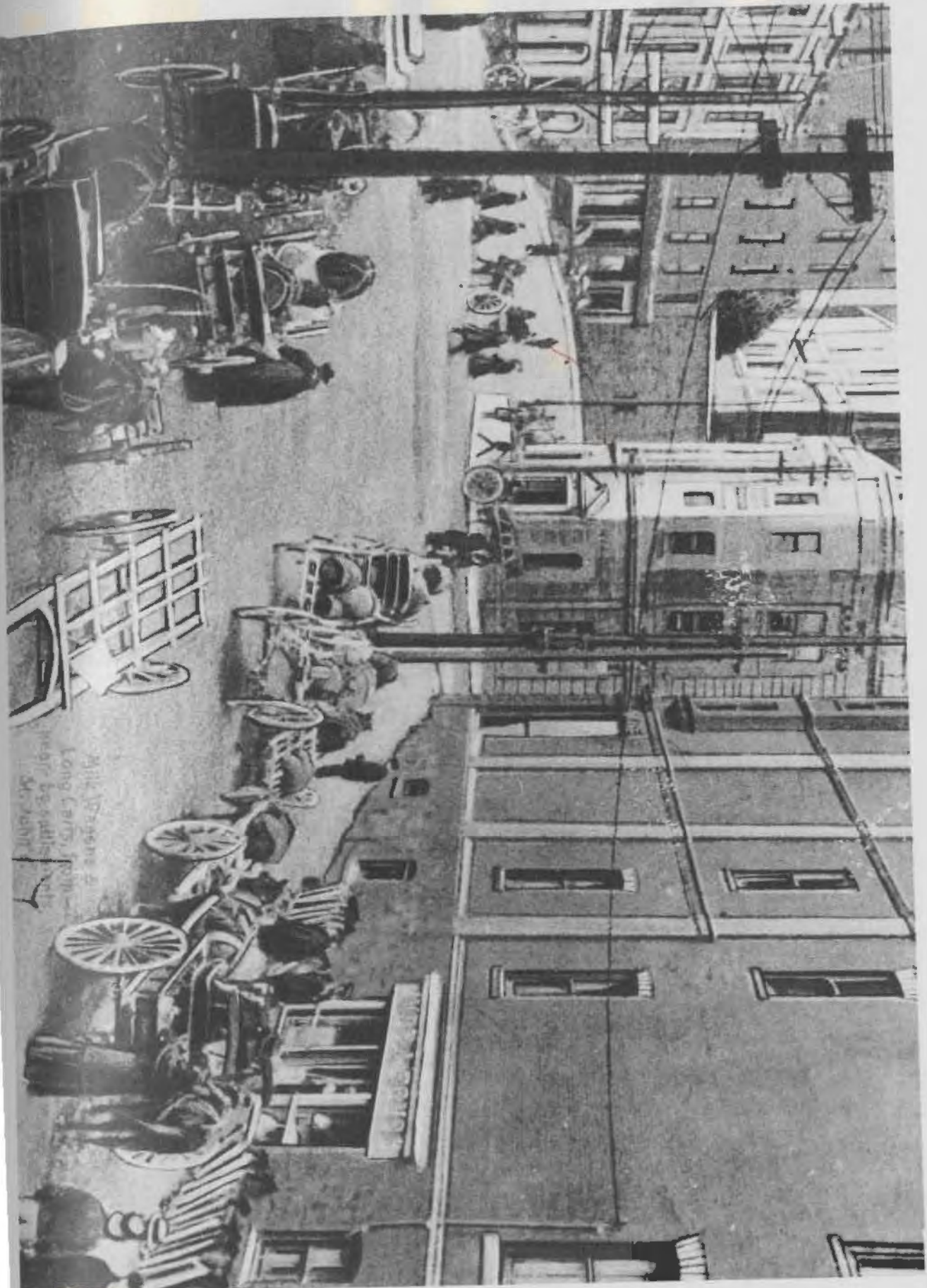


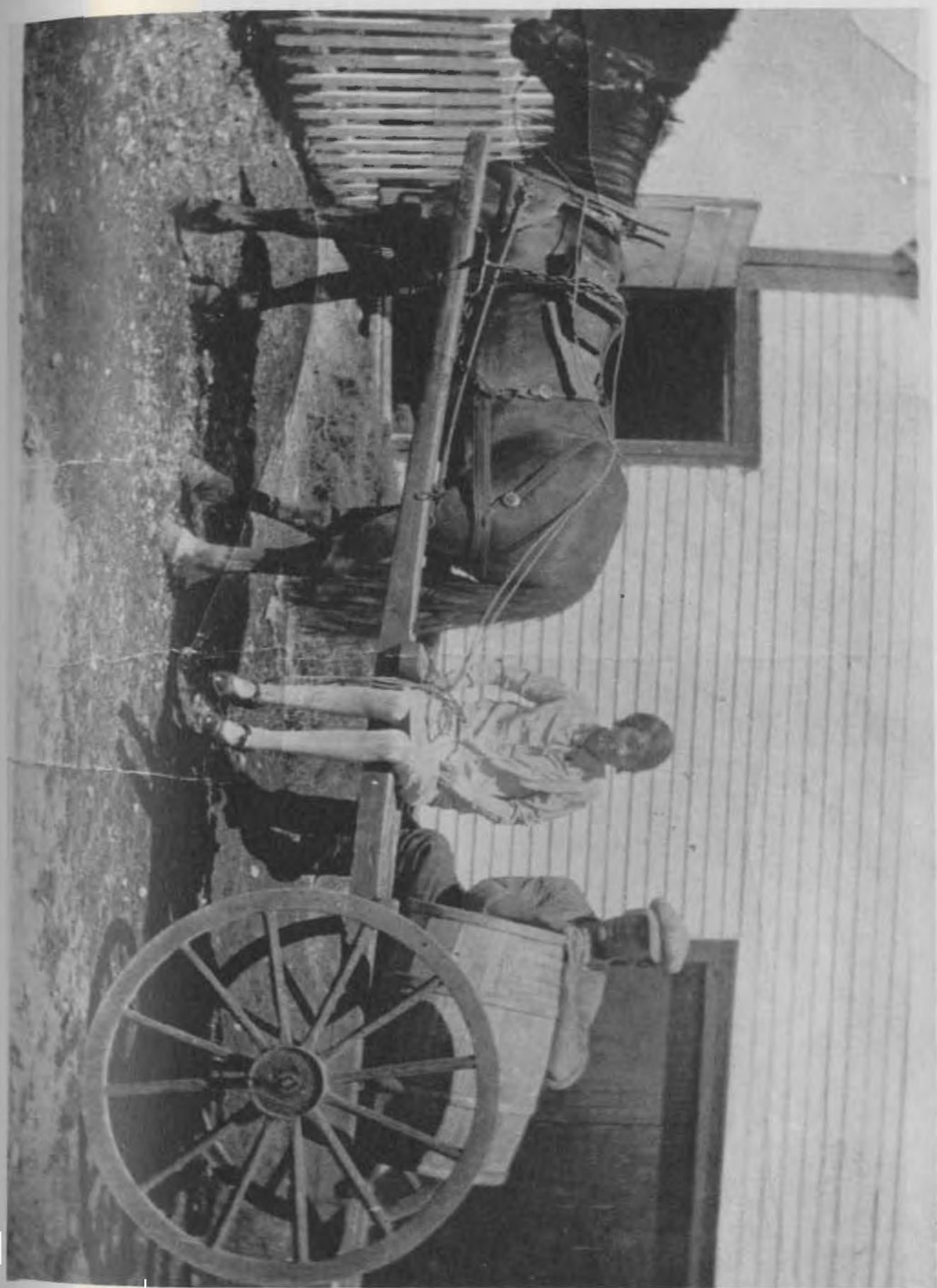
Figure 24. -

Long carts loaded with hay. Duckworth Street, St. John's around 1900. From Provincial Archives of Newfoundland.



Figure 25 -

Long cart with barrel attached.



included a seat capable of holding two passengers, a removable top, and a body set directly on the frame (Figure 26).⁹

One type of chaise, a gig, was the most popular vehicle in St. John's in the early years of the nineteenth century (Figure 27). William Felton, an English carriage-maker working in the late eighteenth century, described this type:

Gigs are one horse chaises of various patterns, devised according to the fancy of the occupier; but more generally, means those that hang by braces from the springs; the mode of hanging is what principally constitutes a gig, which is only a one horse chaise of the most fashionable sort of two-wheeled carriages, it is usual, in building a gig, to imitate them, particularly in the mode of hanging. The gig mostly hangs from the middle of the hind pillars, and is built as light and as easy as possible; all one horse chaises that are neat and fancifully constructed, are named gigs.¹⁰

⁹ Don H. Berkebile, Carriage Terminology: An Historical Dictionary (Washington: Smithsonian Institution Press and Liberty Cap Books, 1978), pp. 80-82.

¹⁰ William Felton, A Treatise On Carriages (London: Printed for the author, 1796), I, 128. A curricule was similar to a chaise. It differed by having in place of shafts, a pole for use with two horses. See: Berkebile, Carriage Terminology, p. 115.

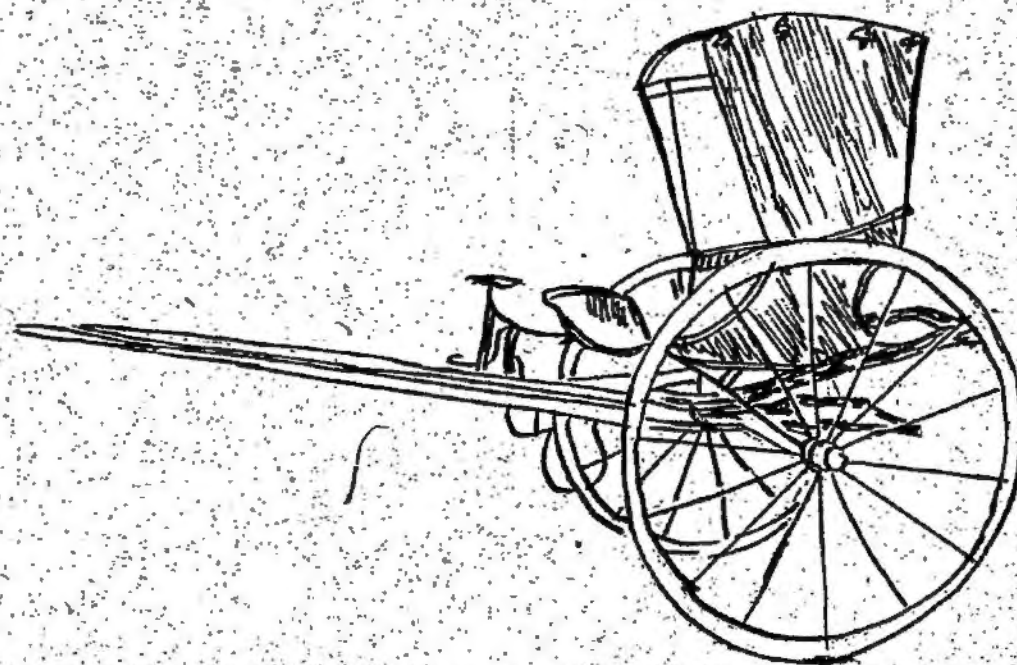


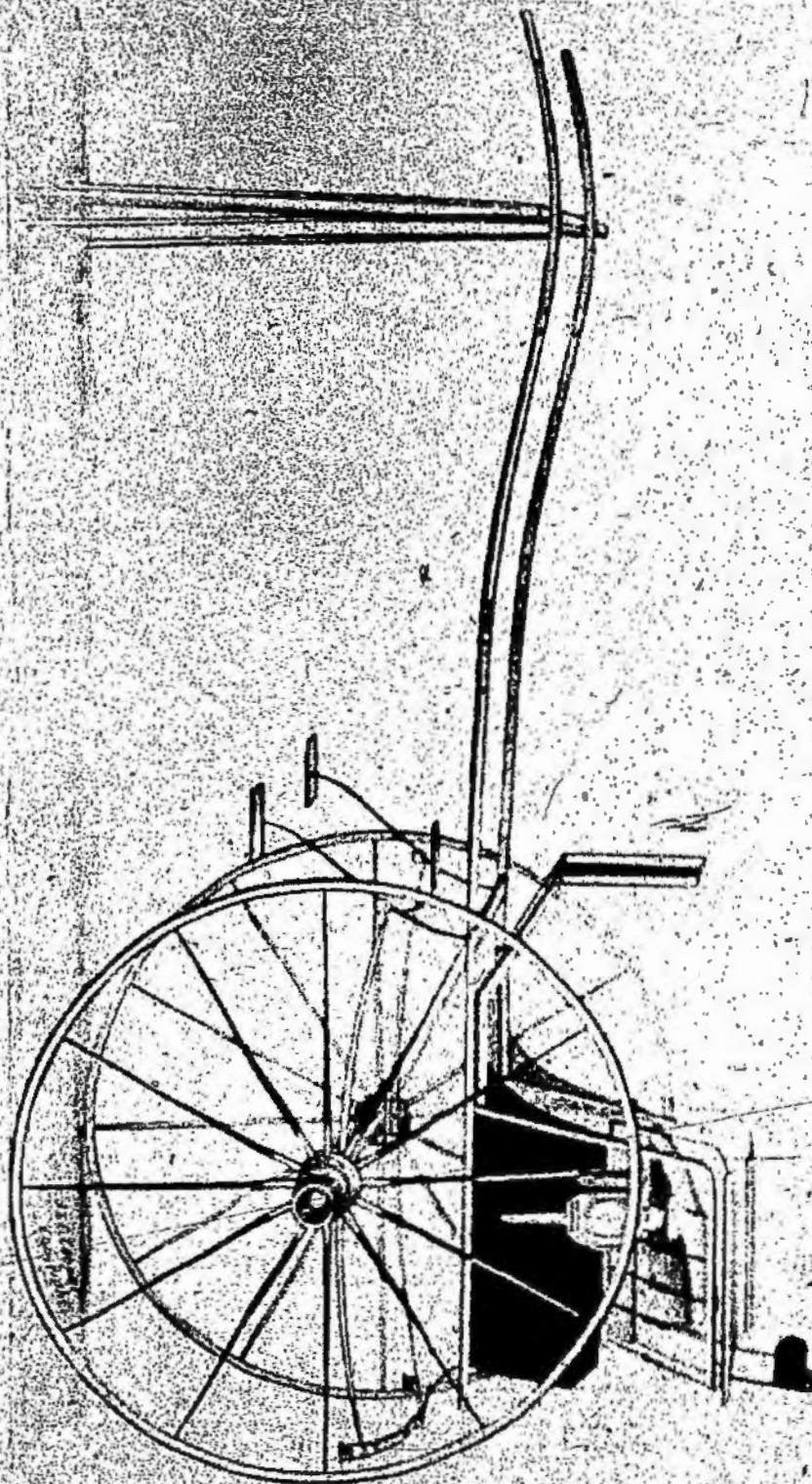
Figure 26 - Chaise. Sketch from: Don H. Berkebile, Carriage Terminology: An Historical Dictionary (Washington: Smithsonian Institute Press and Liberty Cap Books, 1978), p. 83.



Figure 27 -

Gig. From Felton's Carriages Being a Selection of Coaches, Chariots, Phaetons, etc. from 'A Treatise on Carriages' by William Felton (London: Hugh Evelyn, 1962), n.p.

STANHOPE GIG WITHOUT HOOD



Felton considered a gig to be distinguishable by the way the body hung from the springs. In St. John's, wealthy citizens, military officers, and doctors were the owners of gigs. Some of these vehicles were imported from London, while others were constructed locally. A gig was sometimes named after the design of its body, the inventor of a particular style, or even the coach-builder. The Tilbury gig, for example, was designed by Fitzroy Stanhope in 1815, but named after the London coach-builder who first constructed this type.¹¹ Tilbury gigs were popular in St. John's. Mention of these vehicles did not appear in newspaper sale advertisements after 1835, suggesting this vehicle type declined in popularity around this date. This coincides with a concomitant decline in the popularity of certain gigs in the United States during this period of the nineteenth century.¹² By the late 1880s, gigs regained popularity in St. John's and were called riding gigs by local carriage-makers.¹³ These vehicles were refined as time passed by the addition of springs and were popular until the carriage-making industry began declining in the 1940s.

¹¹ Berkebile, Carriage Terminology, p. 154.

¹² Berkebile, Carriage Terminology, p. 154.

¹³ MUNFLA, 79-321.

Another well represented vehicle in the early years of the nineteenth century was the passenger sleigh.

Single sleighs for two passengers and double sleighs for four passengers were listed in sale advertisements in newspapers as early as 1810. Single sleighs varied in size. Smaller sleighs were hauled by dogs, while larger ones by one or two horses. Single and double sleighs were either open or closed, that is, either open to the weather or closed by a collapsible top (Figure 28).

According to Phillip Tocque:

the sleigh of Newfoundland is not a vehicle of business, sleighing being pursued mostly for recreation and pleasure, and principally confined to St. John's, Harbour Grace, Carbonear and Brigus.¹⁴

Furthermore, Tocque provides a romantic account of recreational sleighing in St. John's:

During this season also, trains of sleighing parties are seen flying about in all directions, while the brass harness glistening in the sunshine, and the tinkling of the little bells on the horse's necks, present a scene of gaiety and animation.¹⁵

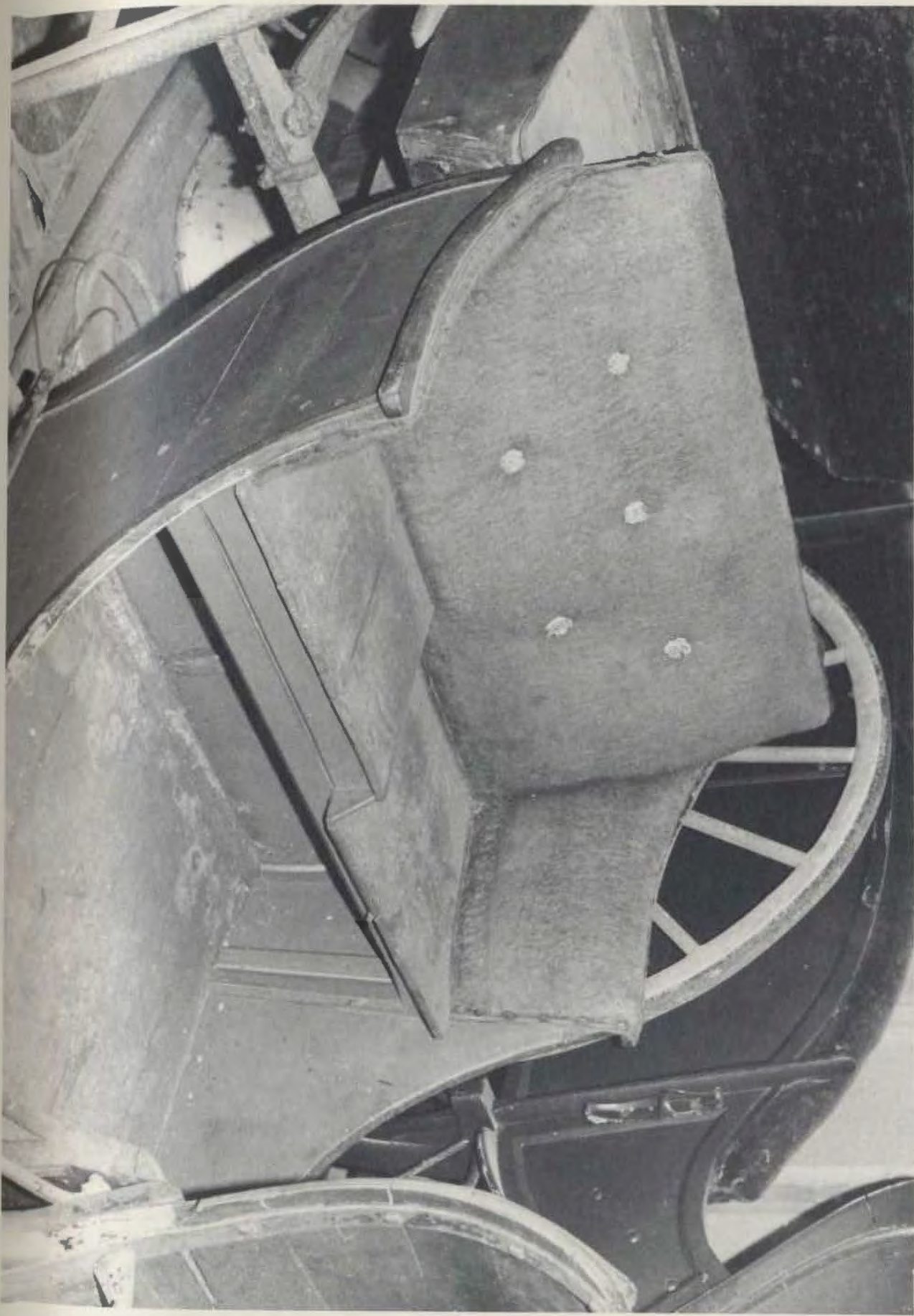
As a leisure time activity, sleigh riding was confined to the merchant, military and professional classes. For example:

¹⁴Tocque, Newfoundland As It Was, p. 109.

¹⁵Tocque, Newfoundland As It Was, p. 109.

Figure 28 -

Sleigh. Located at the Newfoundland Museum storage building.



The mildness of weather and the abundance of snow which covers the ground, brought out yesterday a greater number of sleighers than we have witnessed since the winter set in. Among others were his Excellency the Governor and Lady Harvey to whom befell an accident (owing we presume to the unskillfulness of the driver) which might have been attended with serious consequences. Having reached Waterford Bridge (about three miles from town) where the snow was unusually heavy, the sleigh was, in the act or turning, upset, whilst at the same moment the pole and the swing bar were broken, and the horses became restive. The sleigh had fallen over upon his Excellency and his Lady; but there being several gentlemen in other sleighs besides several woodsmen at hand, Sir John and Lady Harvey were extricated from their perilous situation without injury to either.¹⁶

Sleighbing became so prevalent in winter that by 1843 a bill was read before the House of Assembly compelling drivers of sleighs to attach bells to their horses.¹⁷ References to sleighbing as a leisure activity frequently

¹⁶ Public Ledger, 18 January 1842.

¹⁷ "The honorable Mr. Dunscomb, pursuant to notice and leave granted, presented a bill to compel the drivers of sleighs and catamarans, and other vehicles on runners through the streets of St. John's to attach bells to the horses drawing the same." Journal of the House of Assembly, 10 April 1843.

appeared in nineteenth century newspapers.¹⁸

In addition to providing a pleasurable pastime, these vehicles were also used for general travel in winter.¹⁹ Double sleighs were used as taxis in winter.²⁰

At least two horse and sleigh taxi services were operating by 1852. Single and double sleighs were used throughout the nineteenth century and lasted until at least the 1940s.

Another two-wheeled vehicle - the Irish jaunting car -

¹⁸ For example: "Now is the time for sleighing and there is no better sport than a run over a good road... You must also have a good sleigh, and one of the best ever built in this country can be purchased on application to the 'Herald' office." Evening Herald, 19 January 1900.

¹⁹ Sleighs were used for travelling to and from church: "Letter to the Editor. Notwithstanding all the hints that have been given through the press, of the danger and inconvenience arising from sleighs being driven quick to and from church (some even without bells) it is evident that no notice whatsoever has been taken of them by the parties concerned. Another nuisance which is increasing with the number of sleighs... is the indecent manner in which those vehicles are crowded around the church steps awaiting their proprietors at the conclusion of the service... as it stands at the present, after having jumped half a dozen times into the snow, to avoid being knocked down on your way to the house of God, on your returning from thence; you have regularly to pass under the horses noses of one vehicle, and hop over the runners of another, before you can get clear..." Royal Gazette, 1 February 1831.

²⁰ A horse and sleigh taxi system is advertised in: Public Ledger, 24 January 1851.

was also popular in St. John's in the early years of the nineteenth century. Irish jaunting cars developed in Ireland from the Irish trolley car in 1815, yet, were plying the streets of St. John's as early as 1816.²¹ A typical Irish jaunting car had a body mounted on springs, two seats arranged lengthwise over the wheels so passengers could sit back to back, a storage area between the seats and a driver's seat at the front. In addition to being used by private citizens, it was adapted for use as a public transit vehicle (Figure 29).²²

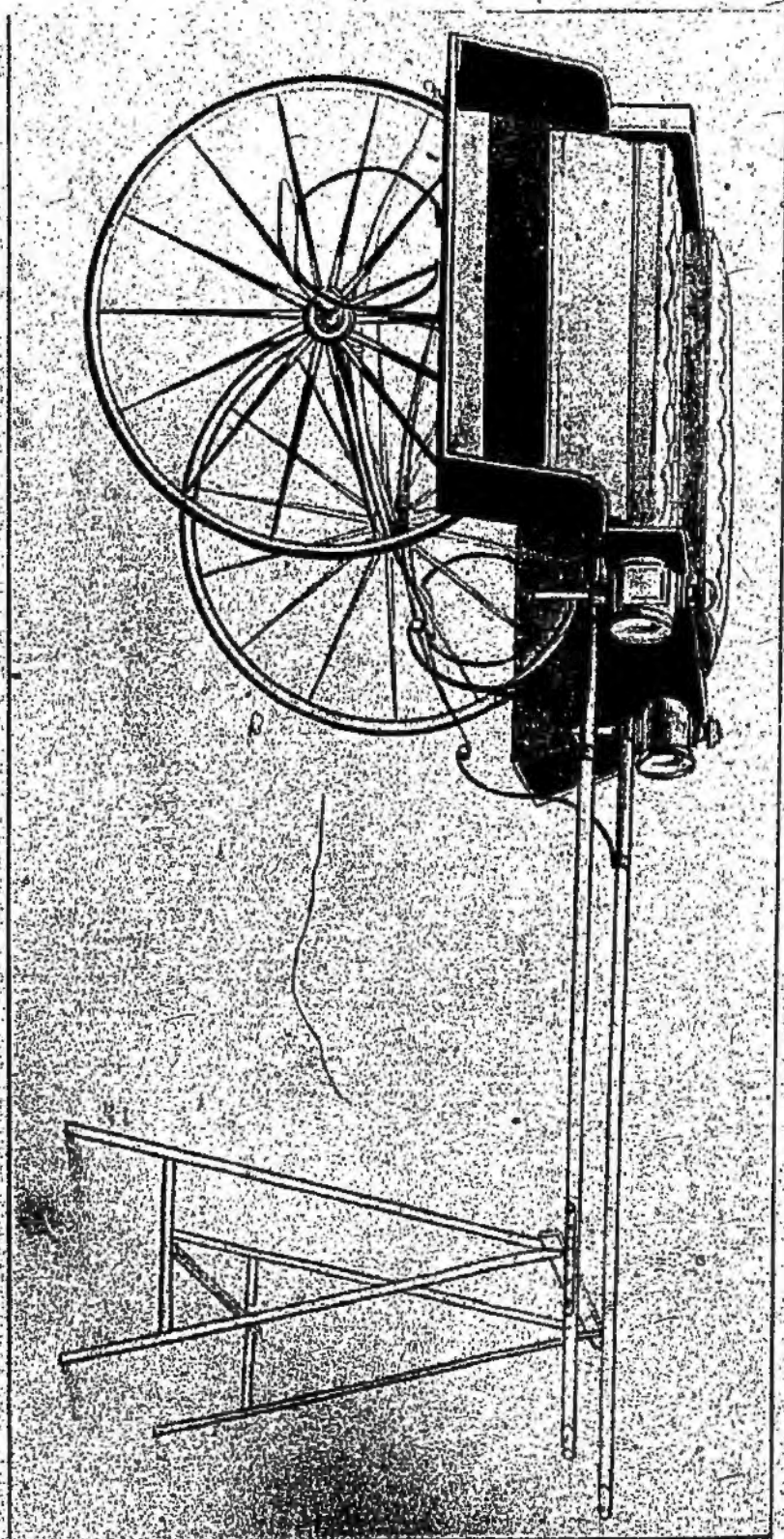
While two-wheeled transport was in evidence during these early years, so too was four-wheeled transport. Many newspaper sale advertisements listed merely "four-wheel" carriages, "open" four-wheel carriages, "close" four-wheel carriages, or just "carriages" as being for

²¹ Berkebile traces the history of the Irish jaunting car. See: Berkebile, Carriage Terminology, p. 176. For a short discussion of the Irish jaunting car used as a public transit vehicle see: Molly O'Connell Bianconi, "King of the Irish Roads," The Carriage Journal, 8 (1970), 79-83. For an example of a St. John's Irish jaunting car: "For Sale, an Irish jaunting car, with harness to match (almost new), having run but for a short time last summer, and a few times this... William Morris." Royal Gazette, 29 July 1817.

²² Berkebile, Carriage Terminology, p. 176.

Figure 29 -

Irish Jaunting Car. From Felton's Carriages, n.p.



IRISH CAR.

sale.²³ Unfortunately these notices provided little information on the type of vehicle that was actually being sold. The only useful information provided concerns whether or not the particular vehicle being sold had a top or covering since these vehicles were distinguished as being either open or closed carriages.

Some advertisements, however, provided information on the particular vehicle type advertised. For example, phaetons appeared frequently in nineteenth century advertisements. The word phaeton was first applied to a light, four-wheeled carriage in early eighteenth century France. However, by the late eighteenth century, it

²³ For example: "Public Auction on Thursday next, the 8th inst. at 11 o'clock at Major General Campbell's Quarters (Fort William)... one four wheel carriage... George Lilly, auctioneer." Royal Gazette, 6 August 1816; "For Sale, at Byrne's Auction Mart... one open carriage..." Newfoundlander 8 July 1847; "Auction, on Tuesday next, the 4th June, will be submitted for sale, by auction, at the dwelling-house of Arthur H. Brooking, esq. who is about to leave this island, all his household furniture, consisting of every article necessary for a large family: ...an excellent, close four-wheel carriage, calculated to be drawn by one or two horses..." Royal Gazette, 28 May 1833; "Sales at auction. At 11 o'clock by Perchard and Boag... one very handsome carriage... the property of Captain Buchan." Royal Gazette, 22 September 1835.

became common in England and the United States (Figure 30).²⁴

In St. John's the first reference to a phaeton appeared in 1832.²⁵ These vehicles were said to be either single or double, referring to the number of seats. One distinctive feature of phaetons was their tops. Phaetons were often outfitted with calash tops or folding tops made of leather. A St. John's advertisement described a phaeton being sold in 1839:

...for sale... a double-bodied phaeton with turn over land seat, Roger's patent axles and elliptic springs - manufactured expressly for the roads of this country.²⁶

This phaeton had two seats holding four passengers. The back seat was a foldout seat, meaning that the seat was hung on a special hinge so it could be turned over and placed out of the way when not in use in order to create more space within the vehicle. Elliptic springs, first invented in England in 1804, were made of two sets of overlapping steel plates fastened together at the ends by bolts. Their general form was that of an ellipse.

²⁴ Berkebile, Carriage Terminology, p. 213.

²⁵ "Sales at Auction. On Friday next, the 29th inst., at 12 o'clock, on Mr. Shea's Wharf, a neat, modern Phaeton, and suitable harness." Royal Gazette, 26 June 1832.

²⁶ Royal Gazette, 26 November 1839.

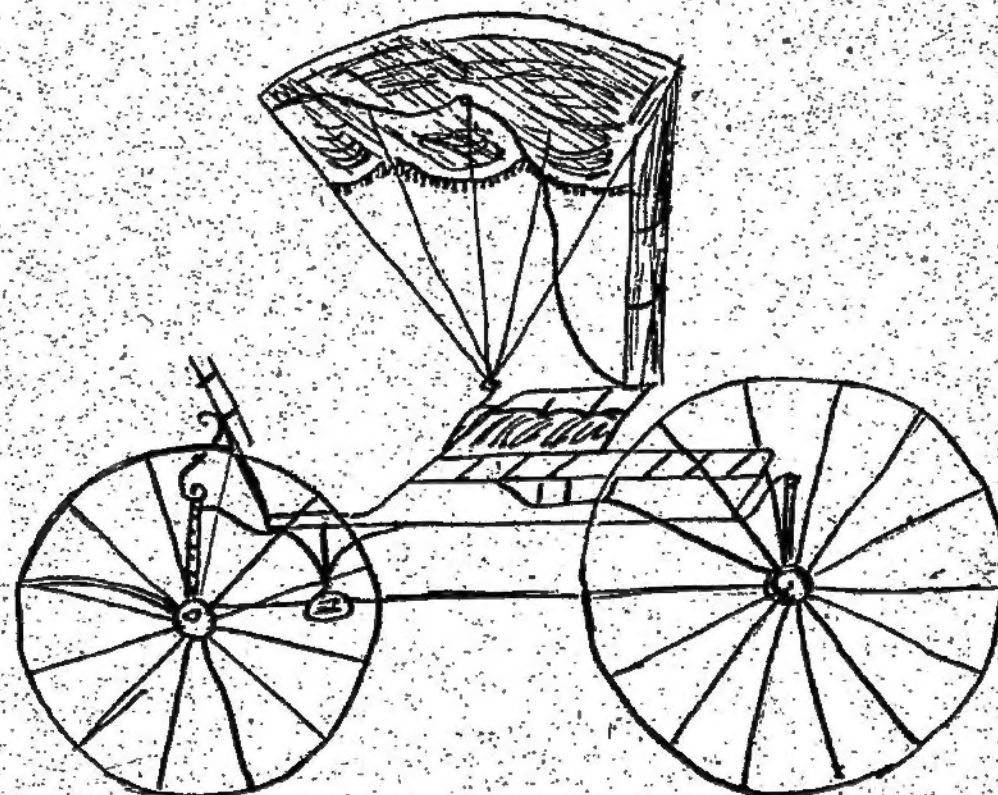


Figure 30 - Phaeton. From Berkebile, Carriage Terminology, p.215.

Patent axles, invented in England in 1787, were made especially for vehicles used on rough roads.²⁷

Another St. John's advertisement provided a description of a phaeton:

For sale a phaeton with folding flaps and German shutters forming a close or open carriage, contains a pair of lamps, seats inside for four, a driver's seat in front laid out for two. Although perfectly a one horse carriage it also has a pole exclusive of shaft should the purchaser be disposed at any time to drive a pair.²⁸

The folding flaps and German shutters were parts of the folding top. This advertisement provides an indication of the kinds of accoutrements accompanying a vehicle.

Lamps were needed for driving at night. A pole was provided with this vehicle in order to transform this one-horse carriage into a two-horse carriage. A used phaeton in 1855 cost approximately 50 pounds.²⁹ At this price, only the wealthier citizens of St. John's could afford this carriage type. Individuals selling phaetons were people such as Judge DesBarres, Sir John G. Le Marchant,

²⁷ Berkebile, Carriage Terminology, pp. 341, 311.

²⁸ The Patriot, 5 July 1848.

²⁹ "On Sale. One Phaeton, with lamps, pole etc. complete 90 guineas stg. will be sold for £60.0.0 currency..." Newfoundlander, 12 April 1855.

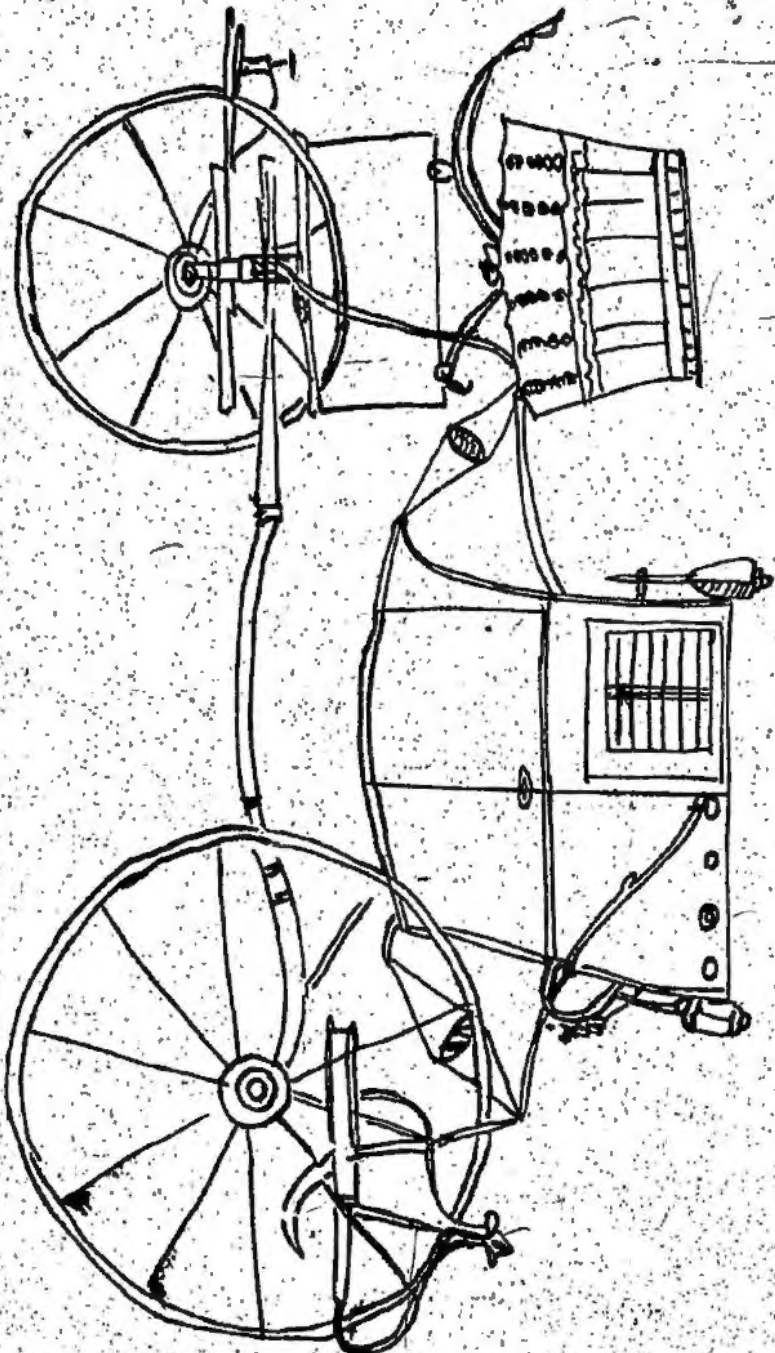


Figure 31 - Chariot. From Berkebile, Carriage Terminology, p. 90.

and Captain Bridge, the Royal Engineer - all members of St. John's professional class. Phaetons frequently appeared in advertisements until the late nineteenth century, but seemed to have lost popularity by the 1880s.

Chariots were yet another large four-wheeled vehicle type common in St. John's in the early years of the nineteenth century (Figure 31). Originally the term chariot referred to an ancient two-wheeled carriage used for hunting, warfare, racing, funerals and religious ceremonies. By the 18th century this term began being applied to a vehicle less expensive, lighter in weight, and more maneuverable than a large coach. In the United States at this time, chariots became symbols of rank or wealth.³⁰ In St. John's, the "elegant" chariots being sold as early as 1833 were used by individuals such as J. Bingley Garland and R.A. Tucker - both members of St. John's professional class.³¹ One description of a chariot was found:

³⁰ Berkebile, Carriage Terminology, p. 84.

³¹ "Auction. At the house of the honorable J. Bingley Garland... (elegant chariot...)" Royal Gazette, 2 September 1834; "Auction. Elegant household furniture, chariot, harness, etc. on Tuesday next at 12 o'clock, and to be continued until the whole is sold at the house of R.A. Tucker, esq..." Royal Gazette, 11 June 1833.

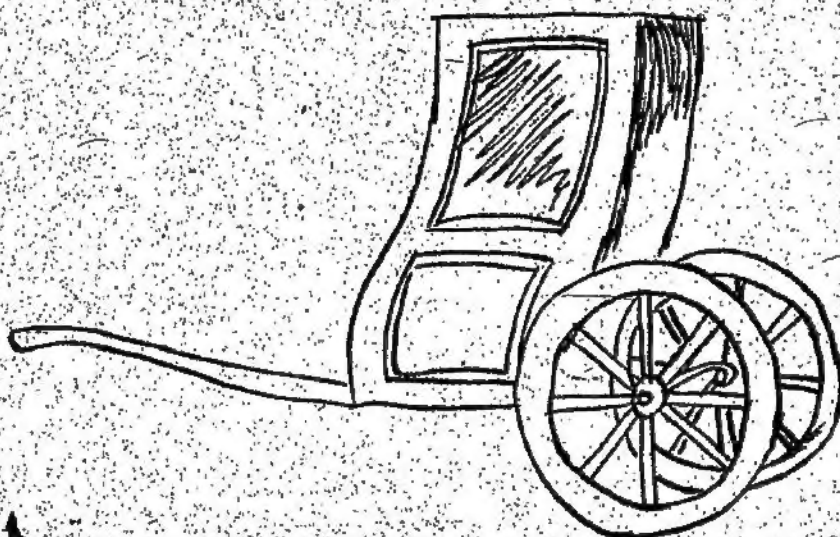


Figure 32 - Sedan Chair. From Berkebile, Carriage Terminology, p. 248.

Sale by auction, Tomorrow at one o'clock by Theodore Clift, a handsome, London-built chariot, well lined and cushioned with plate glass windows, blinds, silk curtains, and lamps complete.³²

These vehicles had four wheels, two enclosed seats for passengers, and a driver's seat. They were drawn by two horses and were privately owned. No record of these vehicles was found after 1860, suggesting a decline in popularity during this decade.

A vehicle with seating capacity for only one person - a sedan chair - was yet another ornate carriage found in nineteenth century St. John's (Figure 32). The historical antecedents of this vehicle date back to the sixteenth century. Sedan chairs were common in Italy and Spain in the sixteenth century and in England during the seventeenth century. Originally a sedan chair was an enclosed seat supported between two poles and carried by two men. Shoulder straps were eventually used by the haulers. It was not until the nineteenth century that a horse and rider replaced the human haulers. This vehicle had no reins; the person seated in the vehicle relied upon the horseman to control the conveyance.³³ Wealthy individuals were the owners of these carriages. For example, one sedan chair being sold in 1834 was owned by the honorable

³²Public Ledger, 2 December 1853.

³³Berkebile, Carriage Terminology, p. 176.

J. Bingley Garland, a wealthy merchant from Trinity, Newfoundland, who came to St. John's in 1832 to serve as Speaker of the House of Assembly.³⁴ No record of this type of vehicle was found after 1850, suggesting that it was either no longer in vogue at that time, or was too expensive a vehicle to be popular in St. John's.

A Landauette was an ornate vehicle belonging to the coach family. It was essentially a four-wheeled two passenger vehicle with a removable top. Plate glass was used in the windows of the doors. These vehicles varied in size; some were large, heavy and drawn by two horses, while others were small in size and drawn by one horse. In St. John's these were not common vehicles but were owned by a few of the wealthier citizens.³⁵ As with the Sedan chair, no references to these carriages were found after 1850, implying that few existed after this date. A landauette is essentially a smaller version of a landau. Only one landau was discovered in St. John's, and this was in the early years of the twentieth century. In 1917, a landau was imported from London for Sir

³⁴"Auction. At the house of the honorable J. Bingley Garland... one Sedan Chair," Royal Gazette, 2 September 1834.

³⁵"For Sale... the property of Lieutenant Colonel Oldfield, R.E. who is returning to Europe - viz -... one landauette..." Royal Gazette, 8 September 1835.

Charles A. Harris, Governor of Newfoundland from 1917-1922. It is now located in the Commissariat House Museum, St. John's.

In 1815, the Stanhope carriage was designed by Fitzroy Stanhope in an attempt to make a better suspension system for chaises. Twenty-four years later, in 1839, these vehicles were travelling the streets of St. John's (Figure 27). Fitzroy Stanhope placed cross springs and side springs on the axle of a chaise to obtain a smoother ride.³⁶ These vehicles were often constructed with no top. A Mr. John Brine announced the sale of his Stanhope in 1839:

The subscriber being about to leave this country for England, will offer for sale, by public auction, this day at 12 o'clock at his residence, Signal Hill Road, the undermentioned articles... A new Stanhope with superior patent axles, of the most modern description constructed on the best principle, and built for the proprietor without regard to expense.³⁷

A Stanhope had two wheels, one seat for two passengers, and was privately used. No sale advertisements for Stanhopes appear after 1880.

In the late eighteen forties and early eighteen fifties, accompanying the increase in carriage-making

³⁶ Berkebile, Carriage Terminology, p. 262.

³⁷ Royal Gazette, 8 September 1839.

was a diversity of vehicle styles. Some large, ornate vehicles began appearing on the streets of St. John's. By 1847, a barouche - a large coach-like vehicle of German origin appeared (Figure 33). This type had an elevated driver's seat, seats situated so passengers faced each other when travelling, plate glass in the doors, and an enclosed body.³⁸ A barouche had two seats and a driver's seat carrying four passengers. These vehicles were privately owned and drawn by two horses. No references to barouches were found in the St. John's newspapers after 1890.³⁹

Two similar types, the brischtka and the brougham were much like the barouche. In the United States, the terms "brischtka" and "barouche" were often used synonymously.⁴⁰ A brischtka was a carriage used on long journeys which had special features enabling passengers to eat and sleep when travelling (Figure 34).⁴¹ These vehicles had four

³⁸ Berkebile, Carriage Terminology, p. 25

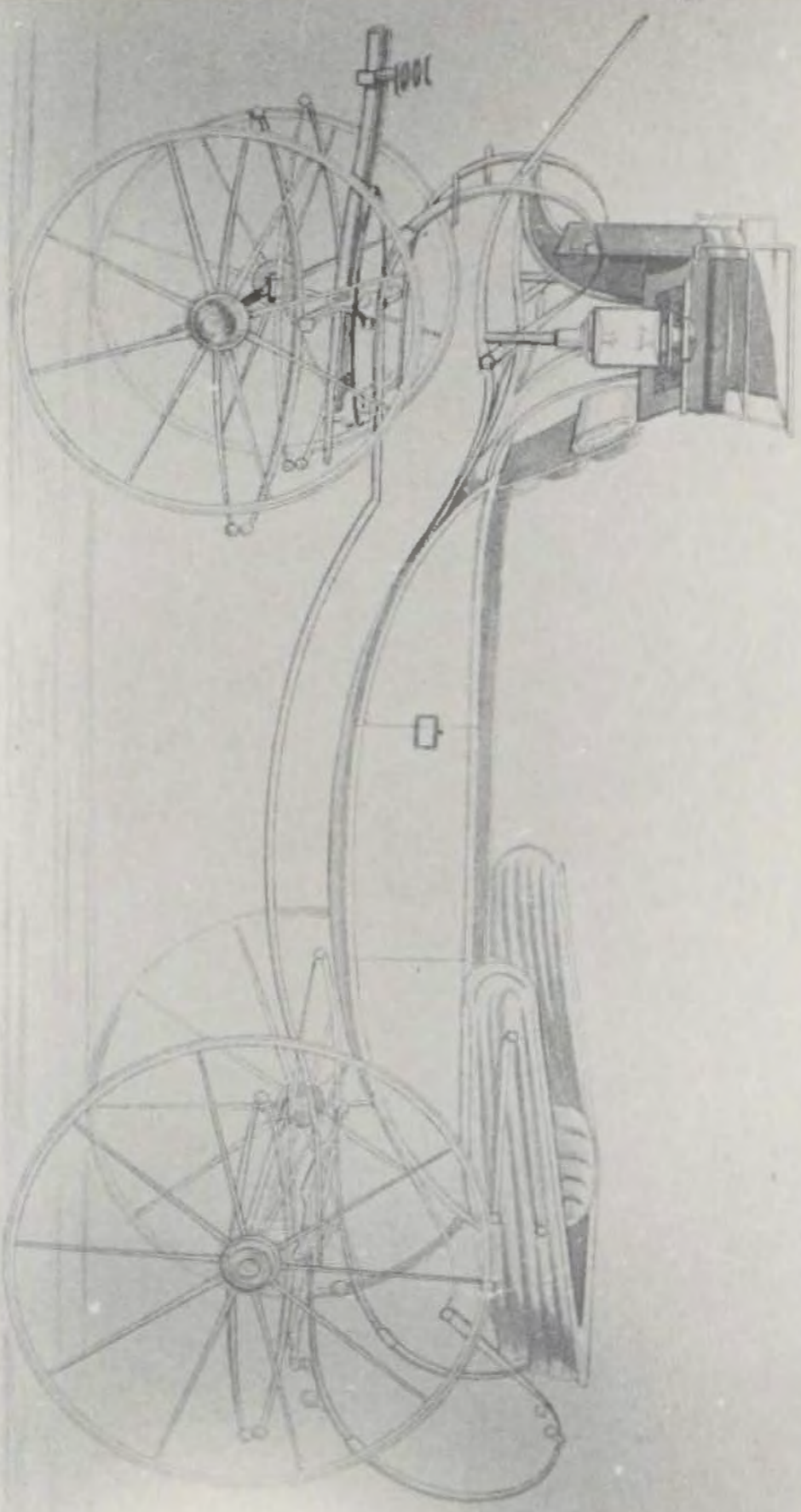
³⁹ An example of a newspaper advertisement for the sale of a barouche: "Auction, all Captain Whitmore's household furniture... a London-built Barouche..." Public Ledger, 16 September 1851.

⁴⁰ Berkebile, Carriage Terminology, pp. 39-40.

⁴¹ An example of a newspaper advertising the sale of a brischtka: "On Wednesday next, at the stables, Government House. The following property of his Excellency Sir John G. Le Marchant. viz... an elegant, commodious and well built Brischtka..." Public Ledger, 13 June 1851.

Figure 33 -

Barouche. From Felton's Carriages, p.p.



BAROUCHE.

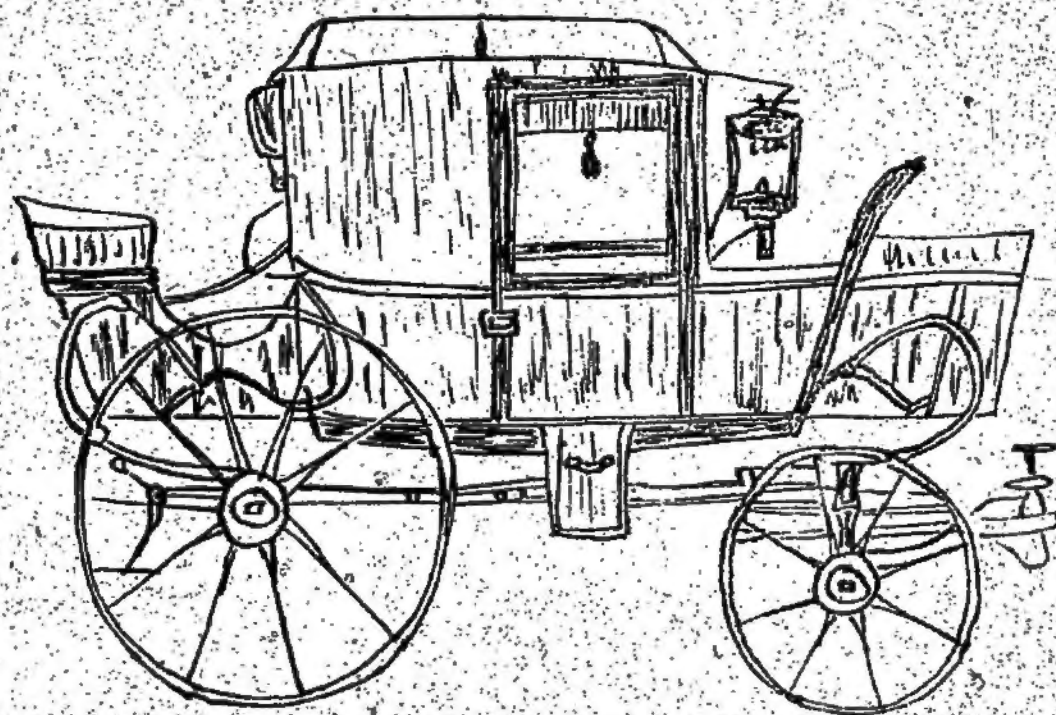


Figure 34 - Brischtka. From Berkebile, Carriage Terminology, p. 44

wheels, two seats, a driver's seat, and were drawn by two or four horses.

Broughams were popular amongst St. John's merchant and professional classes. Individuals such as Sir Alexander Bannerman, Captain Whitmore, G.T. Brooking and Sir Francis Brody were listed in newspaper sale advertisements as owners of broughams in the second half of the nineteenth century. Some broughams were imported from London, while others were constructed locally.⁴² This carriage type was invented by Lord Brougham, and manufactured by a London coach builder in 1838. Thirteen years later, in 1851, it was plying the streets of St. John's (Figure 35). Some characteristics of a brougham include a box-like appearance, a low-hung body and an elevated driver's seat. It eventually began being used as a public cab in England and the United States.⁴³

In the mid-nineteenth century, a variety of sleigh types became prominent in St. John's.⁴⁴ Cutter sleighs

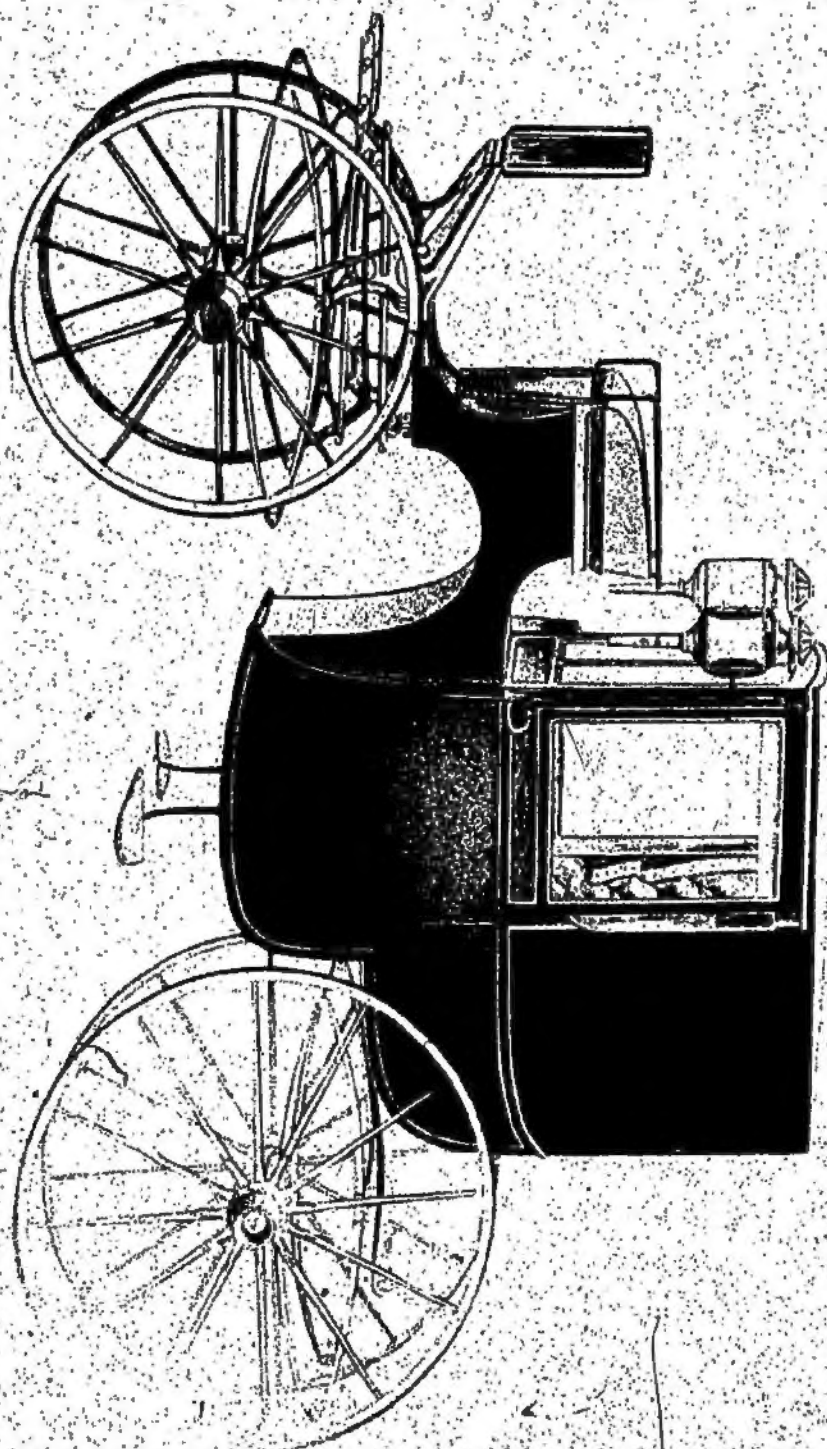
⁴² An example of a sale advertisement for a Brougham: "Sale at Government House... the property of Sir Alexander Bannerman... one London built Brougham..." Public Ledger, 23 August 1864.

⁴³ Berkebile, Carriage Terminology, pp. 44-45.

⁴⁴ A typical example of a newspaper sale advertisement for a sleigh: "Auction on Wednesday next, at 11 o'clock, by T. Clift, 1 very useful and strong horse, 1 sleigh (by Carnell) and skins..." Public Ledger, 6 April 1855.

Figure 35 -

Brougham. From Felton's Carriages, n. p.



Illustration

appeared by 1850, family sleighs by 1851, German sleighs by 1855, Canadian sleighs by 1860 and side sleighs by 1860 (Table 6). A cutter sleigh was a light open sleigh with one seat which carried two passengers. Family sleighs were large open sleighs with four seats holding eight persons. They were privately owned and were drawn by two horses. Some sleighs were named after their place of manufacture. Canadian and Halifax-made sleighs were being sold in St. John's in 1855. One Halifax-made sleigh was sold for fifty guineas in St. John's in 1855.⁴⁵ The family, German and Canadian sleighs do not appear in newspaper advertisements after the 1880s. The cutter sleigh, on the other hand, lasted until the decline of horse-drawn vehicles.

Accoutrements for these sleighs included items ranging from sleigh bells to runner attachments. Some runners could be attached to the frame of vehicles after removing the wheels. This feature enabled a wheeled carriage to be transformed into a sleigh, and provided an inexpensive way for individuals to have had the use of a

⁴⁵ "Sale by auction... on the wharf of Baine, Johnstone and Company... one family sleigh - four seats - with superior furs complete - cost fifty guineas in Halifax... the property of Mr. Grieve. T. Clift, auctioneer." Public Ledger, 10 April 1855.

sleigh and carriage by owning only one vehicle.⁴⁶ Other accessories included bear skins, buffalo robes, wolf robes and sheepskin coats. These were placed over the legs and upper bodies of sleigh occupants. Sleigh bells, sleigh bell straps, whips, lamps, sleigh cushions and a variety of single and double harnesses were other items found on and in St. John's sleighs.⁴⁷

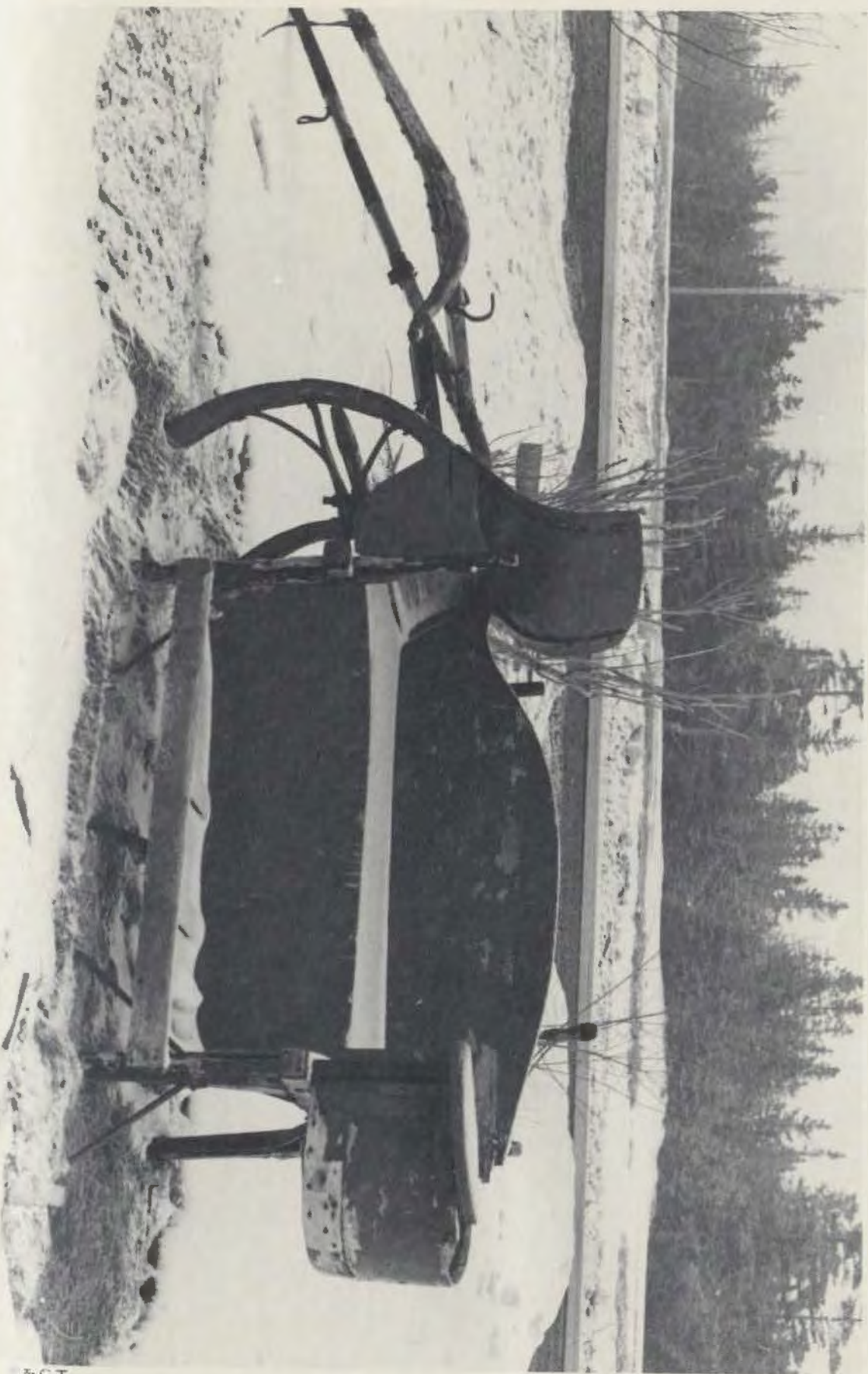
The most common sleigh type in St. John's from 1860 to the time when horse-drawn vehicles were no longer used was the side sleigh, a type unique to Newfoundland. This sleigh was narrow, had one seat and was designed to convey three or more passengers plus a driver (Figure 36). Some were small enough to be drawn by dogs, while most were drawn by one or two horses. All side sleighs were open and were used privately and commercially. This sleigh had

⁴⁶ This attachment was found in St. John's as early as 1813: "For Sale. A Handsome and remarkably safe sleigh (with leather boot linings, bear skin, etc.) the body of which removes from the runners and fixes to wheels, thereby forming it into a gig and thus making it a very safe and commodious carriage, either for the winter or summer. Also a set of double plated harness, in very good condition... Inquire of the printer." Royal Gazette, 11 February 1813.

⁴⁷ A typical newspaper advertisement announcing the selling of these objects: "At Gleeson's Ironmongery Store... Sleigh Bells, Sleigh Straps, Mount Vernon Leather Preserver, Horse Brushes, Harness Polish,..."
Newfoundlander, 9 February 1863.

Figure 36 -

Newfoundland side sleigh.



a curving splashboard at the front to protect the passengers from mud and water thrown by the horse's feet. Two wooden runners with iron strips provided the base upon which this vehicle was constructed. The driver did not sit at the front of the sleigh but at the back. The most unusual section of the vehicle was the seat. Instead of facing in the direction the sleigh was moving, the seat was placed perpendicular to that direction. It was also similar to the catamaran in its narrow width. Most side sleighs were approximately three feet in width. These vehicles were sometimes called "catamaran sleighs" by St. John's residents.⁴⁸

One other vehicle type - the Irish jaunting car - had the same distinctive seating arrangement as the side sleigh. The jaunting car had two seats arranged lengthwise over the wheels so that passengers sat back to back (Figure 29).⁴⁹ Irish jaunting cars were being driven on

⁴⁸"A peculiarly local contrivance of a very useful character is what is called a 'catamaran sleigh'. It is very narrow, and usually made to carry three or more persons with the driver. In this sleigh the occupants sit sideways, as in the Irish Jaunting Car, except that there is one seat which faces one way only. The driver's seat instead of being at the end of the sleigh nearest the horse, is at the extreme end of the sleigh from the horse. This form of sleigh is probably a local invention, designed to meet local requirements, is very serviceable for narrow roads, and is in general use by all classes." "How Business is Conducted," Evening Telegram, 3 March 1893.

⁴⁹Berkebile, Carriage Terminology, p. 176.

the streets of St. John's as early as 1816. Side sleighs, on the other hand, did not appear on the St. John's streets until 1862. It is possible, at some date between the early nineteenth century and mid nineteenth century, that a local builder borrowed the seating arrangement from the Irish jaunting car and the narrow width of the catamaran and created the side sleigh. This side sleigh became the most popular winter vehicle in St. John's and, although not used today, a great number can be found in and around the city.

Buggies of various types were popular from the eighteenth fifties throughout the nineteenth century and into the twentieth. In late eighteenth century England, the term "buggy" was first applied to a light, four-wheeled vehicle with seating for only one.⁵⁰ In the early nineteenth century the word was applied to an American vehicle which consisted of a body with seating for one or two passengers mounted on springs and four wheels. A great variety of body designs and spring systems emerged as this type became popular. It eventually became the most popular horse-drawn vehicle ever constructed in the United States.⁵¹ In St. John's, buggies were imported from the United States

⁵⁰ Berkebile, Carriage Terminology, p. 49.

⁵¹ Berkebile, Carriage Terminology, p. 50.

and Montreal, in addition to those constructed locally.⁵²

Some were covered or "hooded", while others were open.⁵³

Some had "single seats" holding two people, while others had "drop seats" or "folding seats" providing room for extra passengers.⁵⁴ Buggies with this extra seating capacity were popular in the United States in the eighteen fifties and eighteen sixties; however, it was not until the eighteen eighties that these types began appearing in St. John's (Figure 37).

By 1870, express waggons appeared in newspaper sale advertisements. Undoubtedly these vehicles were used before this date in St. John's, especially by the residents

⁵² See, for example: "For Sale, An American Buggy, Nearly New. Any Person requiring such will get a bargain. Apply to H. Tomkins at Coughlans, Duckworth Street." Evening Telegram, 14 July 1879; "Sale of handsome furniture, etc... The household furniture belonging to Captain Synge... one Montreal-built buggy..." Public Ledger, 3 June 1859.

⁵³ A hooded buggy: "For Sale at a great bargain, one superior hooded buggy, never used (made to suit our roads)... Apply at once to P.C. O'Driscoll." Evening Herald, 29 May 1900. An open buggy: "For Sale, Auction... buggies (open)..." Morning Chronicle, 29 July 1873.

⁵⁴ A single seat buggy sale advertisement appears in: Evening Telegram, 28 May 1880; a drop seat buggy sale advertisement: Evening Telegram, 19 September 1885.

Figure 37 -

Buggy.



of the large farm community that had developed during the early nineteenth century. An express waggon was basically a rectangular wooden box mounted on elliptic springs which were, in turn, mounted on four wheels (Figures 38, 39). The front wheels were always smaller than the rear wheels, making it easier to turn around in narrow streets or alleys. One seat was placed at the front of the rectangular box for the driver. The back of the box was used for carrying assorted materials and goods. Butchers, grocers, farmers, and artisans often owned and used these vehicles for delivering their products. The name of the business or firm owning an express waggon was often painted on the side of the waggon body. These were popular vehicles and persisted until the end of the horse-drawn era.

In the 1870s, a vehicle called a "carryall" was popular (Figure 40). This vehicle had a top or covering, either elliptic or platform springs, and was outfitted with a driver's seat. It would hold up to six people and often was used as a family carriage. Some carryalls were imported to St. John's from New England and sold at auctions on wharves at the waterfront.⁵⁵ Boston seemed to supply a great many carryalls for the St. John's market. During

⁵⁵ See, for example: "American carriages. Per Schooner Lathait from Boston. Carryalls... covered and open, will be ready for sale on and after Wed., July 30, for a few days only... S.G. Chauncey." Morning Chronicle, 29 July 1873.

Figure 38 -

Express waggon owned by Royal Stores. From the
photograph collection of Mr. William Woodley, St.
John's.

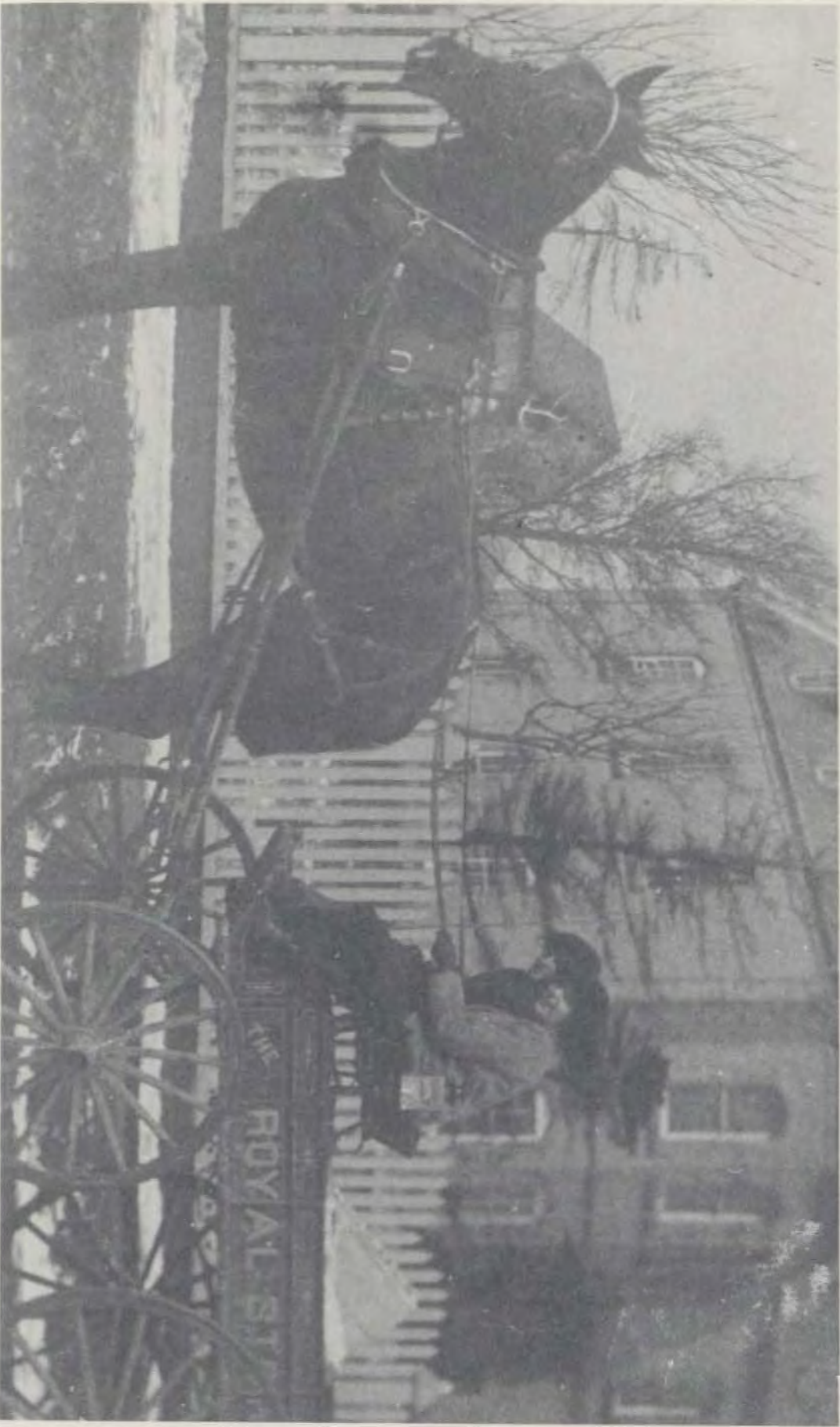
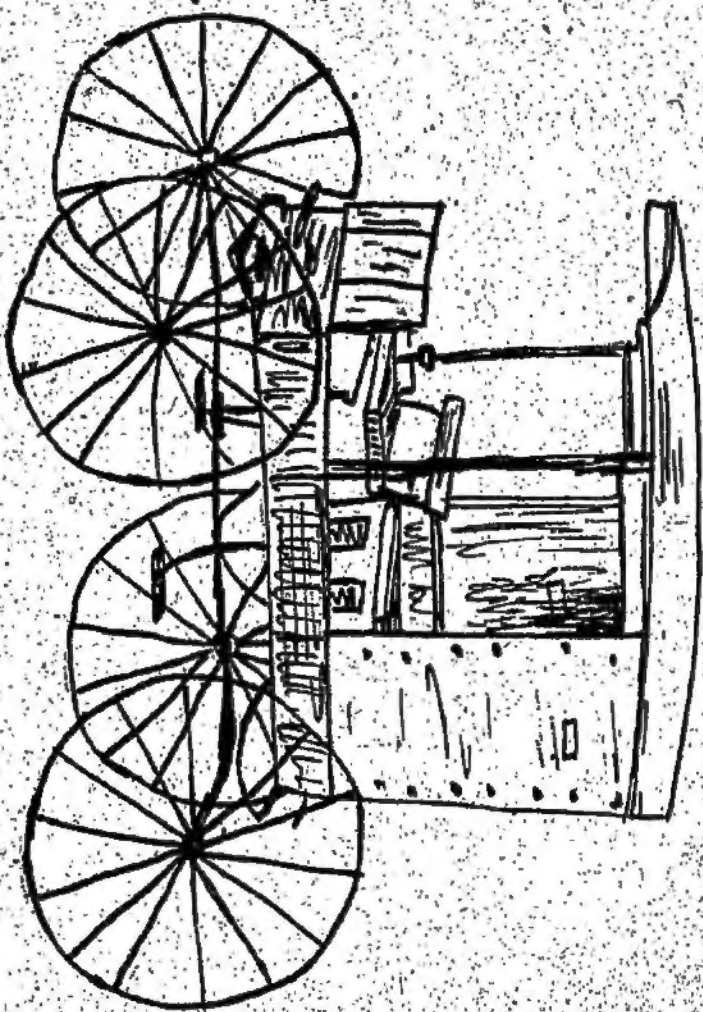


Figure 39. -

Express sleigh originally owned by Max. J. Lawlor
Located in the Newfoundland Museum storage building.



Figure 40 - Carryall. From Berkeley, Carriage Terminology, p. 81.



this same period, a great many "family carriages" were listed in the St. John's newspaper sale advertisements. It is possible that family carriages and carryalls were similar vehicles. No references were found for either vehicle type after 1920.

A carriage known as a Victoria was popular from the 1880s until the end of the horse-drawn era. This type originated in England around 1850.⁵⁶ Shortly after it was invented, it was used by England's aristocracy; however, by the late nineteenth century it was used as a public cab. A Victoria had a curving front, one seat board, and a driver's seat in front (Figure 41). Four elliptical springs were used in the suspension. In St. John's, according to oral tradition, Victorias - along with Broughams - were used by cabmen. It is difficult to ascertain the characteristics of a St. John's Victoria because the term Victoria was often applied to any ornate or fancy horse-drawn vehicle in St. John's.

Wagonettes appeared on the streets of St. John's by 1886. This vehicle was first constructed in England in 1842, and originally was used by aristocratic families and the Royal family. However, by the end of the century, they became popular as family carriages. Their sizes varied, yet, they possessed particularly distinguishable

⁵⁶Berkebile, Carriage Terminology, p. 289.

Figure 41 -

Victoria. Logy Bay Road, St. John's.



characteristics in regard to body structure. The body was enclosed; that is, it had a roof and sides. The entrance door to the body was at the rear of the vehicle and the seats faced sideways to the direction in which the vehicle moved.⁵⁷ Some were imported from Halifax in the late 1880s.⁵⁸ These vehicles were drawn by two horses and held six people. Some were operated commercially as cabs, while others were privately owned and operated.

In addition to the many private vehicles so far examined, a variety of service vehicles existed in St. John's. Just like other North American towns, St. John's in the nineteenth century had service vehicles ranging from public transit carriages to hearses. Some of the operators of service vehicles received financial assistance from the government, but most operated with their own capital. Examined here are the various service vehicles in St. John's and the ways in which some of these systems operated.

The first documented public transit system was a stagecoach service operating in 1822. This service began in order to carry mail and passengers from St. John's to

⁵⁷ Berkebile, Carriage Terminology, p. 296.

⁵⁸ See, for example: "For Sale, a first class Waggonette, Halifax made. Apply to John S. Simms." Evening Telegram, 12 May 1886.

Portugal Cove, a distance of approximately ten miles. A Mr. William Coughlan was the owner of this operation. One evocative account of Coughlan's coach service exists:

Almost the youngest of us can recall the happy times of Coughlan's coach. It holds a venerated place in the memory of the present writer. How we loved the rumbling, clumsy old vehicle, full as our youthful minds were at the time of the daring deeds of Dick Turpin or the less exciting traditions of Branconi. How often and with what sentiments of admiration and awe have we watched it roll along with its heavy yellow wheels, all dashed with mud, and its great bulgy, comfortable looking body, all painted in red and gold; its leather aprons tacked with large, round brass nails; its boot and well and inside and outside seats all filled with passengers; their trunks and wallets packed up on top, all in true orthodox, Waverly novel style, and then when we looked up and saw the driver perched on his lofty seat--oh, how we envied him, this glorious position, and how we admired the dexterity with which he twirled and cracked his long whip over the backs of his well managed four-in-hand.⁵⁹

⁵⁹ "Newfoundland Had Its Own Stagecoach Line Back in the Early Days of the Nineteenth Century," The Daily News, 1 June 1966, p.8. A description of this system exists: "mails were conveyed to Conception Bay by a veteran fellow countryman and faithful public servant William Coughlan, in his coach to Portugal Cove, where he connected with the schooners 'Express', 'Nora Creima', 'Patrick' and 'Rapid'... Each of these schooners had one man among the crew whose special province was to look after the mail and on arrival of the schooner at Portugal Cove he proceeded to St. John's by Coughlan's coach and personally delivered the letters." H.F. Shortiss, "Fugitive History of Newfoundland," unpublished manuscript p 4/14, Newfoundland Provincial Archives, pp. 47-48.

Although the accuracy of this account can be questioned, it shows that this vehicle had four large wheels, a separate driver's seat, an enclosed passenger area, a well and a boot, seats inside and outside for passengers, and a storage area on top of the enclosed portion. In other words, it was more likely to be a member of the coach family than a waggon or a cart. It is difficult to ascertain when this system ceased to operate.

A second transit system began on the same route in 1833. At this time, a Mr. Thomas Blackler announced that he:

begs respectfully to acquaint the public that he is about to establish a neat and comfortable four wheeled vehicle for the conveyance of passengers, etc. from St. John's to Portugal Cove and that he is provided with good and suitable horses for the occasion.⁶⁰

The depot was at Perkins Hotel on Water Street where tickets were obtained and parcels and mails dropped off. No description of this vehicle exists. However, in calling it neat and comfortable, Mr. Blackler suggests it must have been equipped with a spring system. A vehicle without springs travelling from St. John's to Portugal Cove at this date could not be described as comfortable due to

⁶⁰ Royal Gazette, 18 June 1833.

the poor condition of the road.⁶¹ By 1837 Mr. Blackler had more than one vehicle. He asked the House of Assembly for financial assistance to operate this needed service arguing that his vehicles were "broken and injured" because of the poor condition of the Portugal Cove road.⁶² At this same time, an Irish jaunting car service was also under operation. In 1835, Mr. Patrick Mallowney announced that he:

begs leave to inform the public that he proposes running a neat, light jaunting car to carry four, between this and Portugal Cove during the fall.⁶³

This car was not enclosed and, therefore, was not comfortable in inclement weather. This vehicle started from

⁶¹ See the road reports which are annually printed in the Journals of the House of Assembly.

⁶² "A petition of Thomas Blackler, was presented by Mr. Morris, and the said petition was received and read, setting forth - That petitioner has, for a great length of time, been running a stage car between St. John's and Portugal Cove, during a greater part of which time the road was in a very bad state of repair, and his cars were broken and injured. That petitioner has been put to considerable expense, and praying the House to grant him some remuneration, etc. Referred to committee of supply." Journal of the House of Assembly, 11 October 1837.

⁶³ "Newfoundland Had Its Own," p. 8.

Mr. Mallowney's house at 9:30 every morning and stopped at Mr. Stephenson's Hotel on Water Street for passengers and baggage. He returned to town each day after the arrival of the Conception Bay packet boat at Portugal Cove.

The service to Portugal Cove from St. John's increased in the late 1830s. During this time, three stagecoaches, named "Velocity," "Victoria," and "Ketch," departed from the Commercial Hotel on Water Street every morning at 9 o'clock.⁶⁴ The return trip to St. John's was made only after the packet boats arrived in Portugal Cove. The price was five shillings for a one-way trip. A traveller was allowed 20 pounds of luggage and anything over was carried "at a reasonable charge".⁶⁵ No description of these vehicles exists.

In 1837, a Mr. Daniel P. Marret ran a "neat and commodious four wheel coach" to and from Portugal Cove.⁶⁶ He, like Mr. Blackler, applied to the House of Assembly on grounds that his was a public service and he could not

⁶⁴"Newfoundland Had Its Own," p. 8.

⁶⁵"Newfoundland Had Its Own," p. 8.

⁶⁶Journal of the House of Assembly, 5 October 1837.

meet the "necessarily large expense" incurred in operating this business.⁶⁷ No description of the vehicle has been discovered.

In addition to these summer operations, there were also winter services. In the early 1850s, two winter taxi services commenced. In 1851, Mr. James Hodge began running "a very comfortable sleigh and horse" between Kelligrews and St. John's. He had no structured time of departure and would leave at "any time when called on".⁶⁸ In 1852, a Mr. George Batsom began running a "comfortable double seated sleigh fitted with buffalo robes" in and about St. John's. Like Mr. Hodge, he had no structured time schedule and was willing to carry paying customers "to the Cove" or "to any place about town".⁶⁹

An omnibus appeared in St. John's in 1860. Its name, Prince of Wales, was inspired by the Royal visit to Newfoundland in July, 1861. An omnibus is a public street vehicle made to carry a large number of passengers. Characteristics of an omnibus include: a door in the rear of the body, seats facing each other, and a large body.

⁶⁷Journal of the House of Assembly, 5 October 1837.

⁶⁸Public Ledger, 24 January 1851.

⁶⁹Public Ledger, 24 January 1851.

This vehicle, first developed in Paris in 1819, was used in England in 1828 and was brought to New York in 1829.⁷⁰ A Mr. S.G. Archibald was the owner of the omnibus transit system in St. John's. His vehicle was drawn by two horses and accommodated about fourteen people. Its daily route was as follows:

The omnibus 'Prince of Wales' will start this day from Prince's Baths at half past eight o'clock A.M. for Riverhead; will leave the cross-roads at 9 o'clock A.M., and will run every half hour alternately up and down until 6 o'clock p.m., dinner hour excepted. For the present 6 shillings, whole or part distances; 12 tickets for 5 shillings and 24 tickets for 9 shillings payable in advance to be had of the conductor of the omnibus or at the Refreshment Room at the Prince's Baths.⁷¹

In addition to running the omnibus within the town, Mr. Archibald commenced running an "accommodation waggon" for out of town service.⁷² This vehicle left the Prince's Baths in Maggoty Cove for Waterford Bridge three times daily: 8 a.m., 3:30 p.m., and 6:30 p.m. The return trip

⁷⁰ Berkebile, *Carriage Terminology*, p. 207. For a history of the omnibus see: Charles E. Lee, *The Horse Bus as a Vehicle* (London: British Transport Commission, 1962); Henry C. Moore, *Omnibus and Cabs* (London: Chapman and Hall, Ltd., 1902).

⁷¹ *Royal Gazette*, 4 September 1860.

⁷² *Royal Gazette*, 28 August 1860.

commenced forty-five minutes after leaving St. John's. The accommodation waggon and the omnibus stopped operating for the winter of 1860 in January, 1860. In May, these vehicles began plying the streets of St. John's again. A gossip column in a local newspaper states:

the bus is on its legs - no, not its legs, but its wheels again. We are glad to recognize our old friend looking as fresh as paint could make him. He rolled along in stately grandeur.⁷³

On July 10, 1861, a change was made in the omnibus' schedule and the fare was decreased. No notices of the omnibus or the accommodation waggon appear after the winter of 1861, suggesting that these services did not last long after this date.

During the late 1800s St. John's had a thriving cab service. O'Neil says cab stands were located at the east end of Water Street at Hay Market Square in the business district and in the West end at Post Office Square.⁷⁴ By 1891, cabs had become so numerous that the council ordered cabmen to be licenced. By 1910 there were 51 cabmen in St. John's. This number had decreased to 45 by 1924 (Table 8). Drivers of cabs had a notorious reputation.

⁷³ The Times, 18 May 1861.

⁷⁴ Paul O'Neil, The Story of St. John's, Newfoundland (Erin, Ontario: Porcupic Press, 1976), II, 512.

Table 8No. of Workers Using Horse-drawn Vehicles

	1909	1924
Cabmen	51	45
Teamsters	145	78
Carters	4	0
Coachmen	27	5

Source:

McAlpine's St. John's Directory Halifax: McAlpine
Publishing Company Ltd., 1909; St. John's City Directory,
1924 St. John's: The St. John's Directory Company, 1924.

Numerous newspaper accounts reveal that many were fined for driving recklessly, being intoxicated, and for fighting amongst themselves. For example, in 1879, one cabman was brought to court for driving while intoxicated:

Edward Casey of Riverhead, is the ostensible proprietor of a quadruped and attachment commonly known as a horse and waggon, and, no doubt, he earned as much as any other 'cabby' on the stand, but unfortunately for Edward, in an unguarded moment he felt constrained to test the quality of Yankee's 'firewater' and as a result, he and the quadruped became unmanageable. We cannot say whether the latter had been drinking or not. At all events it was sober enough to act with more prudence than its master and to show an example that the biped would do well to imitate. However, Edward obtained his discharge, for which he appeared reasonably grateful.⁷⁵

And again:

Yesterday afternoon a well known cabman was seen going along Duckworth Street between King's Road and Prescott Street whipping his horse with all his strength nearly the whole of the way. What he was whipping the animal for was not clear to those who saw him, as the poor beast was travelling as fast as its four legs could carry it, but still the cabby kept on using the whip as hard as he could until turning down Prescott Street. Those who saw his conduct could

⁷⁵ Evening Telegram, 19 April 1879.

see no reason for the man's action, as the horse was going freely and a good deal too fast for the safety of pedestrians.⁷⁶

The vehicles used by cabmen included Victorias and Broughams in the summer, and sleighs in winter.

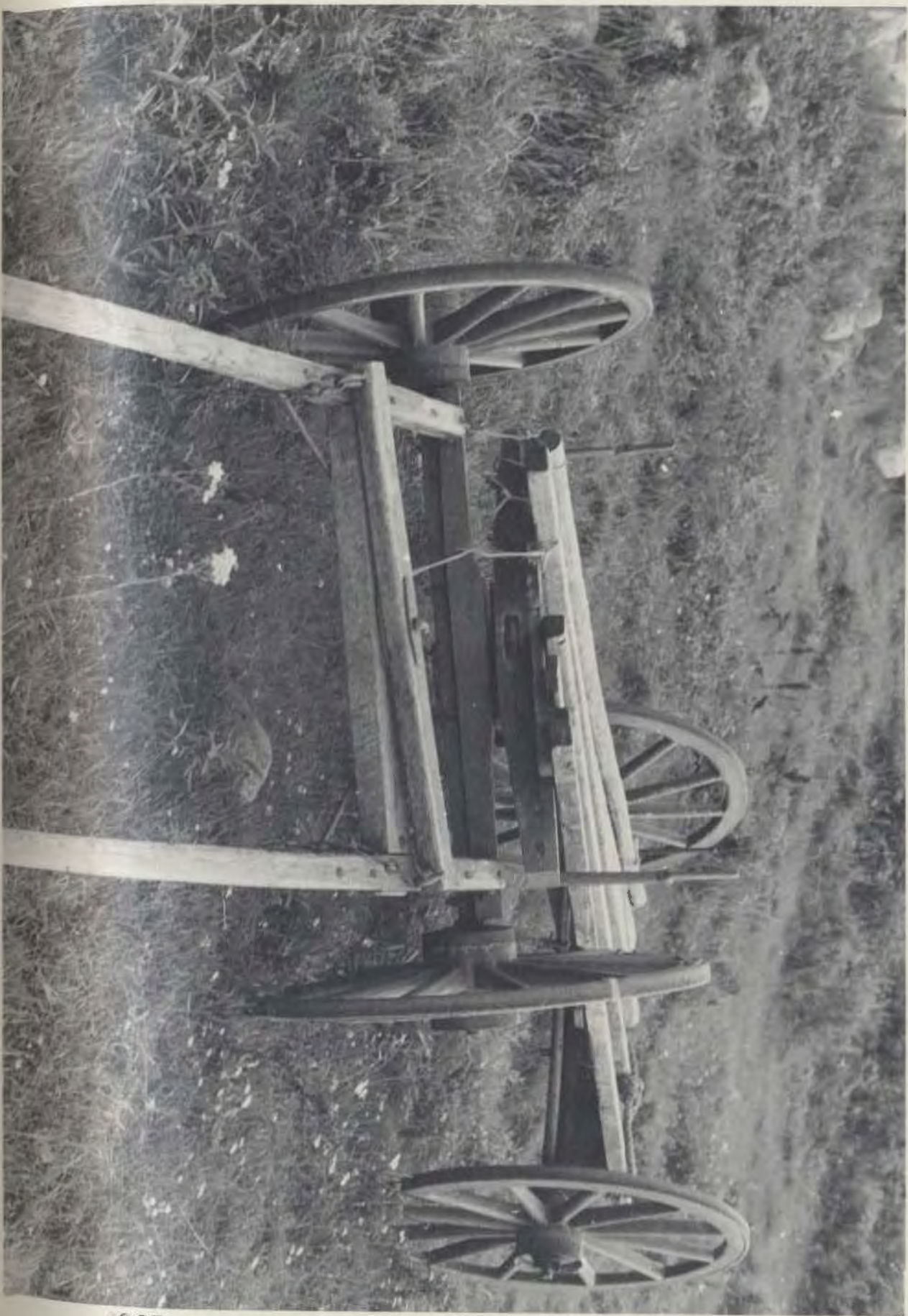
Much of this horse-drawn public transit system began declining with the development of the St. John's street railway in 1900. Cabmen lasted well into the 20th century because they were able to continue their business while the street railway was in operation.

In addition to these public transit vehicles, a variety of carts and waggons providing needed community services, were extant throughout the nineteenth century. Fire companies, policemen, undertakers, bakers, butchers, milkmen, garbage haulers, and artisans needed specialized conveyances. These ranged from small two-wheeled carts to large fire engines.

Slovens were the most common waggons along the waterfront (Figure 42). These were used for hauling heavy freight and barrels. They were flat-bodied and low to the ground in order to alleviate the difficulty of loading heavy materials. Some were equipped with platform springs, while others had none. No seat was provided for the driver and his helper. Drivers of slovens were often called

⁷⁶ Evening Telegram, 22 August 1908.

Figure 42 -
Sloven.



truckmen and were integral workers along the waterfront (Figure 43). These men had formed a union by 1900.⁷⁷

Some individuals ran trucking businesses using carts. Many larger firms had their own box carts, long carts, and employed men to drive them. Some individuals were independent truckmen. An indication of the way in which one independent truckman ran his business is given in this 1814 newspaper account:

The subscriber respectfully informs the merchants and inhabitants of St. John's, that he intends to follow the trucking business; for which purpose he will regularly attend every morning, 7 o'clock, at the auction room of Mr. Burton, where those who may be pleased to employ him, will have the goodness to send, and in the event of him being taking a load, by leaving their names with his boy, he will call on them as quick as possible, having an excellent horse and new carts, he flatters himself by his attention to give satisfaction.
John B. Cox.⁷⁸

Various cart owners also obtained government contracts for the hauling of coal, firewood and provisions to the

⁷⁷"The Quarterly Meeting of the St. John's Truckmen's Protective Union will be held in the TA Hall on Monday evening the eight inst., at 8 o'clock. A large attendance requested. By order, John J. Neville." Evening Telegram, 6 January 1900.

⁷⁸Royal Gazette, 30 June 1814.

Figure 43.-

Truckmen with their slovens in a parade. Provincial
Archives of Newfoundland.



various business and military establishments in the town.⁷⁹

Express waggons were used by grocery stores, milkmen, butchers, and by merchants for general delivery in and about St. John's. Farmers also used express waggons for delivering their produce to customers in the town.

Bakers had a special vehicle called a bread van or a bakery delivery waggon. This vehicle was similar to an express waggon, except that it possessed a closed panelled body with a door at the rear (Figure 44). A long stick with a hook on the end was used to pull the unwrapped bread from the waggon. The name of the baker was painted on the side of the waggon. Some were equipped with attachable runners for winter use. These vehicles did not appear until after the mid nineteenth century. They were four-wheeled, had one seat and were drawn by one or two horses.⁸⁰

⁷⁹ Government contracts were listed in the newspaper: "Commissariat Office. Wanted for the public service in this garrison, the undermined truckage, viz. The proposals to state the rate of - truckage of coals from the King's Wharf to Signal Hill... Truckage of Coal from the King's Wharf to Fort William..." Royal Gazette, 19 June 1813.

⁸⁰ Bread vans with runners were used in the winter: "On Saturday next at 11 o'clock sharp, at the Central Auction Mart, one good general mare, 7 years old, 1 bread van with runners for winter use, 1 set of carriage harness, rugs and stable utensils; also a horse hay rake. M.A. Bastow - auctioneer." Evening Telegram, 1 August 1900.

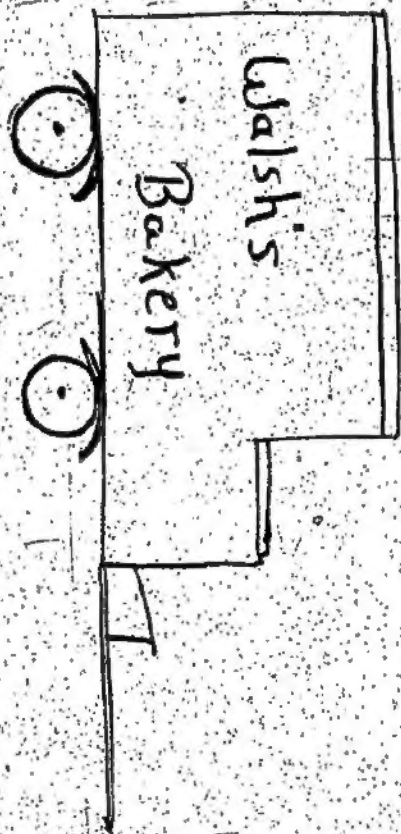


Figure 44 - Bread Van. Sketch is from MUNFIA, 66-8.

The House of Assembly and, later, the municipal council provided night carts for hauling human waste and "sprinklers" for spraying water on dusty, unpaved streets. "Nuisance" or "soil" boxes were located in various places throughout the town. In these boxes fecal matter was stored until the night cart picked it up.⁸¹ This vehicle was called a night cart because it travelled around after midnight each night when most people were asleep (Figure 45). These carts were basically variations of a box cart. A "sprinkler" consisted merely of a water tank attached to a box cart frame and two wheels (Figure 46). A night cart was built on this same box cart frame. The only difference between a box cart and a night cart was that a night cart's box had no back section in order to make

⁸¹ It seems that throughout the nineteenth century the disposal of fecal waste was a problem for St. John's town officials. As early as 1817, it was ordered by the Court of Sessions, "that four carts be employed together with laborers, necessary for cleaning the streets and removing the filth, which is to be taken to proper depots and sold, the produce thereof to be applied towards defraying the expenses - the deficiency, if any, to be paid out of the funds of the district. By the court, Lionel Channcey." Royal Gazette, 13 May 1817. By 1862, a network of soil or nuisance boxes was set up in St. John's: "The Nuisance or soil boxes, which you caused to be placed in certain localities, have been found to be beneficial in causing a greater degree of cleanliness, and I respectfully urge that a greater number may be introduced the present year." Report of William Coady on the streets of St. John's. Journal of the House of Assembly, 1862, Appendix.

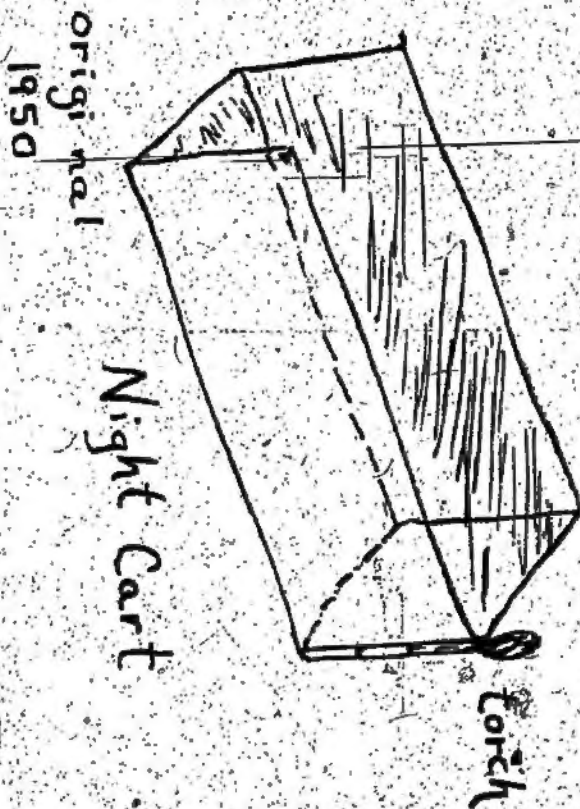


Figure 45 - Night Cart. Sketch is from MUMFIA, 66-8.

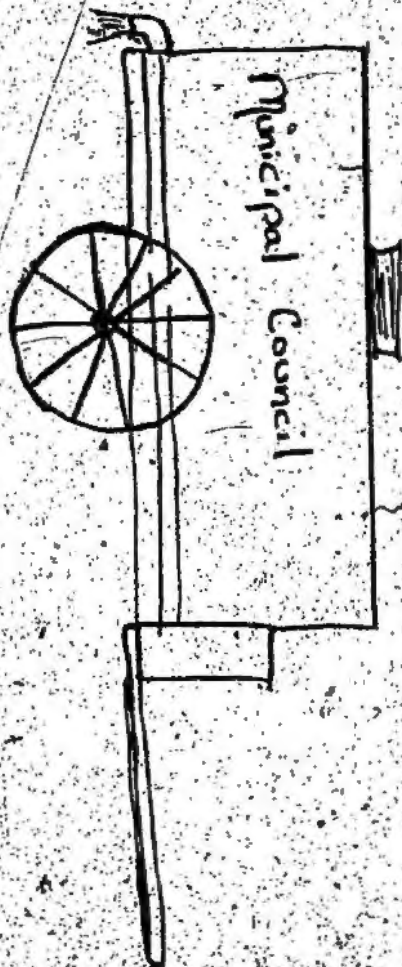


Figure 46 - Sprinkler. Sketch from MURPHY, 65-8.

it easier to shovel the cart's contents.

Hearses were another service vehicle found in St. John's in the nineteenth century. Local carriage factories owned and operated the undertaking business as an adjunct to carriage making. The earliest reference to a hearse in St. John's is a description of an accident in 1862:

A terrible accident occurred here today. While a hearse was being driven from a funeral the horse took fright and ran away. During the animal's flight the hearse capsized and the man in charge fell under it and was dragged along the street until literally torn to pieces.⁸²

There were two kinds of hearses - closed and open. A closed hearse had an enclosed section on the back of a large waggon where the body was placed. Some of these hearses were extremely ornate with plate glass windows and embellished moldings. One woodcut appearing in a local newspaper in 1880 provides an indication of what a closed hearse looked like (Figure 47). An open hearse was basically a large flatbed waggon with an elevated driver's seat at the front of the waggon (Figure 48). Embellished moldings, fancy iron work, and silver plated railings and ornaments appeared on these vehicles. (Figs. 49, 50) Movable bolts

⁸²"The Musty Past," Unpublished Diary. Provincial Archives of Newfoundland, p. 28

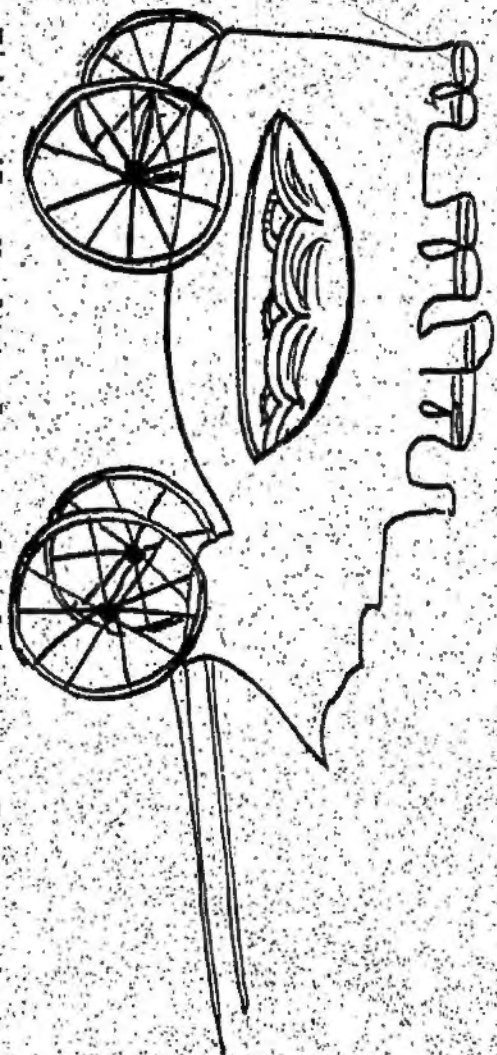


Figure 47 - Woodcut of an enclosed hearse. From Evening Telegram, 4 October 1880.

Figure 48

Open hearse. Owned by Max Dowden, St. John's.

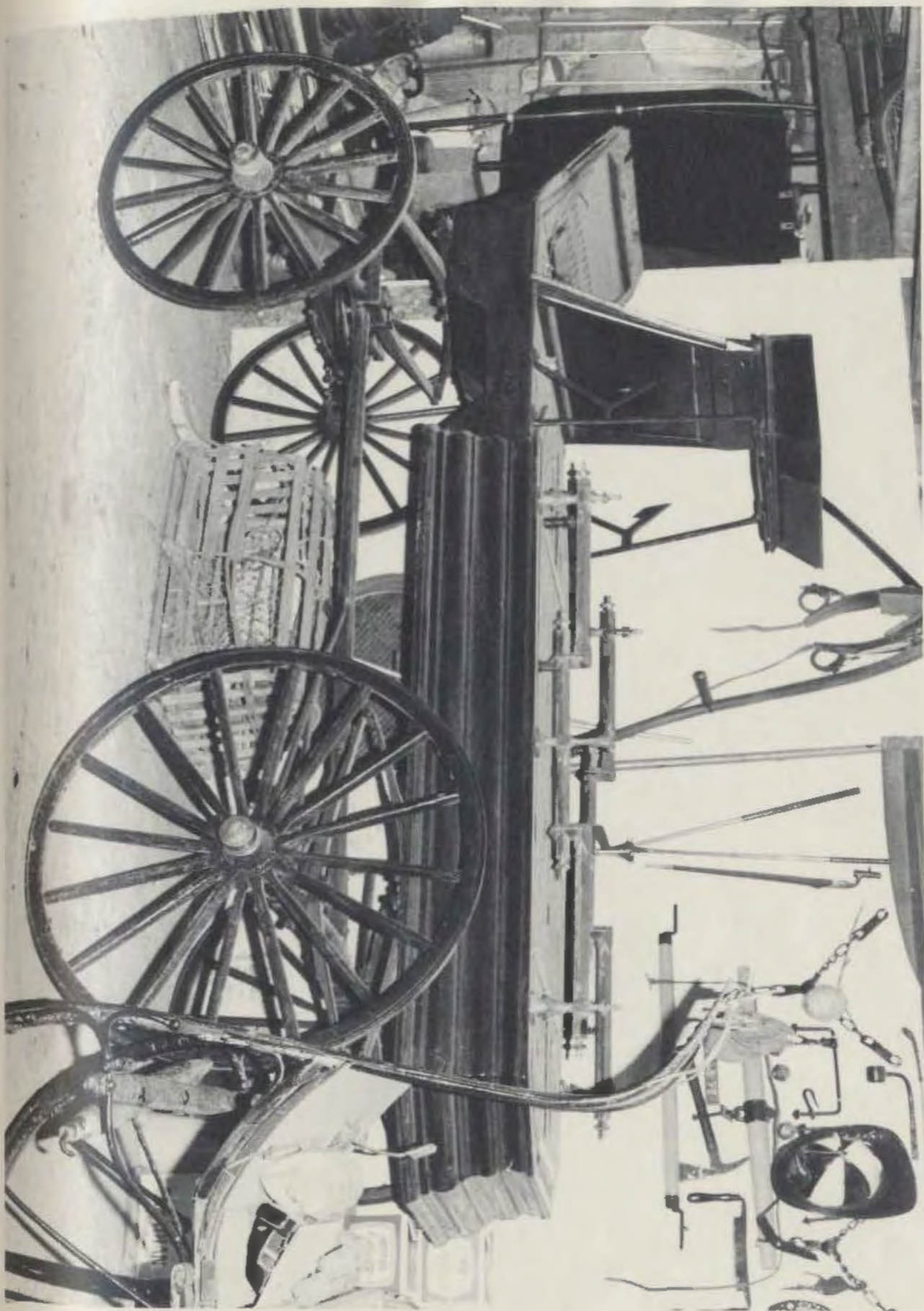


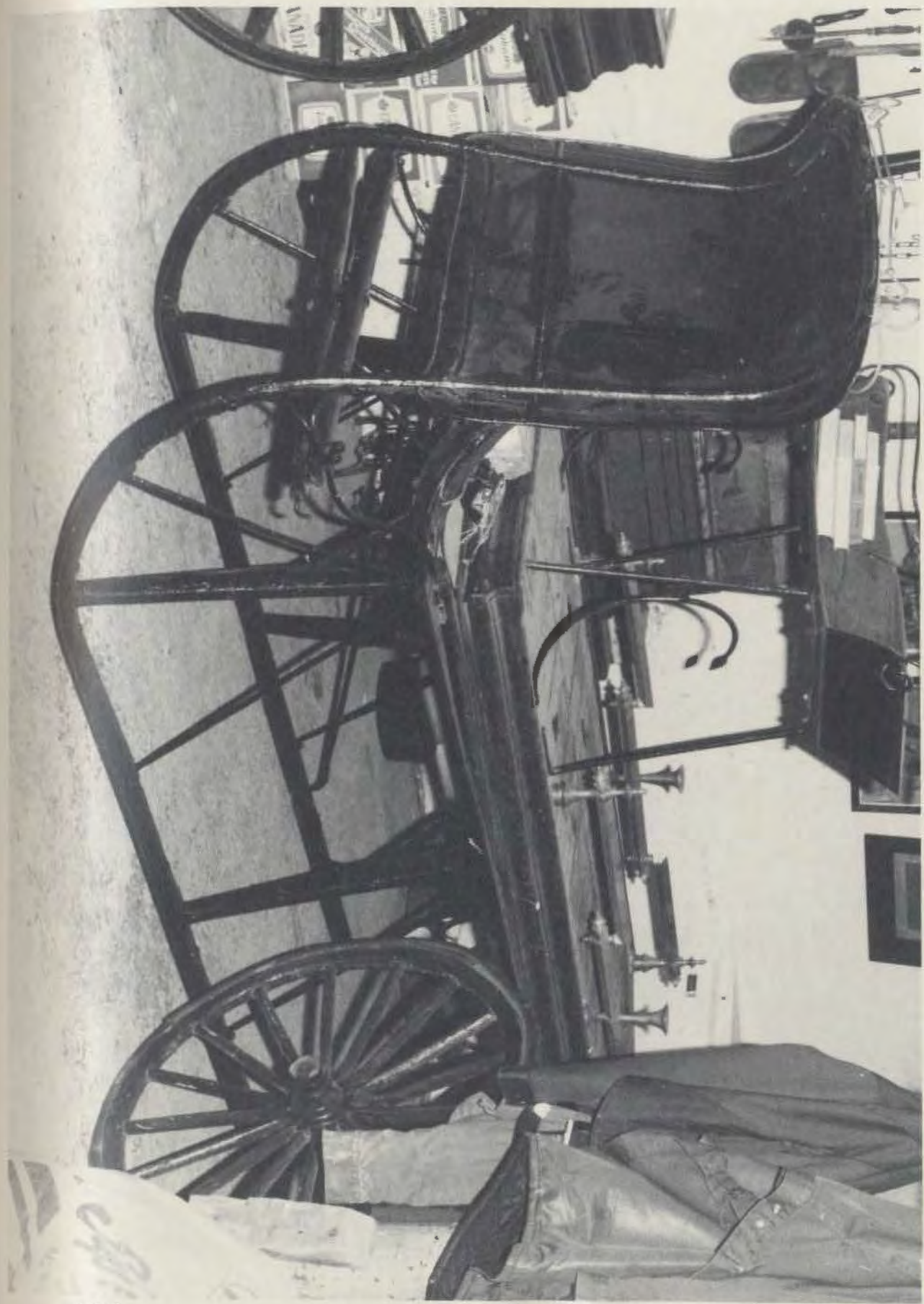
Figure 49 -

Silver plated railings and ornaments on hearse owned
Max Dowden.



Figure 50 -

Ornamental iron work and silver plated railings on
winter hearse now owned by Max Dowden, St. John's.



laid out in a cross pattern hold the coffin on the open bed of the waggon. Hearses were always painted black, had four wheels, one elevated seat, and were drawn by two or four horses. These vehicles were used until the end of the horse-drawn era.

Horse-drawn ambulances were not used in Europe or America until the 1870s.⁸³ Ambulances in St. John's consisted of a panelled box on the back of a waggon (Figure 51). The driver sat outside on a seat and the box contained just enough room for a single stretcher. These were used until the end of the horse-drawn era.

As early as 1812, fire engines were operating within St. John's.⁸⁴ It was not until 1833, however, that a bill was passed in the House of Assembly for the establishment and regulation of fire companies.⁸⁵ By 1836 there were

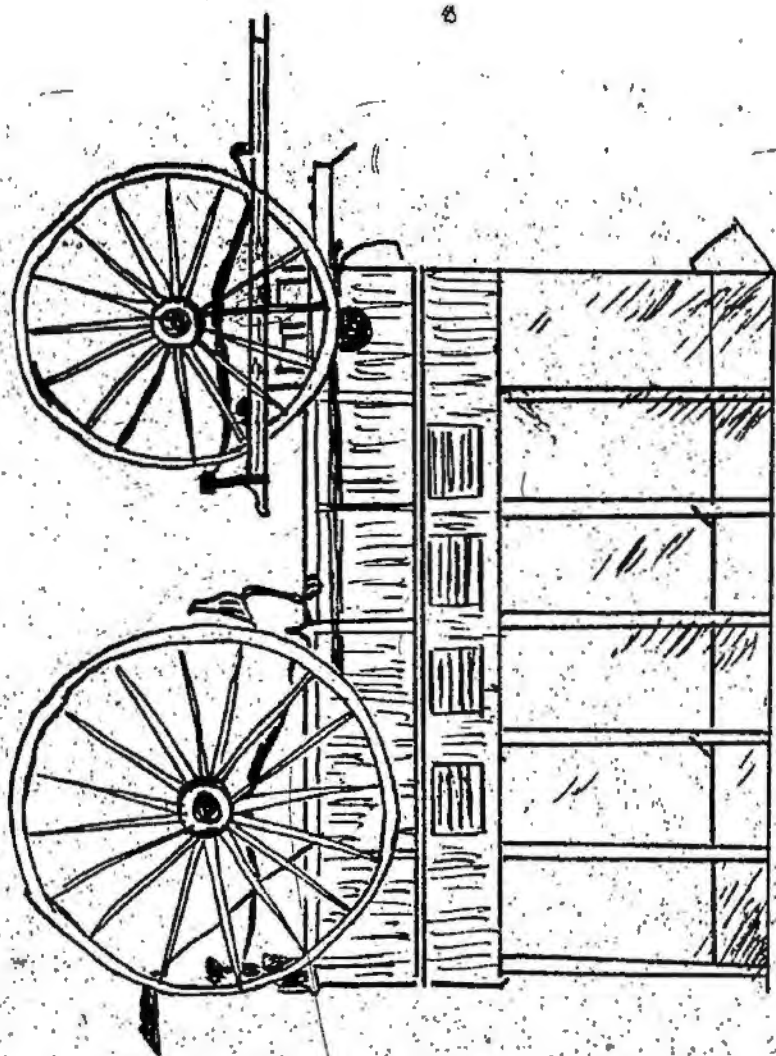
⁸³ Berkebile, Carriage Terminology, p. 15.

⁸⁴ Two early newspaper accounts reveal that fire engines were prevalent: "Notice - all persons having claims on the fire engines are requested to furnish their accounts immediately, to the captains of the fire companies." Royal Gazette, 1 October 1812; "Lottery for the purpose of keeping in repair the roads, bridges and fire engines in this town..." Royal Gazette, 13 January 1814.

⁸⁵ "On motion of Mr. Thomas. Resolved... under the act for establishing fire companies, these companies are now organizing, and have ordered two new engines, of great power from England..." Journal of the House of Assembly, 30 July 1833.

Figure 51 -

Ambulance. Sketch from Berkebile, Carriage Terminology,
p. 18,



four well-organized fire companies with three "good and effective" fire engines.⁸⁶ In 1834, the budget of the fire companies was printed in the local newspapers. This budget pointed out that the cost of two fire engines and apparatus, along with freight charges and insurance, was 400 pounds, a substantial fee at this early date. These engines were imported from London. In St. John's these fire engines were called "hook and ladder trucks".⁸⁷

Service vehicles were necessary in St. John's even in the early years of the nineteenth century. Public transit vehicles emerged as early as 1822, and continued being used throughout the nineteenth century. Like the private vehicles, some were imported while others were constructed locally. The coaches, omnibuses and fire engines were brought to Newfoundland from Europe, while vehicles such as express wagons, slovens, truckman's carts, night carts, sprinklers and sleighs were constructed locally.

A wide variety of traditional and externally designed vehicle types existed in St. John's throughout the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. The traditional vehicle types were the catamaran, box cart and long cart. These

⁸⁶ Journal of the House of Assembly, 4 March 1836.

⁸⁷ Royal Gazette, 31 March 1834.

types were used throughout the nineteenth century and into the twentieth, and examples can still be found today. Externally designed types such as phaetons, jaunting cars, stanhopes, chariots, brisghtkas, broughams and buggies appeared at this same time.

Some externally designed vehicles were travelling the streets of St. John's soon after they were first invented. The Stanhope, for example, was first invented in England in 1815, yet, by the eighteen thirties was found on St. John's streets. The Brougham first appeared in England in 1835; however, it was being driven in St. John's in the eighteen fifties. The Irish jaunting car provides, perhaps, the best example of an externally designed vehicle which was quickly accepted by the St. John's community. This car developed in Ireland from the traditional Irish trottle car in 1815, yet, only one year later was found plying the St. John's streets. When the carriage factories began to appear in the mid nineteenth century, they had a wide array of vehicle styles to choose from.

In addition to constructing many of these externally designed types, the St. John's carriage factories developed a unique regional vehicle - the side sleigh. The side sleigh was a narrow vehicle resembling the Irish jaunting car in its distinctive seating arrangement. After it

appeared in St. John's it was called a "catamaran sleigh" presumably because it resembled the catamaran in its narrow width.⁸⁸ The way in which the seat was placed and its narrow construction enabled the sleigh with driver and passengers to maneuver easily in the narrow St. John's streets. Because the one seat faced sideways to the direction the sleigh moved, it was easy to get in and out. As a result it was often used as a taxi in winter. This sleigh type outlasted other sleighs, and at the present, is the most frequent type of sleigh still extant in and around St. John's.

Just as clothing, hair and musical trends change quickly over time, some horse-drawn vehicles were only popular for short periods. Chariots, omnibuses, and sedan chairs did not last for a long period in St. John's. In contrast, vehicles such as buggies, express waggons, slovens and Victorias lasted throughout the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.

Like other nineteenth century North American towns and cities, St. John's possessed a variety of horse-drawn service vehicles. A horse-drawn public transit system began developing as early as 1822. St. John's needed horse-drawn fire engines, hearses, slovens, sprinklers, night carts and ambulances throughout the

⁸⁸ See Footnote 48.

nineteenth century and into the twentieth. Some service vehicles such as sprinklers and night carts, were based on traditional carts. Others, such as the fire engines, were imported from England.

This prevalence of traditional and externally designed vehicle types was the base upon which the St. John's carriage-making industry developed. The wide variety of external styles prevalent in St. John's required that local carriage factories be aware of styles in other areas of Europe and North America. This points out that St. John's was not an isolated outpost, away from the mainstream of ideas, but was fully aware of new trends in horse-drawn vehicle styles. The phaeton, for example, was common in England and the United States in the late eighteenth century; however, by 1832 it appeared on the streets of St. John's. Only twenty-four years after the Stanhope was invented, it was found plying the streets of the capital city. Some of the St. John's vehicle styles were traditional, some consisted of a combination of traditional and modern elements, and some were modern. This shows that the artifacts produced by the St. John's factories were both traditional and progressive.

This chapter has looked at the original forms and functions of the vehicles once produced by the St. John's carriage-making industry. Next, the secondary or later functions of the vehicles and parts extant in St. John's

are examined. This will provide an understanding of how artifacts' functions change when temporal and contextual changes occur.

CHAPTER 5

THE CONTEMPORARY FUNCTIONS OF HORSE-DRAWN
VEHICLES AND THEIR PARTS IN ST. JOHN'S

An object's function is more than how it is used; rather, any object is part of an "integrated system of interrelated structures".¹ As time passes, artifacts and their contexts are often modified. This is true of all artifacts, which, because of technological advances, are not used for the purpose they were originally intended to fulfill. Nevertheless, much craft research focuses only on the process of creation and on the initial intended use of artifacts, rather than on the later, acquired functions.² This chapter examines the issue of changing functions of artifacts by looking at the extant products of the St. John's folk industry of carriage-making.

At the present, carriages in St. John's are no longer commonly used for transporting people and goods. Some of the extant horse-drawn vehicles in this community can be said to perform ceremonial functions. In their contemporary

¹Simon J. Bronner, "Concepts in the Study of Material Aspects of American Folk Culture," Folklore Forum, 12 (1979), 145.

²Only a few folklorists have examined the changing functions of artifacts over time. See for example: E.N. Anderson, "On the Folk Art of Landscaping," Western Folklore, 31 (1972), 179-88; Katherine J. Jarrett, "Neighborhood Influence on Mailbox Style," Pennsylvania Folklife, 27 No. 3 (1978), 19-24; William F.H. Nicolaisen, "Distorted Function in Material Aspects of Culture," Folklore Forum, 12 (1979), 223-33.

contexts, the vehicles in this category are used infrequently. They are placed in storage for much of the year and only used during annual St. John's holidays. On these special occasions, these vehicles are harnessed to horses and are used to transport people; however, now they are principally items of display rather than vehicles of transport. Specific examples of these kinds of carriages provide an understanding of their contemporary ceremonial functions.

One ceremonial vehicle is an ornate, so-called Victoria owned by the St. John's Regatta Committee (Figure 52). It is more similar to a Landau than a Victoria; however, at the present it is common in St. John's to call any fancy vehicle a Victoria. Regatta Day is held once a year at Quidi Vidi Lake in St. John's. It is an annual boat race held in August, in which teams of men and women compete against each other in specially designed racing shells. Originally, the boats used in this race were dories - the boat type once extensively used in the Newfoundland offshore Banks fishery. This event is reputed to be the oldest sporting event in North America. All St. John's residents have a holiday on this day. In addition to the races, booths selling fast foods and featuring games of chance are set up all along the banks of the lake. It is more like an annual festival than a race, in that the race itself - supposedly the reason for

Figure 52 -

Regatta Committee Carriage.



the festivities - is often largely ignored by the hordes of people involved with the booths and other amusements on the shore. There is even a parade held in conjunction with the races. Each year the ornate vehicle owned by the St. John's Regatta Committee is painted, repaired and decorated with ribbons and flowers. During the Regatta Day parade, this carriage carries parade organizers and invited dignitaries. While the races are in progress, the carriage is on display at the parade grounds and sometimes travels to and from the area where committee members and guests are seated. For the remainder of the year this carriage is stored in the boat house where the racing boats are kept in the winter.

A second carriage classified as a ceremonial vehicle is owned by Mr. Henry Antle of Hennebury Place, St. John's (Figure 53). This vehicle was found near Beachy Cove, Conception Bay, in 1969. With the help of his two sons, Mr. Antle brought the vehicle to St. John's to repair. Extensive reconstruction had to be completed before this vehicle was able to be used. Commencing in 1970, Mr. Antle began placing this carriage in various parades in Springdale, Carbonear and St. John's. Like the Regatta Day vehicle, Mr. Antle's carriage was painted, repaired, and decorated for each parade. The individuals who travelled in this carriage during parades were dressed in so-called "old-fashioned" clothing. Mr. Antle has not

Figure 53 -

Henry Antle's carriage.



placed this vehicle in a parade since 1975 because it has been difficult to find someone to repair the wheels. It is now kept in the Antles' backyard.

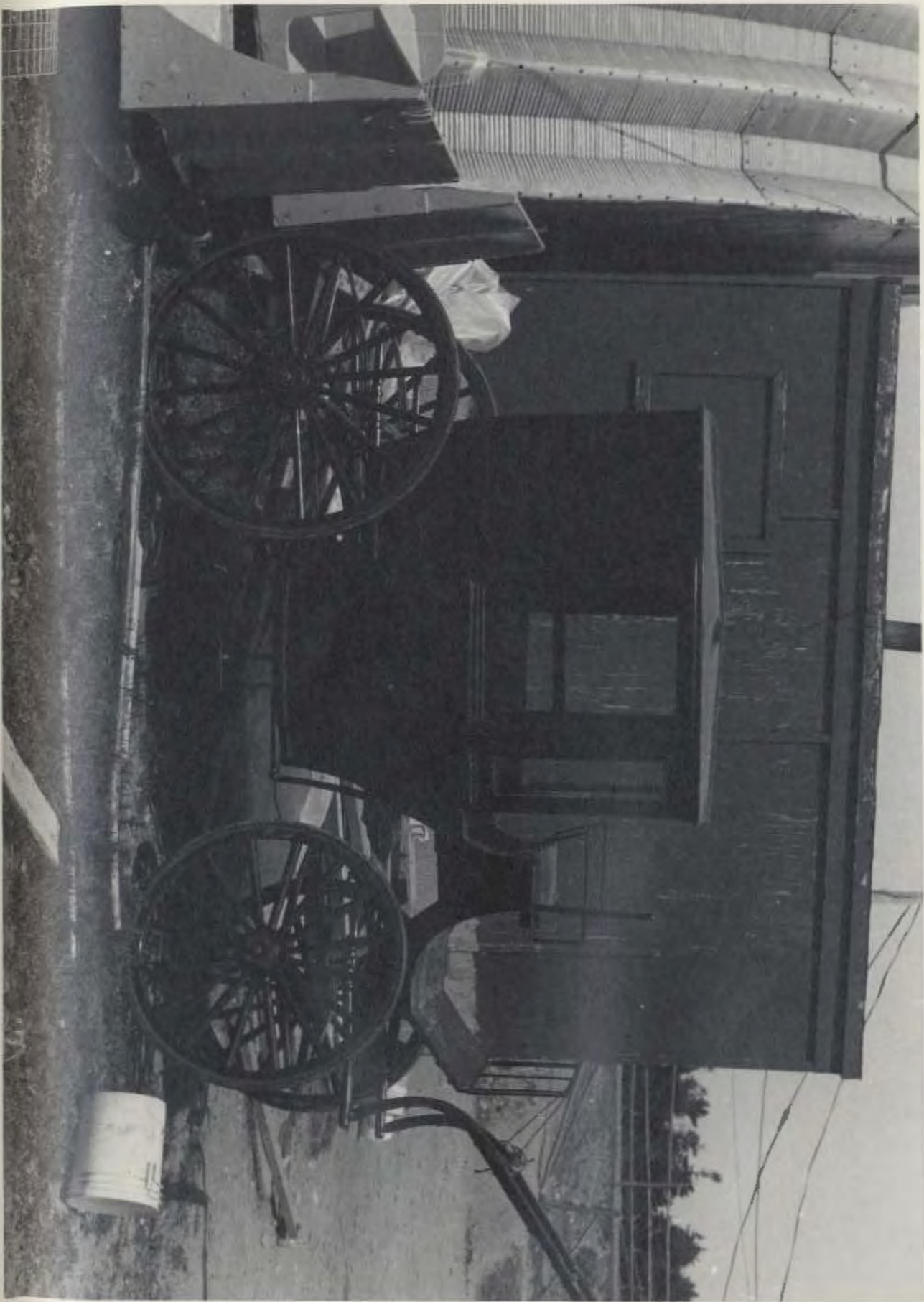
A third vehicle fitting under the rubric of a ceremonial carriage is an ornate, restored enclosed carriage owned by Clovelly Stables on the Logy Bay road, St. John's. This vehicle has been totally reconstructed with plate glass windows, new upholstery, paint and wheels. (Figure 54). At the present, it is stored in a barn most of the year and is only used when rented out for weddings, anniversaries and other celebrations.

The Regatta Committee's carriage, Clovelly's carriage and Mr. Antle's vehicle have moved from being objects of everyday use to special, ceremonial artifacts. People today associate these vehicles with the past, even though much renovation has occurred. Mr. Antle's carriage and Clovelly's carriage have been totally reconstructed with no attention to particular stylistic detail. The Regatta Committee's vehicle was of a type owned by only a minority of St. John's residents. The majority of the town's residents were more familiar with carts, slovens, express waggons, side sleighs and buggies than with an ornate Landau in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. These artifacts represent a myopic view of the past.

Another place where horse-drawn vehicles are associated

Figure 54 -

The Clovelly Coach.



with the past is the museum setting.³ The artifact collections of the Newfoundland Museum include a variety of horse-drawn vehicles ranging from catamarans to express waggon; however, only the fanciest and most ornate carriage of the collection is shown to the public. The carriage on display in St. John's is a Landau which was imported from London for the use of Sir Charles A. Harris, Governor of Newfoundland from 1917 to 1922. This Landau has been placed in the coach house of the Commissariat House, a historic house operated seasonally by the Newfoundland Museum. The other vehicles in contrast, are stored in a windowless, damp, concrete shed on the former American air base in St. John's (Figure 55). Some of the vehicles are in varying states of deterioration, caused by lack of regular maintenance and an unstable storage facility.

This public displaying of the fanciest and most ornate vehicles in a collection is common in many North American museums.⁴ Often carriages and sleighs once used by the

³The Newfoundland Museum collection in storage includes: two hearses, two express waggon (one fitted out for winter use), two buggies, three Newfoundland side sleighs, two slides, one set of runner attachments, and one set of cart wheels.

⁴For example see: Calgary Carriage Collection (Calgary, Alberta: Calgary Brewing and Malting Company, 1972); The Carriage and Harness Museum (New York: New York State Historical Society, n.d.). See also Appendix A for an index of articles on American Carriage Museums which appeared in The Carriage Journal between 1963 and 1978.

Figure 55 -

Interior photograph of museum storage area.



majority of people are either not shown in museums or are simply not collected by museum curators. One reason for this is the elitist bias in much of written history.⁵

Rather than focusing on the average, common man, much historiography has examined our important events and prominent individuals (e.g. politicians and military men). However, it is noteworthy that this bias is now being countered by the recent trend in oral, social and local history.⁶

A more accurate impression of the types and number of vehicles once commonly used in St. John's is obtained by closely examining the contemporary landscape. In recent years, it has become fashionable in St. John's to place horse-drawn vehicles and parts of vehicles in various locations within the yards of private homes. Only recently have folklorists begun to examine the artifacts which

⁵For a discussion of this elitism in historical research see: Henry Glassie, Folk Housing in Middle Virginia: A Structural Analysis of Historic Artifacts (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1975), pp. 8-12.

⁶For examples of this recent scholarship see: John Deemos, A Little Commonwealth: Family Life in a Plymouth Colony (London: Oxford University Press, 1975); Paul R. Thompson, The Voice of the Past: Oral History (New York: Oxford University Press, 1978); Gregory S. Kealey and Peter Warrian, ed., Essays in Canadian Working Class History (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1976).

surround dwellings and property.⁷ Perception geographers have long been interested in these artifacts for not only do these items provide insights into the cultural landscape, but also into the attitudes and opinions of individuals toward the landscape.⁸ By using observations along with field interviews with artifact owners information has been uncovered on the functions of some of these artifacts.

In the St. John's study area - which includes the surrounding communities of Mount Pearl, Newtown, Goulds, Kilbride, Torbay, Pouch Cove, Logy Bay and Portugal Cove - fieldwork uncovered five side sleighs, four long carts, four box carts, four slovens, three hearses, one express waggon and three buggies.

⁷For a St. John's example see: Diane Tye, "There is More to a Front Lawn than Meets the Eye: Yard Art in St. John's," Memorial University of Newfoundland Folklore and Language Archive, MS, 79-728; an American study: M.J. Gladstone, A Carrot for a Nose, the Form of Folk Sculpture on America's City Streets and Country Roads (New York: Charles Scribner and Sons, 1974).

⁸For a survey of this school's work see: L.J. Wood, "Perception Studies in Geography," Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers, 50 (1970), 129-42. Some of the leading scholars doing this research include David Lowenthal, Kevin Lynch and Yi Fu Tuan. See examples of their work: David Lowenthal, "Past Time, Present Place: Landscape and Memory," The Geographical Review, 65 (1975), 1-36; Kevin Lynch, The View From the Road (Cambridge: M.I.T. Press, 1960); Yi Fu Tuan, Space and Place: The Perspective of Experience (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1977). Two of the most recent collections of articles focusing on this kind of research: David Lowenthal and Martin J. Bowden, ed. Geographies of the Mind (New York: Oxford University Press, 1976); Donald Meinig, ed. The Interpretation of Ordinary Landscapes (New York: Oxford University Press, 1979).

Two hearses owned by Mr. Max Dowden, Dowden's Lane, St. John's, provide an example of horse-drawn vehicles which now have different functions than the ones for which they were originally designed. Dowden's hearses were originally owned and operated by Carnell's Carriage Factory (Figure 48). Mr. Dowden obtained these vehicles when the factory closed in 1966. Since then, he has placed them in his back yard in the summer and in his basement in winter. One reason for placing these objects in the yard, according to Mr. Dowden, is that people come each year to view them and to talk to him about the unique lawn artifacts. He enjoys meeting and conversing with people and telling them about the history of the hearses. According to Yi Fu Tuan:

An object commands attention by virtue of its own outstanding quality and by virtue of a prominent location among other artifacts. Nonetheless, the visibility tends to diminish in the course of time unless it is recreated periodically with verbal and gestural appreciation. Valued artifacts must be maintained by human discourse.⁹

These vehicles have not depreciated with the passage of time from Mr. Dowden's point of view. Perhaps this

⁹ Yi Fu Tuan, "The Significance of the Artifact," The Geographical Review, 70 (1980), 466.

communicative function is why he keeps placing these vehicles on his lawn year after year.¹⁰

While some complete vehicles are found in the St. John's landscape, the most prevalent of all artifacts in this area are carriage wheels and other vehicle parts. The positioning of wheels in the landscape differs as much as does their size and color. They are found in front yards, back yards, attached to house facades, fences and telephone poles (See Figures 56, 57, 58, 59, 60). Sometimes they are located on both sides of a driveway, a doorstep or a house (See Figure 61). In other cases, two wheels are attached by a small iron rod, emulating wheels and an axle (Figure 62). They are sometimes attached to other discarded artifacts to form items such as flowerpots. Some are painted colors that complement the nearby house, while others are left in an unpainted state. Most were once used on waggons, carts or carriages. However, some were never intended for vehicles of transport, but were constructed of plywood (Figure 63). In all cases, the

¹⁰ It has been shown that yard art is used in one Newfoundland community to promote communication and social interaction. See: "Such yards invite attention and conversation, especially when the resident spends time working on its upkeep, and the yard becomes an important domain of social interaction." Gerald L. Pocius, "Calvert: A Study of Artifacts and Spatial Usage in a Newfoundland Community," Ph.D. dissertation, University of Pennsylvania 1979, p. 288.

Figure 56 -

Two wheels in front yard.



Figure 57 -

Wheel in back yard.



Figure 58 -

Wheels attached to house facade.

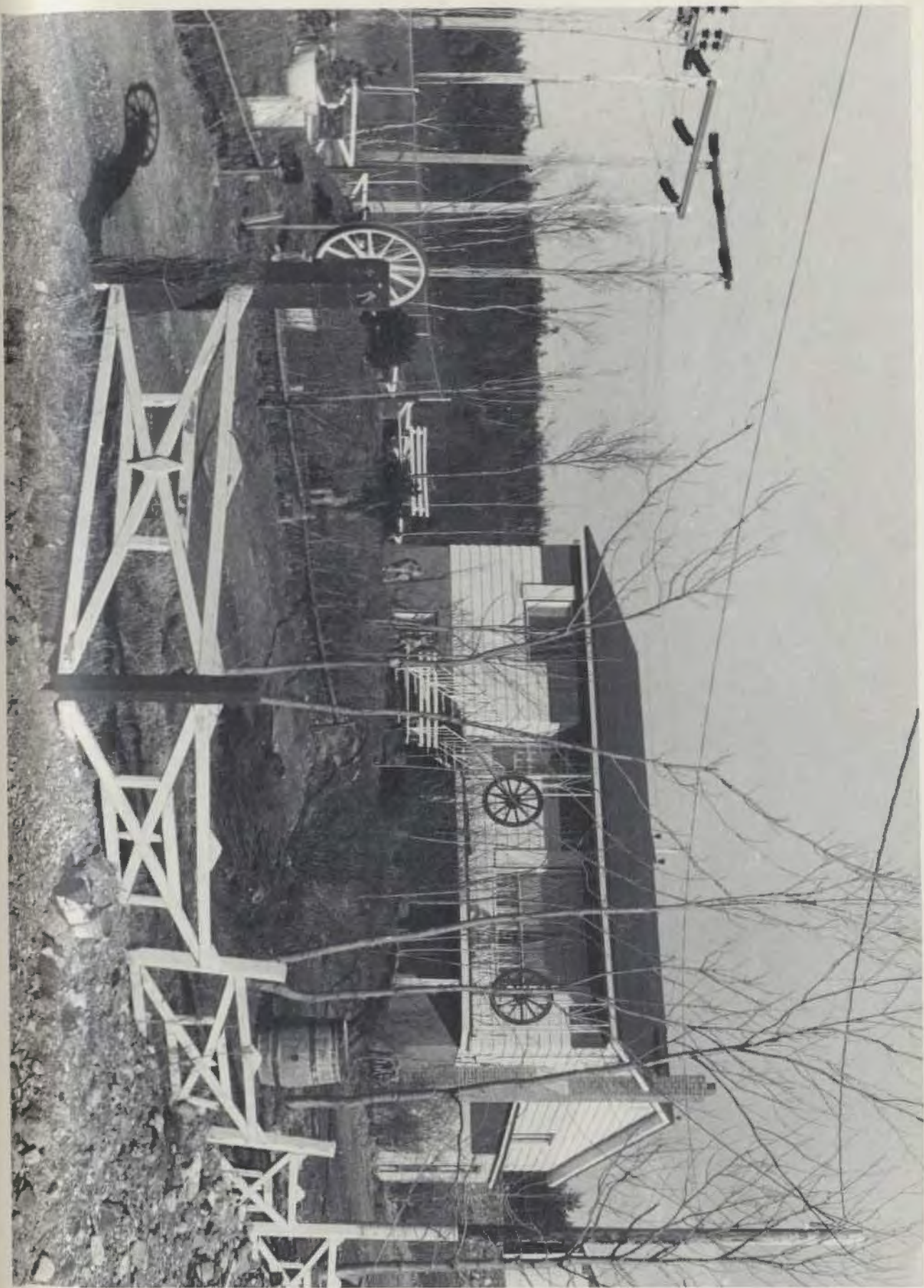


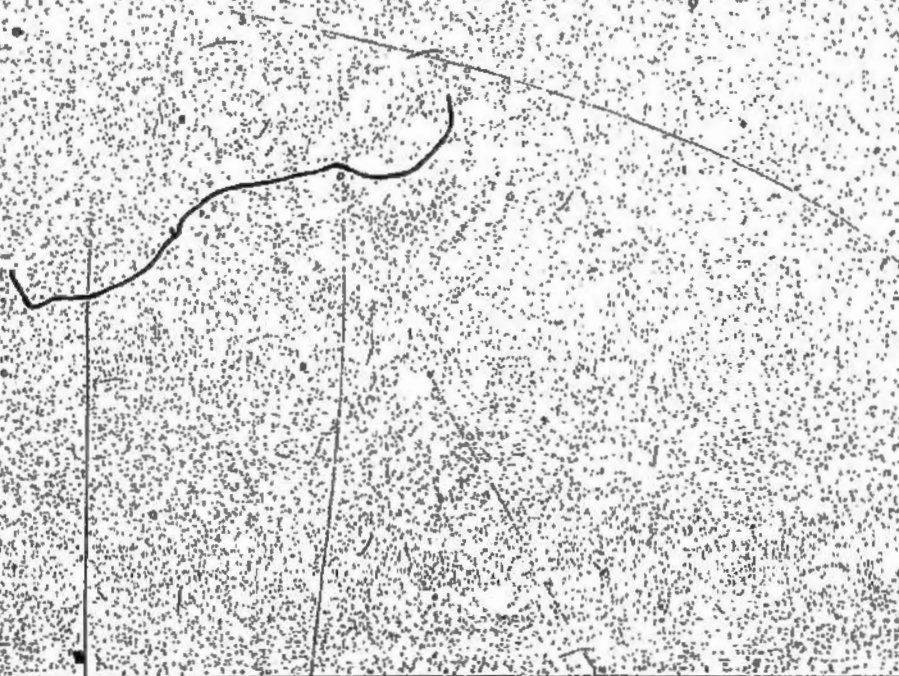
Figure 59 -

Wheels attached to fence.



Figure 60 -

Wheel attached to telephone pole.



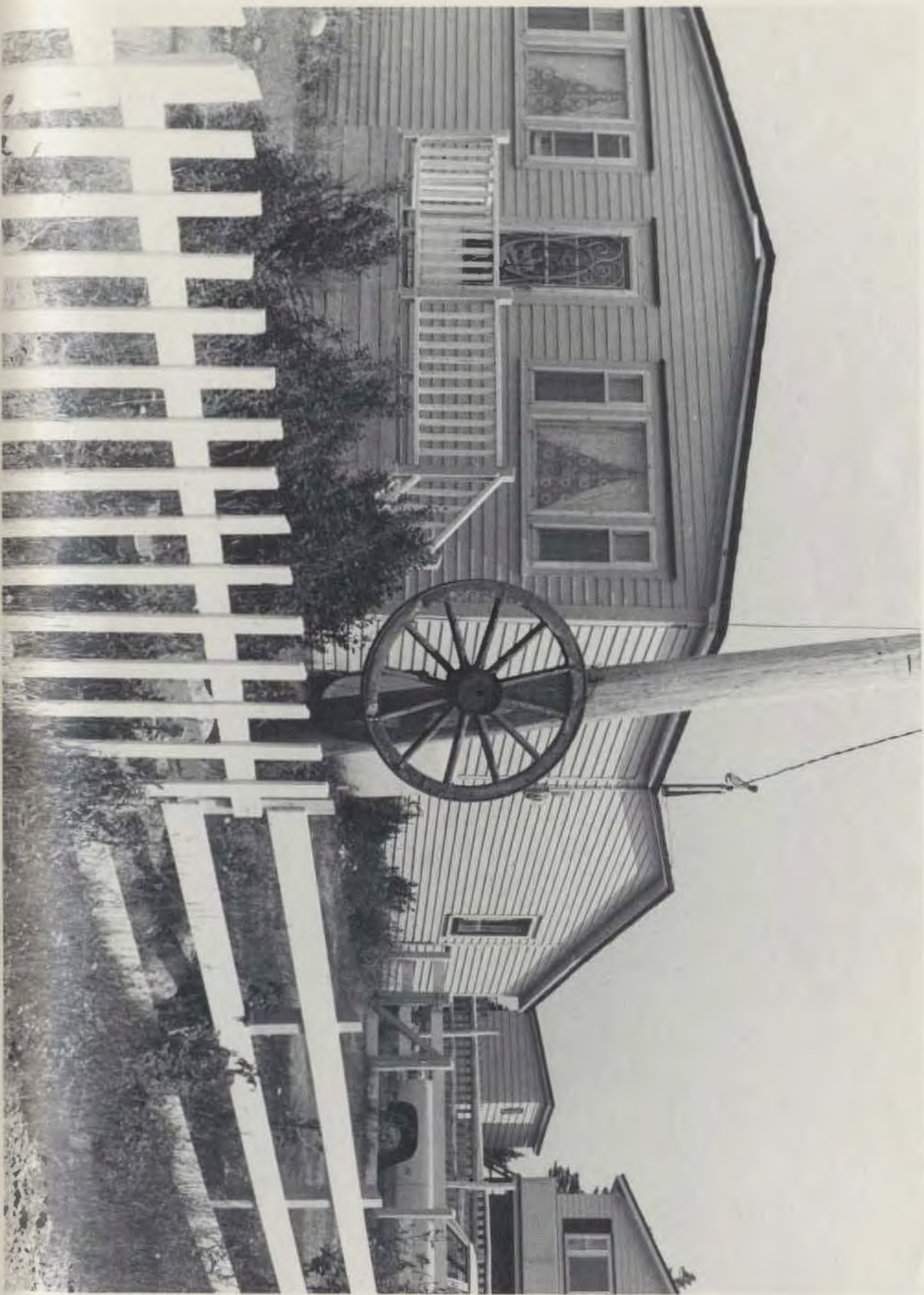


Figure 61 -

Wheels on each side of a driveway.



Figure 62 -

Wheels and pseudo axle.



Figure 63 -

Plywood wheels.



wheels are positioned near the house and are either within the visual field of the general public, or the visual field of the inhabitants of the house.

It has been argued that lawn ornaments are positioned solely for public viewing.¹¹ By examining the wheels located in St. John's, it was found that this is not so. Wheels are not only located in public places, but also in back yards and gardens - places where only inhabitants and guests are able to see them. This indicates that, in some cases, individuals are not placing these parts of vehicles in their yards solely for the benefit of the public, but because they themselves have a basic affinity for or attraction to these artifacts.

Some scholars who have examined lawn ornaments argue that the main function of such items is to delineate the social status of the people who own the particular ornaments. For example, Schroeder says:

Ornamenting one's surrounding is not art for slave, serf, or tenant. It is an announcement of pride and security of ownership.¹²

¹¹ See for example: Fred E.H. Schroeder, "The Democratic Yard and Garden," in Outlaw Aesthetics: Arts and the Public Mind (Bowling Green, Ohio: Bowling Green University Popular Press, 1977), pp. 94-122. According to Schroeder, "the ornament and design, therefore, are designed for public view... rather than for picturesque vistas from within the home." p. 21.

¹² Schroeder, "The Democratic Yard," p. 99.

And Anderson states:

the truth is that lawns and gardens communicate a great deal about the social situation of their owners and this communicative function is the chief, though not the only purpose of garden planning.¹³

The conclusions that artifacts are placed on lawns solely for public viewing and that their chief function is to delineate social status can only be reached if one relies solely on an observer's sense of vision to draw conclusions. In listening to the remarks of vehicle owners about these artifacts, a different function becomes apparent. Many owners of horse-drawn vehicles and their parts in the St. John's area say the reason they place these artifacts in their yards is because of the associations attached to these items. In some cases, it is personal - the objects were once owned by a father, grandfather or relative. For instance, one man from Torbay said this about why he places two wheels on his front lawn:

The wheels belonged to my father's wagon. He used to run the milk from Torbay to town. They were just out in the barn so I decided to put them out front.¹⁴

It has been pointed out that this attachment of personal associations to objects is common:

¹³ Anderson, "On the Folk," p. 181.

¹⁴ Personal Interview with Mr. Michael O'Brian, 29 June 1979.

It is a common human tendency to imbue an object or an event with a personal significance that it does not inherently possess; and this is often why it generates the emotional involvement one has with the object.¹⁵

As Kevin Lynch writes, "It is the familiar connections, not the old physical things themselves that people want to retain."¹⁶

While some individuals have personal attachments to these objects, others have no personal connections with the vehicles and parts they have chosen to repair and use. Some individuals discover abandoned vehicles and parts and take them home to place on their personal property. Others buy vehicles and parts from individuals who no longer want them.¹⁷ These individuals value horse-drawn vehicles and their parts because of their symbolic value. Individuals in St. John's believe these artifacts to be nostalgic

¹⁵ Michael Owen Jones, "The Concept of the Aesthetic in the Traditional Arts," Western Folklore, 30 (1971), 100. For a discussion of the ways in which people imbue the landscape with personal associations see: Yi Fu Tuan, Topophilia: A Study of Environmental Perception, Attitudes and Values (Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall Incorporated, 1974), especially p. 95.

¹⁶ Kevin Lynch, What Time is This Place? (London: M.I.T. Press, 1972), p. 39.

¹⁷ For example, Mr. Antle found his carriage near Beachy Cove, Conception Bay and brought it to St. John's, while Mr. Dowden bought his hearses from Carnell's Carriage Factory when the factory ceased operating in 1966.

symbols of the past. According to Raymond Firth:

the essence of symbolism lies in the recognition of one thing as standing for (re-presenting) another, the relation between them being that of concrete to abstract, particular to general.¹⁸

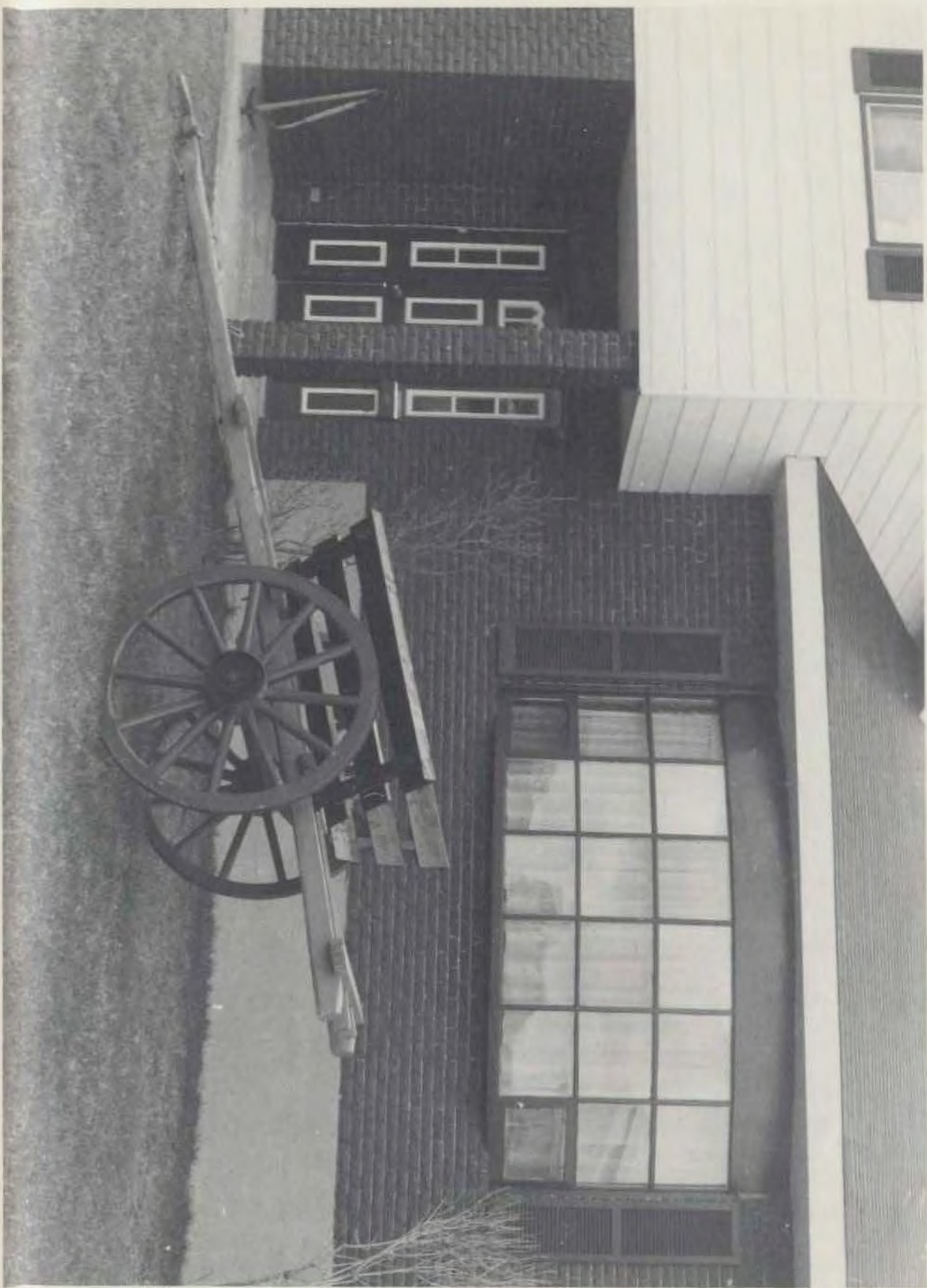
Horse-drawn vehicles and their parts situated in yards and on lawns can act as symbols of individualism. In Newtown, a suburb of St. John's, for example, one resident has placed a long cart with a box attached to it on his front lawn (Figure 64). In this neighborhood, many of the houses are of the same architectural style. By placing this traditional cart on his lawn, the owner communicates his individualism to his neighbors and to viewers from the road.

Some individuals use these artifacts for commercial functions. Several business establishments in St. John's use horse-drawn vehicles and their parts as a form of advertising. One trucking agency, Hardings Trucking, has placed a long cart, box cart and slide in front of its office on New Gower Street, a major thoroughfare in St. John's. Another business, a hotel on Le Marchant Road called The Old Inn, places a box cart on the front lawn.

¹⁸ Raymond Firth, Symbols: Public and Private, Symbol, Myth and Ritual Series (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1973), p. 15.

Figure 64 -

Long cart in Newtown.



next to the hotel's sign (Figure 65). Two drinking establishments use parts of vehicles to promote the selling of their products. The Quidi Vidi Inn of Olde in Quidi Vidi village has two wheels on their parking lot fence. The Carriage Works, a bar and restaurant on George Street, has an assortment of carriage parts, such as wheels, axles and springs adorning the interior walls (Figure 66).

Each of these establishments tries to convey to its customers that it has a specific link with the past. It has been pointed out that commercialism using folkloric items can possibly lower the value of folklore by reducing a vital form of personal expression to a jargonized advertising ploy.¹⁹ This is undoubtedly true for much expressive culture, however, the commercial use of horse-drawn vehicles and their parts in St. John's is in itself a form of personal expression. These owners of business establishments do not choose the fanciest, most ornate vehicles, but choose the traditional box carts, slides and common items such as wheels and axles to convey their connection with the past. Even though these vehicles and parts are cleaned, repaired and painted, erasing surface

¹⁹ Paul Mercer and Mac Swackhammer, "The Singing of Old Newfoundland Ballads and A Cool Glass of Beer go Hand in Hand": Folklore and 'Tradition' in Newfoundland Advertising, Culture and Tradition, 3 (1978), 45.

Figure 65 -

Box cart in front of The Old Inn.

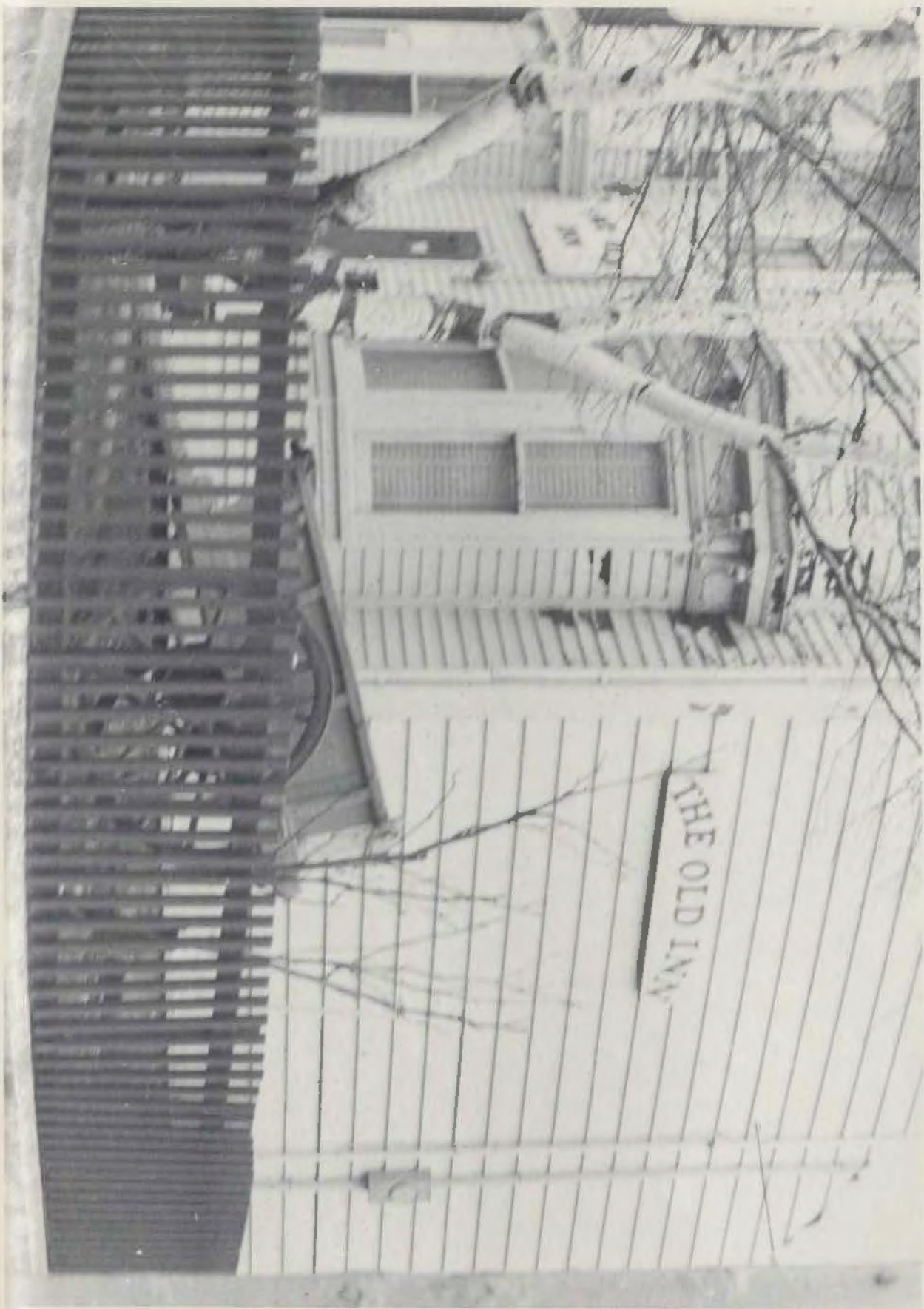


Figure 66 -

The Carriage Works Bar and Restaurant, George Street,
St. John's.



signs of age, they provide an example of the changing functions of artifacts. Not only have the physical artifacts changed, but so have attitudes toward them.

In recent years, there have been major changes in Newfoundland. The traditional lifestyle of many of the outports is threatened with potential restructuring brought about by offshore oil development. Concomitant with this interest in offshore oil has been an increased awareness of old or antique objects. For many years, it has been a common practice for antique collectors, or, as they are termed locally, "pickers", to come to Newfoundland from central Canada and buy, at low prices, as many old items as they can carry in their trucks. These objects are often resold in central Canada at phenomenal prices as "antiques".²⁰ Because of a growing awareness of the monetary value of old things, people today are more apt to keep and preserve their older objects. Most likely this interest in carriages and carriage parts in St. John's is related to this recent interest in historic artifacts in Newfoundland.

The horse-drawn vehicles and parts of vehicles which remain provide a better understanding of people's ideas

²⁰ For a discussion of the buying of Newfoundland outport furniture by non-resident antique dealers see: Walter Peddle, "Newfoundland Outport Furniture," Canadian Antiques and Art Review, 2, No. 11 (1980), p. 39-41.

about the past. The major transformations which have occurred with the remaining horse-drawn vehicles and parts should not be viewed in a negative way. Just as non-material cultural items like songs, tales and customs change in function when there are temporal and contextual changes, so, too, do the functions of horse-drawn vehicles and their parts. All cultural items are dynamic in nature and we must study them as such or else an inaccurate analysis will result. As Nicolaisen says:

The sooner we examine, analyze and understand this process, resulting in the survival of folk items in seemingly dysfunctional contexts, the sooner we will know why so much folklife is still alive today, when otherwise it would have been no more than cultural scrap.²¹

The delineating of the secondary or later functions of a craft or folk industry's products leads to a better knowledge of the changing functions of artifacts. This chapter shows that a more precise understanding of our artifacts can only be obtained by looking at their non-intended functions.

The next chapter provides a general summary of the issues examined in this thesis and will discuss the conclusions reached.

²¹ Nicolaisen, "'Distorted Function'," p. 233.

CHAPTER 6

CONCLUSION

The essential goal of this thesis was to assess the limitations of the term "craft" by examining carriage-making and its products in St. John's. This term is limiting and has resulted in a lacuna in our literature concerning small, urban industries.

Initially, the historical background of the St. John's carriage-making industry was discussed. Carriage factories did not begin appearing in St. John's until the mid-nineteenth century. Before this period, St. John's horse-drawn vehicles were either imported from England, Ireland or the United States or constructed by local blacksmiths or wheelwrights. The majority of St. John's factories were small in size - ten out of the fifteen documented factories had less than five employees. All of the factories used machines such as lathes, planers and saws which were powered originally by steam engines and later by gasoline engines. The factories produced not only horse-drawn vehicles, but constructed a variety of artifacts ranging from agricultural implements to small wooden tricycles. These factories supplied the local needs of St. John's residents. The industry began to decline in the nineteen forties and only the factories which had successfully made the transition into the undertaking business and box and trunk making survived.

It was not until the nineteen sixties that this industry completely died.

Next, a case study of Carnell's Carriage Factory was provided to show that, in many ways, this factory was similar to a rural craft shop. This establishment utilized not only hand tools, but also machines for constructing horse-drawn vehicles. Clearly then, the products of this factory were, in terms of the definitions expounded by craft scholars, not hand-made objects. Nevertheless, the factory workers possessed many of the characteristics usually attributed to rural craftsmen: (1) the factory was passed on from father to son for five generations; (2) factory workers apprenticed with more experienced workers; (3) factory workers learned their respective trades in a traditional way - by observing more experienced workers; (4) some business was conducted on a barter system; (5) individual workers used templates and molds, yet, had some input into the design process; and (6) individual workers were expected to know how to perform the tasks of other workers in the factory.

I concluded that a useful concept to use when looking at artifact production is that of workmanship as developed by David Pye in The Nature and Art of Workmanship.¹

¹ David Pye, The Nature and Art of Workmanship (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press) 1968, p. 4.

Rather than worry about whether or not an object is hand-made, Pye thinks it is more useful to closely examine a particular construction process to look for characteristics such as the care, judgement and dexterity of the maker. Pye defines two kinds of workmanship - the workmanship of risk where a workman determines every operation during production, and the workmanship of certainty where the result of every operation is pre-determined.² Carriage-making, like many so-called rural crafts, can be classified as workmanship of risk. Even though shape-determining machines and tools were used in Carnell's Carriage Factory, the factory workers had a great amount of input into the objects produced.

Next, I discussed the various vehicle styles prevalent in St. John's from the early years of the nineteenth century to the end of the horse-drawn era. A wide variety of vehicle styles were available in St. John's even before carriage factories were opened in the mid nineteenth century. Some of these vehicles were imported from England, Ireland and the United States, while others were constructed by local St. John's craftsmen. When the carriage factories began operating in the middle of the nineteenth century, carriage makers had a variety of

² Pye, Nature and Art, p. 4.

traditional and non-traditional, externally derived styles to choose from. Traditional vehicles like catamarans, box carts and long carts were produced in the factories from the time the factories commenced operating to the end of the horse-drawn era. Non-traditional, externally derived types such as the Brougham, Barouche, Stanhope and Phaeton were also produced throughout the nineteenth century. A distinct, regional vehicle type - the side sleigh - emerged alongside these traditional and non-traditional vehicles. I surmised that this vehicle consisted of a synthesis of characteristics from traditional and non-traditional vehicles. It derived its unique seating arrangement from the Irish Jaunting Car and its narrow frame from the traditional catamaran. I concluded that a folk industry is influenced by both traditional ideas and external, non-traditional ideas. This interaction is found in most rural crafts; however, most scholars look only at the traditional and conservative aspects and not at the external influences.

Next, I examined the contemporary functions of the carriages and carriage parts now existing in St. John's. These artifacts have undergone major transformations with the passage of time. No longer are they used solely for transport; rather, they are now used in a variety of contexts to create a vision of the past. These vehicles

and parts have acquired new communicative, commercial and symbolic functions with the passage of time. As Pye says:

the purposes of things are
the purposes of men and change
according to who entertains them.
They change moreover, when a man's
mind changes.³

St. John's residents have had a major change in attitude toward the products of the carriage-making industry.

This thesis shows that folklorists and craft scholars must rethink some of their attitudes toward what is a craft. The definition must be widened to include industries such as carriage-making. The historical urban industries which characterized many Canadian communities are as important as the various pre-industrial rural crafts. Perhaps a useful concept for studying industries of this kind is that of workmanship put forth by the design historian David Pye. By looking at the way in which workmen perform their duties within the small factory setting, instead of at whether or not an object is hand-made, an understanding of the traditional aspects of this industry can be obtained.

Historical documentary research is necessary in any study of this kind. Because of the elite bias in much

³David Pye, The Nature of Design (New York: Reinhold Publishing Corporation, 1964), p. 12.

written history, it is a difficult and time-consuming task to glean information about historical urban industries from historical documents. Historical newspapers are a much neglected source which reveal a great amount of information on aspects of nineteenth century industries as well as nineteenth century everyday life.

Because of the limited nature of this study, I cannot state whether or not the St. John's carriage-making industry is representative of other Canadian communities. Verification of a similar pattern occurring in other areas awaits further research. This thesis offers a study of the St. John's folk industry of carriage-making and its products which can be used for comparative purposes with historical urban industries in other areas. Perhaps the approach taken in this study of combining research in oral, documentary, and artifactual materials, can be applied to the study of urban historical folk industries in other areas of Canada.

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APPENDIX A

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