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**Engineered Consent: The Relocation of Black
Point, a Small Gaelic Fishing Community
in
Northern Cape Breton Island**

by

Lorraine Vitale Cox

**Submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements
for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy**

at

Dalhousie University

Halifax, Nova Scotia

July, 1997

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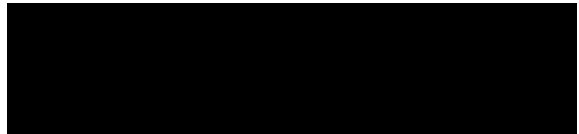
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Degree: Ph.D.

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Dedication

This work is for the families who used to live in Northern Cape Breton Island in small communities from Black Point to Lowland Cove. The people in Northern Cape Breton, made room for me and my family and taught me what it means to live in a community.

This work is also for my family
for my
mother Rose and my father Frank,
who taught me about perseverance and about working with the
heart and hand as well as the mind,
for my sisterfriend Mary,
who taught me about dignity and dreams,
for my mate Dennis,
who taught me about intuition,
and who fills my life with sweet music and whales, and
for my sons, Seamus, Jesse, and Silas, who taught me to know
what love is.

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Abstract

This work is the story of the birth, the life and the death of Black Point, a small Gaelic fishing community in Northern Cape Breton Island. The community of Black Point was born in the 1860's when the MacKinnon family emigrated to Northern Cape Breton and it died about 100 years later as the result of a relocation project implemented by the provincial government in 1968. For the last few hundred years relocation projects have been associated with progress, improvement and development. The Black Point relocation was one aspect of a larger development process that continues to transform the area. This process entails the rationalization of both its natural and human resources, although what is rational from the state perspective is often quite irrational from the community and family perspective. This work is a study of how some people have resisted the process and persisted in maintaining their own ground, which are the grounds of their family and community culture. It is an inquiry into how these grounds are eroded and how people are persuaded to accept the terms of a development process that they do not necessarily own.

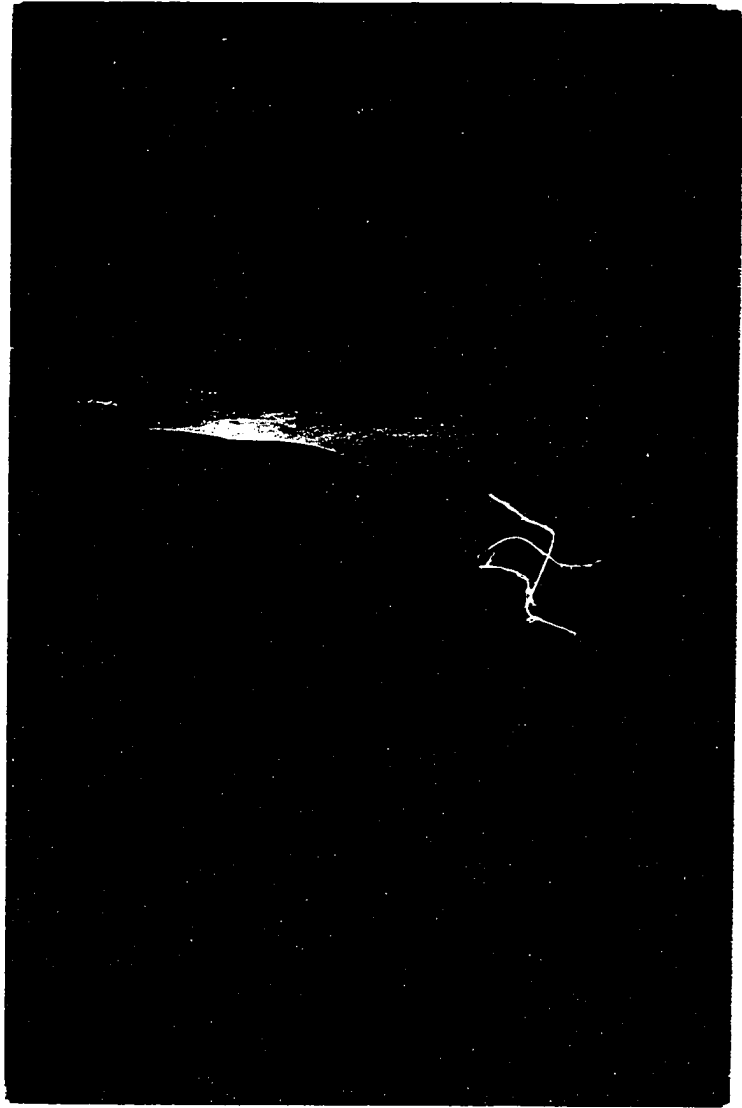
Acknowledgments

I would like to thank all of the people in the community who told me their stories and listened to mine and who helped me with this work especially Angus Dan and Christie Anna MacKinnon and the members of their family.

I would also like to thank the members of my thesis committee, Edgar Friedenber, Daniel W. MacInnes, and

Donald Clairmont
and also my friend

Ed Belzer for taking the time from haymaking to help me with things like commas and ellipses.



Black Point
at
Dusk

Photo by Marty Hastings

Introduction

I Prologue

Our 'remembrance of things past' has as much to do with our present experience as it does with our past. We forget much more than we remember. The process is one of sifting and winnowing out the chosen kernels of memory from all the rest--the weightless chaff that simply disappears as our stories are told. This process, though, is not entirely of our own making. There are many things we are taught to remember and many we are taught to forget. These shape our experience not only of what was in the past but also of the present and the future.

This is the story of the relocation of a small fishing community in Northern Cape Breton called Black Point. On a map, Black Point is the name given to one of the many rocky points on Cape Breton Island's northern tip. From the water it is a dark outreach of rocky land that juts into the Bay of St. Lawrence. For many years it was also the home of the MacKinnon family. Most of the people who lived in Black Point had grown up listening to their parents and grandparents speak Gaelic. Many were Gaelic speakers themselves.

By the end of 1971, the community of Black Point was empty. The houses there had all been torn down by government order, as part of a relocation agreement that was signed by community members. The people who had been living in them were moved either to Bay St. Lawrence about four miles southeast or to Baddeck, the county seat, about 100 miles south. Until 1971, the population of Black Point was recorded in the Local Subdivisions volume of the Canadian Census. Five years later, there was just a blank line where the population figure should have been. Officially, the community had ceased to exist.

The community may have no physical existence anymore but Black Point is still very much alive in the minds and hearts of the people who had lived there. People recognize themselves and are recognized as being 'Black Pointers' even if they are too young to have any memory of the actual community.

Some people from the community, though, seem to want to forget that the relocation ever happened. At least they don't want to talk about it. B. MacKinnon was only 11 when her family was moved. She said when she asked her mother and father about the project they asked her 'why she wanted to start trouble.'

II My Place in the Story

I remember when I first drove into Black Point in the early summer of 1971 with my family. I was seven months pregnant and we were looking for a place to rent in the area. The road that ran through the community was dirt. It had more ruts and bumps and holes than anything else. Later we found that it was a constant source of tension between the people who depended on it and the government who refused to keep it properly maintained. I remember feeling a certain tension myself driving on this road that wound around mountains that literally plunged down into the sea. There were no guard rails and often it inclined more towards the outer drops than towards the inner cliffs.

Actually the road was fairly well maintained from Bay St. Lawrence to Capstick. After that it deteriorated. Black Point was only a few miles from Capstick but it seemed a long way because of the road. I remember that we went around a sharp turn, over a small one-lane wooden bridge, up a hill and there we were, in Black Point, looking out over the ocean. There were a bunch of blond haired, smiling children. See Appendix J: Photographs. Some of them were barefoot, and they had jars filled with wild strawberries. We were going very slowly and they all ran around the car. The incredible beauty of the scene and all those children reminded me of the hills and hollers of Kentucky and West Virginia I had driven through a few years before-- except for the ocean and the smiles.

I don't remember too much about the houses in Black Point. But there was a forlorn look about the community. Almost everyone had moved and it was only a few months before the community would be closed. These were the children from the last two families living in it.

A few months later we moved to Meat Cove, a small community even further along the road than Black Point. At one point the people in Meat Cove were also slated for resettlement. While we were living in Meat Cove we helped someone salvage a whole roof from one of the empty houses in Black Point. The government hadn't torn down all of the houses in the community yet and the roof was in good shape.

I remember a gathering at one of the Black Point families' new houses in Bay St. Lawrence, a small village about five miles from Black Point where most of the Black Point families were resettled. The house was used for all sorts of activities from building wood sleds, to knitting lobster heads, to baking bread and

salting fish. So it had a feeling of being well-used even though it was fairly new. There was lots of music and story telling. Everyone sat together in the living room which had nothing much in it but a freezer, a wood stove, and recycled bus seats that for a time served as couches. It was crowded but cozy. Except for us it was just family-lots of sisters, brothers, cousins, mothers, fathers. But we felt completely at home.

A few of the teenage girls sang a song they had just made up about Black Point called my *Black Point Home*. They sang it a cappella. Then someone started a Gaelic song. A. MacKinnon started to tell us about the Gaelic and tried to teach us how to say, *ciamura tha thu*, 'how are you', and some other words for different things in the language. He had us repeat them and encouraged our poor pronunciation. Some people smoked cigarettes that they rolled from loose tobacco and we all drank lots and lots of tea. We went home after many stories about all sorts of things ranging from the best way to grow turnips and potatoes to a tale about how one year someone grew a turnip so big, a family hollowed it out and spent the winter in it.

I also remember being at a party in Bay St. Lawrence at the house of one of the teachers. It was small too. He was redoing it with paneling and wall-to-wall carpeting. It had all the modern conveniences in it, electric stove, electric kettle, oil furnace, fridge, TV, and a Franklin fireplace. The people at the party were not all kin but they all traveled in the same circles. The principal of the new Neil's Harbour High School was there, the doctor and his girlfriend, the parish priest, a few County Councilors and their families.

It was here that I first heard some people talking about the people from Black Point. I remember one of them chiding us in that half-kidding, half-serious way that people in Northern Cape Breton have. 'Oh you Hippies, you think you're new. Well you're not. We have our own Hippies here but we call them 'Black Pointers'. They live together and they don't get married. They don't go to church. They have long hair and they make moonshine. They tell stories, play the fiddle, dance, sing and they're dirty.' He didn't live in the Bay but he had grown up near there. He was the first red-neck Cape Bretoner that I ever met.

We were playing guitars and singing and everyone wanted us to play 'Ryan's Fancy' songs. They were a professional 'Irish' group that was very popular at the time. We didn't know any of their songs, so our hosts put a 'Ryan's Fancy' record on. We listened to them sing *Come by-the Hills*, a song about returning to a time 'where the cares of tomorrow could wait till this day was done.' There was

a lot of nostalgia for things past and there was a lot of drinking of the host's homemade beet wine.

The prejudice that I heard directed against the people from Black Point in the larger local community made very little sense to me. What really struck me, though, was how familiar the comments were. People talked about folks from Black Point the same way that I had heard Blacks talked about in N.Y., Natives talked about in British Columbia, East Indians talked about in London, and Algerians talked about in Paris.

Growing up as the only white girl on the block in a Black and Puerto Rican ghetto in N.Y. made me understand what it felt like to be different. I had been taunted as a child for being white and taunted for being Jewish. I felt no shame at being white at least most of the time. But I did learn somewhere that my mother's being Jewish, even more than my father's being Italian or Catholic, was something that 'marked' me. I felt that I was not quite as good as what I was supposed to be. Being Jewish was something that I had been taught, somewhere in my growing up, to be ashamed of.

At what point did I internalize this prejudice? Was it from my friend Georgeanne? She went to Catholic school and she told me what the nuns told her. The Jews killed Christ. My mother was a Jew so she didn't know whether I should be allowed to go to church anymore.¹ What was more important at the time was that she was unsure whether she should play with me. I argued that I was only half Jewish but I don't think I was very convincing. Perhaps this was the point when I accepted, consented to the judgments against me. It seems to me now that shame has to do with a certain kind of self-judgment. For most of my life, though, I tried to forget. But not now. Sometimes I wear my grandmother's Jewish star. Not because of religion and certainly not because of my love of Israel. But I recognize that in some way I am part of my grandmother's tribe. The Jews.

The Jews, the Blacks, the Gaels. They are all tribal people. Outcasts. I read two different books called No Burden to Carry. One was about Afro-Canadians in Ontario and the other about the Gaels in Cape Breton. The title is a saying that

¹ Neither of my parents was religious, but my Aunt Mim who lived upstairs was. I went to Catholic mass with her for about five years. I went with a friend to a Unitarian Sunday school and church for a few years but only once or twice with my Mom's sister, who lived far away, to a Conservative Jewish temple.

is popular in both communities. Sometimes, though, being different is a very great burden to carry. Especially for a child.

I wanted to tell you about myself in the very beginning because I am the one who is telling you the story of Black Point. My involvement is very personal, very real and passionate on many different levels. Ultimately, though, I believe this involvement as an active participant in the life of the district will be helpful. The world is not a laboratory and human experience can never be fully understood in those terms. In fact, it can be greatly mis-understood.

That is why I chose to use the narrative form. There are many stories to tell about Black Point, stories that need to be told. What troubles me, though, is that the 'official' version of the relocation of this small community is the only one being told and it is considered to be objective and true. This does not mean that I can tell the community's side of the story. That would be presumptuous on my part. I do hope, however, that my research will make it easier for the people in Black Point to remember so that they can begin to find their own voices and tell their own stories.²

In this work, I have tried to gather as many sources together as possible and weave them into a whole. These include records like: the Dominion Census, School Inspectors Reports, County Council Records, Petitions to the Legislative Assembly, letters, journals, Deeds and Title Registries, Baptism, Marriage and Death records, Minutes of the PTA, Public School Cumulative Record Cards, Attendance Books, and government policy documents. Most of these were found in various archives and libraries in Ottawa, Halifax, Antigonish, Sydney, and Neil's Harbour or in the files of the County Courthouse in Baddeck or Social Services in Halifax. I have also gone over the various media accounts in newspapers and magazines and the tapes of old shows in the CBC-TV archives.

I carried out a Gaelic survey in the community and with the help of many of the elders, and church and census records I constructed a genealogical chart of the MacKinnon Fraser kin group and kin groups associated with them. I also

² Social science research can ultimately help us in understanding our experience if we are conscious of the fact that it can be used as a tool to maintain the status quo instead of helping us free ourselves from it. I believe that the task of the social scientist is to construct as careful and authentic an account as possible. I think that Habermas (1989) is right when he suggests that 'meaningful understanding' (*verstehen*) is possible only when we create a speech situation, a dialogue, in which domination doesn't exist. But that's not easy, because, our society seems to manufacture its knowledge along with its TV's and automobiles in the factories and on the assembly line. Our 'ways of knowing' and our 'ways of speaking' often seem to have more to do with control and domination than with meaningful understanding.

constructed land maps that detail the changes in the settlement patterns of the community. These are all located in the Appendices and can be used as needed.

I conducted hours and hours of taped and written interviews with people who were moved and with people in the communities where they were moved. I taped interviews with most of the officials and professionals involved with initiating and implementing the relocation project. All of the taped interviews were transcribed and I have notebooks of field notes and observations.

I have tried to keep the work that I am doing as open as possible, so that people in the community can enter into it if they want or are interested. The research process has really been like a spiral. I brought much of the information that I found in the archives back into the district so people finally had access to it. When they read or heard what had been written about them they were able to respond to it. They became part of a dialogue from which previously they were excluded. Many of the discoveries in my work come from this process.

The relocation is not something that the people in Black Point have an easy time talking about. Two women from the Black Point families became an active part of the work by facilitating a few of the taped interviews. This meant that people from the community were able to talk to each other without my physical presence to interfere with the flow of the dialogue.

I have also been working on a number of participant action and research action projects. These grew out of my work on relocation and my involvement with the community.³ My viewpoint is one of insider outsider. It offers me a certain outside distance and perspective and at the same time gives me an inside understanding of the emotional complexity of the subject. This work would not have been possible, however, without the active involvement of the people in the district who were always patiently willing to teach me the things that I was trying to understand and to answer the questions I was always asking.

³ These center around working to change various government policies which continue to erode these small fishing communities and once again threaten to dislocate the people who are living in them. The work is ongoing and it takes many forms—mostly around trying to do something about the new removals that threaten fishing communities. I worked helping to organize a blockade of the harbour to protest fishing policy and I helped organize the Bay St. Lawrence and N.S. Women's FishNet groups and also the FishNet People's Players. The last is a popular/political theatre group. At present we are attempting to find a way to work in fishing communities using the techniques of Boal, a Brazilian activist and actor and friend of Paulo Friere. He created the 'Theatre of the Oppressed'. All of this work informs and is informed by the work here.

III The Theme of Relocation

Relocation: A new allocation, as in a 'relocation of the road', or the removal to an internment camp or relocation centre.⁴

The word 'relocation' often denotes a sense of compulsion and a corresponding sense of being powerless. A king does not suffer to be relocated except in birth, death or violent overthrow. Nor, for that matter, did J.S. Irving.⁵

¥

'When God Gets Ready You Got To Move'

(Line from an Afro-American Blues' Song)

Relocation is a familiar enough theme-- a move from one space to another by powers greater than we are and usually without our consent. It's no wonder that the theme pervades our religious mythology:

The fallen archangel Lucifer and a few of his followers, relocated by his Master somewhere south.

Adam and Eve, forcibly evicted from the Garden of Eden after they ate the forbidden fruit from the tree of the knowledge of good and evil and learned of both the pleasure and the suffering that the desire for truth can bring. They also fell from grace.

The great flood that forced Noah, his family and an ark full of creatures from their homes while the rest of the world were relocated much more permanently. The Jews exiled to Egypt for their sins and longing to reach the promised land.

In the Judeo-Christian tradition, relocation often seems to be a punishment for some deficiency. We are moved by a higher authority because that authority decides we should. We end up moving because we are powerless and because we must. The Jews were constantly getting threatened with eviction and served notice by God when they didn't behave.

⁴ Oxford English Dictionary Editors *The Oxford English Dictionary* Oxford: Clarendon Press. 1989. Also: *Tacit relocation*, the implied renewal of a lease when the landlord allows a tenant to continue without a fresh agreement, after the original lease has expired.

⁵ Although he did chose to relocate to the Caribbean in order not to pay taxes to the Canadian government.

Christians still live in a state of perpetual dislocation because of 'original sin' and are taught there is a far better home in heaven. On the earth we are: 'poor wayfaring strangers', 'pilgrims of the cross', 'motherless children' 'wandering through this wearisome world' and waiting to 'fly away' to our 'heavenly homes'. Or, as Woody Guthrie irreverently put it, for 'pie in the sky when we die'.

The modern relocations are simply a variation on these punishment themes. When people (or angels) are forced to move in some very basic sense they become 'other'. But these days we discipline people by curing them. Relocation isn't punishment; it's rehabilitation.

In our society, it is usually the poor who are forced to move, especially poor people who are also different in some way from the dominant group, in terms of race, ethnicity, or even religion.⁶ As Henson said, in his introduction to a study on the relocation of Africville:⁷

Relocation is a class process, with so few exceptions as to prove the point. It is not unknown but rare, that affluent people are required to move either for the sake of societal progress or for 'their own good'.

Relocation is a tool, a technique used in social engineering. Small groups of people are moved because other more dominant groups determine that they should be. For the last few hundred years relocation projects have been associated with improvement and development. In fact, they are often called community development projects. It makes sense then to look at how the notion of development is defined and who decides what shape the society, or the individuals in it, should have. On what basis is a community and the people living in it judged to be in need of social intervention 'for their own good'? This implies that they are incapable of making their own choices and that they are not living the way other people think that they 'should'. How do certain groups of people

⁶ Alexa MacDonough noted, for instance, that the Halifax communities of Klein Heights and Africville, shared many of the same problems in the 1960's. It was, however, the people in the Black community of Africville who were relocated. The people in the white community of Klein Heights weren't forced to move. I interviewed MacDonough who worked as a social worker in the Development Division of the Department of Social Services in the 1960's for the Headstart program. MacDonough's supervisor was responsible for implementing many of the 1960's relocations. She suggested that race and certain aspects of culture were an issue in the relocation decisions that were made.

⁷ Cited in Donald Clairmont and Dennis Magill, Dennis Africville Toronto: Canadian Scribbers' Press, 1987, p. 1.

come to be marked or stigmatized in this way and exactly whose interests are served by development in these terms?

It is a basic assumption of this work that people have the right to decide for themselves where and how they want to live as long as they don't harm other creatures or the earth in the process.⁸ In one sense the story of the birth and death of Black Point provides a window to look at the larger social processes that are dislocating both natural and our human communities.

This thesis was written as a story and it should be read as one. The story of Black Point is particular but its themes are not. The social process always depends on context on the particulars of our experience. There is really no one transformational process but there are various kinds of transformational 'logic' embedded within the particulars of context. Understanding this 'logic' has more to do, though, with the tension and the relationship between the universal and the particular than with either one isolated from the other.

I do not practice conventional sociology because the practice and the people who practice it tend to ignore this relationship. And because I have learned from the story of Black Point that in their ignorance, without entirely being aware of it and often without meaning to, people can use their knowledge not to liberate but to oppress.

Note

Each of the following chapters begins with a prologue that introduces it. The prologue threads into the main narrative. Sometimes, but not always, they themselves are in story form. Each chapter furthers the narrative but essentially they were written independently and can each be read as small studies on their own. The footnotes are extensive and they do not need to be read with the text. They are included for people who want more information or more complete references about a particular aspect of the story.

⁸ I believe that it is a right of human beings to be able to satisfy their basic needs. People need to be free to work, they need to have enough to eat and they need shelter and clothes to protect them; they need to be free to love people of their own choosing whatever their gender; they need to be free to live together with their family and friends; they need to be free to wonder, to think, to celebrate and to create.

Chapter 1: A Moral Inheritance

Prologue: Property Values

For thousands of years people living in Northern Cape Breton have depended on the land and the sea to sustain and support them.¹ There are still piles of shell remains in Aspy Bay only a few miles from Black Point left by the aboriginal people who once lived on the island.²

The history of this land does not necessarily begin in 1500, with the arrival of the Europeans with their alphabet, their pens and their parchment. Others were here before them...The Mi'kmaq People have been living in the land now called Atlantic Canada for at least two thousand years.

Before the Mi'kmaq, there were other people who lived in *Onamagi*, or Cape Breton as we call it. We know that at one time before the European invasion there was a struggle between two different aboriginal groups for control of the area but until the Europeans came the earth was used without fences or enclosures.³ Today the ocean remains as one last common which inshore fishing families in Cape Breton still depend on.

Our notion of property is a social one. That is, our ideas about it have much to do with the framework of the particular society that we live in.⁴ Now, though, many people on the earth, but not all, take for granted the idea that the earth

¹ Ruth Holmes Whitehead The Old Man Told Us : Excerpts from Mi'kmaq History Nimbus Publishing: Halifax, 1991. pp. xi, 1. See also George F. MacDonald Debert: A paleo-Indian site in central Nova Scotia National Museums of Canada, Anthropology Paper No. 16. p.136. According to MacDonald (1968) a settlement at Debert, N.S. may have been settled as early as 10,600 years ago, the earliest dated aboriginal remains in all of North America.

² Franklin McGee (1978) reported that the aboriginal villages in the Southern part of Cape Breton Island were actually only occupied during certain periods of the year. The aboriginal people needed a large littoral to survive and they used the entire island for hunting and fishing. Communities were defined 'by social rather than territorial factors.' See Harold Franklin McGee, Jr. The Mi'kmaq Indians: The Earliest Migrants. p.18. See also Calvin Martin The European Impact on the Culture of a Northeastern Algonquin Tribe William and Mary Quarterly (1974) Martin reported that the Mi'kmaq people lived by the coast or rivershore from the middle of March to mid-October and then again in December and January. In late October, November and February they moved inland to hunt. They did some farming and gathering during the summer months but the clearings they made were seasonal. Each band or group had its own particular area that it would use but within the band the land was shared in common. pp.3-26.

³ Ibid. Calvin Martin, 1974

⁴ Walter Bruggmann The Land Fortress Books: Philadelphia, 1977. Peter Berger and T. Luckman The Social Construction of Reality: A Treatise on the Sociology of Knowledge. New York: Doubleday & Company, 1967.

many people on the earth, but not all, take for granted the idea that the earth belongs to individuals who can buy and sell pieces of it. The particular ways in which people cultivate the piece of ground they live on or are prevented from cultivating it shape the patterns of their lives, both individually and collectively.⁵ The ties that bind people together as they live their lives reflect the tightly woven strands of their social and material relations.⁶ The earth stretches out before our eyes but a 100 acre property with a no trespassing sign on it is a purely human reality.

Marx (1857) based much of his critical analysis of capitalism on the fact that a certain group or class in society had appropriated what originally was commons for their own private pleasure and profit. Adam Smith (1776), who was not at all critical of the process, also noted:⁷

As soon as the land of any country has all become private property, the landlords, like all other men love to reap where they have never sowed, and demand a rent even for its natural products. The wood of the forest, the grass of the field, and all the natural fruits of the earth, which when land was in common, cost the labourer only the trouble of gathering them, come even to him, to have an additional price fixed upon them. He must then pay for the license to gather them; and must give up to the landlord a portion of what his labour either collects or produces.

Our social relations are shaped by the material reality of who has access to the land or the sea, who gets to use what and how. This is not to say that this is a cookie-cutter process. Even Marx and Engel's model⁸ was intended to be more relational than is ordinarily understood.⁹

⁵ Ibid.

⁶ Gerald Sider (1980) used the phrase 'the ties that bind' in an article by that name. See Gerald M. Sider *The ties that bind: Culture and agriculture property and propriety in the Newfoundland village fishery* Social History Vol.5, #1: Jan. 1980 pp. 1-39.

⁷ Adam Smith An Inquiry Into the Nature and Causes of the Wealth of Nations Encyclopedia Britannica: Toronto, 1952 (Originally published in 1776). p. 21. For Smith, private property and individual self-interest were the basis of 'civilized' society. Marx criticized the right of one group or class in society to appropriate land for their own personal ends. See Karl Marx Grundrisse (translated by Martin Nicolaus) Random House: New York, 1973 (originally written in 1857-8) pp. 490-495.

⁸ I'm referring to their model of 'base' and 'superstructure'. At the 'base' are the economic and productive relations in society. The 'superstructure', that is all other social relations, are simply built on this base. But just as in a building, a superstructure can affect, even undermine, the base it is built on.

⁹ Engels in a letter to Bloch. Cited in Withers, Gaelic Scotland: the transformation of a culture region 1988. p.24. Engels explained:

Our material and social relations shape each other as they are being shaped. Class has to do with the material or 'productive relations into which (human beings) are born--or enter involuntarily'¹⁰. But our social relations, what we might call culture, have to do with the cultivation, the generation and regeneration of these productive relations from one human generation to another. If 'class' has to do with a group of peoples' place in the social order then culture has to do with how each individual in that group learns to 'know their place'-- how they order and make sense of their lives.

Human cultures are formed and deformed, stretched and tangled, by the tensions that arise in the way particular groups of people hold or are allowed to hold land and also by the ways they learn to hold their tongues, their bodies,¹¹ and their minds, when they act out relations with other people; or even when they speak or think about these relations. The way in which people cultivate their lives has a lot to do with the freedom they have to cultivate the particular grounds on which, in which, or with which, they live.

Our society's particular notion of 'property' may be a relatively recent reality, but it is no less powerful because of it. In the 1960's, 14 of the 18 families that lived in Black Point did not possess legal title to the land that they lived on.¹² These families officially owned no property in the Black Point community although members of their family had lived there since it began a hundred years before.

According to the materialistic conception of history, the ultimately determining element in history is the production and reproduction of real life. More than this neither Marx nor I have ever asserted. Hence if somebody twists this into saying that the economic element is the only determining one, he transforms that proposition into a meaningless, abstract, senseless phrase. The economic situation is the basis, but the various elements of the superstructure--political forms of the class struggle and its results, to wit: constitutions established by the victorious class after a successful battle, etc., juridical forms, and even the reflexes of all these actual struggles in the brains of the participants, political, juristic, philosophical theories, religious views and their further development into systems of dogma--also exercise their influence upon the course of the historical struggles and in many cases preponderate in determining their form.

¹⁰ E.P. Thompson The Making of the English Working Class Hammondsworth: Penguin, 1980. This is his definition of the notion class.

¹¹ Marcel Mauss called the special shape or movement that characterizes people in a particular society *habitas*. He was exploring what he called 'body techniques' or the ways in which people in a society are taught to use their bodies in certain ways. See Marcel Mauss Sociology and Psychology London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1979 pp. 97-119. (This section originally published in 1935) Pierre Bourdieu used this same notion in Reproduction in Education, Society and Culture London: Sage, 1977. It was an essential aspect of his theory of 'symbolic violence'.

¹² Helen Ralsten The Black Point-Meat Cove Relocation Project: Evaluation Study Department of Public Welfare, Province of N.S. April, 1970. pp. 36, 39. (Internal document)

From the perspective of mainstream professionals, who worked in the community or with community members, these families were squatters. They had no real or lawful claim to the land that they lived on or the community that they lived in. Between 1984 and 1988, the professionals who had been involved with implementing the relocation were interviewed about the project. All of them mentioned that most of the families in Black Point did not own their land and all but two of them used the word 'squatters' to describe the relationship of these Black Point families to the piece of earth they occupied and used to sustain themselves.¹³

From this perspective these families had 'unauthorized possession' of the land in the community.¹⁴ Some of the families were also 'unauthorized' to fish on the lobster grounds because they had not obtained the necessary licenses. From the perspective of the mainstream professionals, these families were considered to have only a marginal claim or relation to the fishery and they were considered to be a special problem in the community.¹⁵

From the mainstream perspective, the families in Black Point had no right to cultivate their own grounds and to maintain their own culture, because, from that perspective they didn't legally have any ground of their own. Instead, they were perceived to be precariously balanced on its economic and social margins. They had no real 'estate' in a society in which the 'preservation of property' was its *raison d'être*.¹⁶ In some sense, without property, they had no right to live where they wanted and how they knew best to live.

From the more dominant perspective, their local knowledge was meaningless. The Gaelic language and the intellectual disciplines and skills that had traditionally been cultivated and generated in the community and in the

¹³ Interviews with social service official, social worker, teachers, school principals, housing official, health workers. 1984-88.

¹⁴ The most comprehensive definition of the notion 'squatter' is found in The Oxford English Dictionary Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1989. See also Cambridge Dictionary, Miriam Webster Dictionary, for the common usages of the word.

¹⁵ Op. cit. Ralston (1970) p.59; interview with the Social Services official who was the Director of the Social Development division of the Depart of Public Welfare of N.S. during the conception and implementation of the relocation project; interviews with the social workers who were the resident Social Development Officers during the implementation of the project.

¹⁶ This was a phrase that Locke used. John Locke Two Treatises of Government (edited by Peter Laslett) Cambridge University Press: Cambridge, 1963. Originally published in 1690. p.341. Also Adam Smith (1776) p.309. 'The acquisition of valuable and extensive property...necessarily requires the establishment of civil government. Where there is no property, or at least none that exceeds the value of two or three days labour, civil government is not so necessary'

common ground that people worked together had no place in the mainstream mind.¹⁷ People from the larger society might enjoy a Highland fiddler or the rhythm and lightness of the step dancers feet but the basic relation to the people and the community and the grounds of their tradition was one of appropriation. The right of the people in the community to the grounds of the community, to their land, their language and their language culture was not recognized. From the dominant perspective there was simply no time and no place in the real world for the kind of relationships that were cultivated and that also generated the Black Point community.

Relocation, resettlement and retraining was an attempt to integrate the people in the Black Point community into the mainstream.¹⁸ Small groups of people living in many other places around the world have also been vulnerable to the state's authority because from the state perspective ¹⁹ they lack legal title to lands their families have been cultivating for many generations.²⁰ These people often live without the amenities or consumer goods that North Americans prize so highly and they are judged to be 'backward' and ignorant because they have no formal certificates to prove how much they know. Many have little desire to obtain these goods and to change their way of lives and they are judged to be 'lazy' or without ambition. Many are being coerced into lives that are not of their own making by development projects that are implemented for their 'own good' or for the 'good of the more dominant society'.²¹

From the community perspective, all of the families had a right to live in Black Point. They belonged there. From the perspective of the state system, though, some were 'without right or title' even though members of their family had settled the community a hundred years before.²²

It seems to me that the difference in perspective between most of the people living in the community of Black Point and the representatives of the

¹⁷ Gaelic was the first language of many of the adults in the community at the times of relocation. See Chapter 2.

¹⁸ Op. cit. Ralston, 1970 p. 3.

¹⁹ By state system I do not simply mean the political system but the whole web of political, social, and economic institutions that are essential to the workings of the social order that we live in. I use the term as Ralph Miliband's (1969) did. The mass media, the churches, and the schools would all be part of the state system. See Ralph Miliband The State in Capitalist Society London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1969 p. 54.

²⁰ John Bodley. Victims of Progress. California: Cummins Publishing Company, 1975.

²¹ Ibid.

²² The Oxford English Dictionary Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1989.

larger and more dominant society was profound. This difference, however, seems to have been interpreted by mainstream professionals as the result of what was called the 'physical and cultural deprivation' of the people in the community.²³

Until fairly recently, people living in Northern Cape Breton were relatively isolated from the larger society and the people in Black Point were more isolated than most. But whether people in the community were deprived or protected from mainstream forms depends very much on one's point of view.

²³ Taped interviews. Also CBC documentaries Beyond Those Mountains (1964) and The Wrong Move (1988)

A Moral Inheritance

The Beginnings: Scottish Highlands

The people living in Black Point, who were displaced from their community in the mid-twentieth century, were the descendants of Gaelic speaking Scots who had been displaced from their communities in the Highlands and the Islands of Scotland more than a hundred years before. Most of the adults living in Black Point before the relocation could still speak Gaelic, and all of the members of the community were familiar with the language.

Their great-grandfathers and grandmothers were forced to emigrate from Scotland because of changes in land-holding patterns in the Highlands. Traditionally land there 'was regarded as clan property--the object of clan appropriation and utilization.'²⁴ The Clan Chiefs held only an 'honorary' right to it. They didn't 'own' it in the modern sense, for it was identified with the community as a whole. Lands were perceived as 'belonging' to the 'clan' group in the sense that they were used to sustain and support the whole kinship group. An 'individual...clansmen was no more than one of a group of 'hereditary possessors'.²⁵ Every member of the group had the right of their basic needs being met no matter how low they were on the social scale. The clan 'chiefs', the highest layer of clan society, received a greater portion than the sub-cotter, the lowest, but they didn't 'own' the clan land as 'property' in the modern sense, because traditionally they couldn't sell it.

The notion of 'property' in the Highlands, as in many other pre-capitalist societies, had much more to do with the 'rights' that particular individuals in a community had in relation to using the land than with an individual's 'possession' and control of it. The land belonged to the 'community' as a whole but it was managed in a very definite and prescribed way. This applied to other kinds of 'property' in the community as well. The concept of 'property' 'as a right of disposing of definite objects...is inapplicable' in this kind of social formation.²⁶ Polyani (1968) described this type of system:²⁷

²⁴ Rosemary Ommer *Primitive accumulation and the Scottish 'clann' in the Old World and the New* Journal of Historical Geography Vol. 12 (2) 1986.

²⁵ Ibid.

²⁶ Karl Polyani Primitive and Modern Economics Anchor Books (Doubleday): New York, 1968.(orig.1957) p. 90.

²⁷ Ibid.

We have here a variety of rights of different persons in regard to the same object. By this fragmentation, the unity of the object under its property aspect is destroyed. The appropriational movement does not, as a rule, have the complete object, for instance a piece of land, as its referent, but only its discrete uses, thus depriving the concept of property of its effectiveness in regard to objects.

This notion of 'property' was strange to Samuel Johnson, the well-known English author, who wrote an account of his journey through the Highlands in 1773. He described the slaughter of a beef cow on one of the 'clan estates' that he visited:²⁸

When a beef was killed for the house, particular parts were claimed as fees.....What was the right of each I have not learned. The head belonged to the smith, and the udder of a cow to the piper: the weaver had likewise his particular part; and so many pieces followed these prescriptive claims, that the Laird's was at last but little.

Johnson seemed surprised that the Laird received such a small share of the beef probably because from the English perspective the beef was the laird's property. From the Highland perspective, though, many people who belonged to the 'household' had invested in the beef. And each of them had their own rights. In most small pre-capitalist societies there were incredibly complex 'rules' governing who had rights to various parts of the animals that were killed and also governing the particular ways that land and other property was used by individuals within the community.²⁹ Johnson seems to understand the 'right' of

²⁸ Johnson, S. and Boswell, A. Johnson's Journey to the Western Islands of Scotland and Boswell's Journal of a Tour to the Hebrides (1773) (ed. R.W. Chapman). Oxford University Press: London, 1971. p.103

²⁹ Margaret Mead Cooperation and Competition among Primitive Peoples New York: 1937 p.31. (Cited in Polyani 1968 p.87.) Margaret Mead described the property relations of an Arapesh man in New Guinea:

A typical Arapesh man, therefore is living for at least part of the time (for each man lives in two or more hamlets, as well as in garden huts, huts near the hunting bush, and huts near his sago palm) on land which does not belong to him. Around the house are pigs which his wife is feeding, but which belong either to one of her relatives or to one of his. Besides the house are coconut and betel palms which belong to still other people, and the fruit of which he will never touch without the permission of the owner or someone who has been accorded the disposal of the fruit by the owner. He hunts on the bushland belonging to a brother-in-law or a cousin at least part of his hunting time, and the rest of the time he is joined by others on his bush, if he has some. He works his sago in others' sago clumps as well as in his own. Of personal property in his house that which is of any permanent value, like large pots, well carved plates, good spears, has already been assigned to his sons, even though toddling children. His

each person in the clan to various parts of the cow in terms of fees, for specific services rendered; a contract relationship that is entirely economic and independent of all other social relationships in the community.

Exchange relationships in the Highlands, however, as in other kin-ship based communities, were firmly embedded in the social workings of the community.³⁰ They were based, in what Maine (1861) called, *status* relationships, those that have to do with kinship rather than *contractus*, contract relationships, which are determined by formal agreements between the parties involved.³¹ Johnson's (1773) understanding, however, was based on the English model where he lived.

Great Transformation

This is not to say that the English model had always been same. The development of a disembedded economy reflected the changes that were taking place as England, itself, moved from a traditional to market society.³² It was the

own pigs are far away in other hamlets: his palm trees are scattered three miles in one direction, two in another: his sago palms are still further scattered and his garden patches lie here and there, mostly on the lands of others. If there is meat on his smoking rack over the fires, it is either meat which was killed by another, a brother, a brother-in-law, a sister's son, etc.- and has been given to him, in which case he and his family may eat it, if it is meat which he himself killed and which he is smoking to give away to someone else, for to eat one's own kill, even though it be only a small bird, is a crime to which only the morally, which usually means with the Arapesh mentally, deficient would stoop.

No doubt this Arapesh man would have had as difficult time understanding Johnson's perspective as Johnson (1773) had in understanding that of the clan members in the Highlands.

³⁰ See Karl Polanyi Primitive and Modern Economics Anchor Books (Doubleday): New York, 1968. The Great Transformation, Boston: Beacon Press, 1957. (originally published in 1944)

³¹ Sir H.T. Maine Ancient Law: Its Connection with Early History of Society and Its Relations to Modern Ideas Dutton: New York, 1861 (revised 1960). The movement that Maine (1861) theorized from *status* to *contractus* was also noted in different terms by other theorists. William Sumner (1906) discussed the move towards contract in his work Folkways NY: Doubleday 1959. (The original in 1906 introduced a number of terms that we still use like ethnocentrism, mores, or even folkways.) Durkheim's (1893) distinction between 'mechanical solidarity' in traditional societies and 'organic solidarity' in modern society followed the same lines as did Ferdinand Tonnies' (1887) notions of *gemeinschaft-gesellschaft*. Ferdinand Tonnies Gemeinschaft und Gesellschaft (translated) Community and Society Routledge: London, 1887, 1955.) Max Weber (1922) seems to have been influenced by Tonnies (1887), adapting Tonnies terms in his own model of pre-rational and rationalized societies and the two types of relations which characterize them which he called *Vergemeinschaftung* and *Vergesellschaftung*. Max Weber The Theory of Social and Economic Organization NY: The Free Press 1947. (original German in 1922) p.136.

³² Karl Polanyi The Great Transformation Beacon Press: Boston 1957 (orig. 1944) p.34

beginning of what Polyani (1944) has called the 'great transformation'. The Clearances in Highland Scotland a few hundred years later and the more modern relocations like the one in Black Point are manifestations of the same process.

In the 16th century in England, 150 years before the Industrial Revolution and 200 years before the changes in land-holding patterns in the Highlands, the Enclosure Movement resulted in the transformation of the English commons into private property. The fields and commons that many people had always used for their subsistence was turned into improved pasture land that profited only one person--the landlord. Thousands of people were displaced. Many relocated later to the cities where they were needed for jobs in the mills.³³ Domination of one group of people by another more powerful was nothing new. As Marx and Weber have pointed out, each in his own ways, the history of human society has been filled with exactly this kind of conflict. Wells (1920) reported that when:³⁴

Jengis Khan first invaded China, we are told that there was a serious discussion among the Mongul chiefs whether all the towns and settled populations should not be destroyed. To these simple practitioners of the open air life the settled populations seemed corrupt, crowded, vicious, effeminate, dangerous, and incomprehensible: a detestable human efflorescence upon what would otherwise have been good pasture. They had no use whatever for the towns. The early Franks and the Anglo-Saxon conquerors of South Britain seem to have had much the same feeling towards townsmen.

The Enclosures were different. This may not have been the first time that dislocations of the population were carried out in the spirit of 'improvement'. This was, however, the first time that private self-interest was entirely justified by the 'rational and scientific' principles of public improvement and progress. The Enclosures, Polyani (1968) noted, were 'the rich mans desire for public improvement' that would 'profit him privately'.³⁵ It was the very first time in history, as Daly and Cobb (1989) suggested that:³⁶

³³ The mechanical revolution in England pre-dated the industrial.

³⁴ H.G. Wells *The Mongol Empires of the Land Ways* in The Outline of History Vol. 2. Garden City Books: New York. 1920. p.575.

³⁵ Op. cit. Polyani 1957 p.35.

Enclosures have appropriately been called a revolution of the rich against the poor. The lords and nobles were upsetting the social order, breaking down ancient law and custom, sometimes by means of violence, often by pressure and intimidation. They were literally robbing the poor of their share in the common, tearing down the houses which, by the hithero unbreakable force of custom, the poor had long regarded as theirs', and their heirs'. The fabric of society was being disrupted; desolate villages and

Land was abstracted from the totality of the natural world and treated as an exchangeable commodity. Work time or labor was abstracted out of life and treated as a commodity to be valued and exchanged according to supply and demand. Capital was abstracted out of the social inheritance, no longer to be treated as collective patrimony or heirloom, but as an exchangeable source of unearned income to individuals

English Hegemony

For many hundreds of years England struggled to control Gaelic Scotland, but the final defeat of the Jacobite forces in April, 1746 firmly established English hegemony.³⁷ The concept of 'hegemony', as loosely formulated by the Italian Marxist, Gramsci, is a particularly useful one here because it has to do with the power that one group establishes over others: how one group maintains its dominance by 'engineering the consensus' of the others through its control of social and cultural institutions: how the knots of relationship are tied together to create nets that support the dominance of one particular group by holding others in their place.³⁸

the ruins of human dwellings testified to the fierceness with which the revolution raged, endangering the defenses of the country, wasting its towns, decimating its population, turning its overburdened soil into dust, harassing its people and turning them from decent husbandmen into a mob of beggars and thieves.....

³⁶ Herman E. Daly & John B. Cobb For the Common Good Beacon Press: Boston, 1989 p.61.

³⁷ Various authors have different opinions as to the extent of English domination on the life and manners of the Highlands. Samuel Johnson (1773) argued that 'their was never a change of manners so quick' as there was in the Highlands after the English established military and political control. T.C. Smout (1969) and J.M. Bumstead (1982) have generally agreed with him. See Smout's A history of the Scottish People 1560-1830. London: Collins, 1969. pp.332-360. Also Bumstead's The People's Clearance: 1770-1815. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1982. Others like James Hunter (1976) and Rosemary Ommar (1986) suggested that the Highland people accommodated to the changes but basically maintained many aspects of their traditional way of life whether they stayed in the highlands or emigrated to the New World. See Hunter's The Making of the Crofting Community. Edinburgh: John Donald Publishers, 1979. Or Ommar's 'Primitive Accumulation and the Scottish Clann in the Old World and the New' Journal of Historical Geography Vol. 11, 1986

³⁸ See Antonio Gramsci Selections from Prison Notebooks London: New Left Books, 1971. Antonio Gramsci The Modern Prince and other writings New York: International Publishers, 1957. In an essay called *What is Man?* (1957) Gramsci credited Lenin with inventing the notion of hegemony. He remarked that the 'theory and elaboration of hegemony by Lenin was...a great 'metaphysical' event. (p. 81) Their concern, as Marxists, was not only with explicating the ways in which the dominant society established control but in discussing the ways in which the proletariat as a group could establish control. Gramsci believed that the

The victory of the English at Culloden was more than a military and political victory, because the clan chiefs who supported England were given 'legal title' to the traditional clan lands. With this simple change in land-holding patterns the whole fabric of Highland society began to unravel. Under pressure from the feudal state system the communitarian clan system had become more and more stratified in the Middle Ages. It still maintained its basic shape, however, which was tribal.³⁹

The Clan Chiefs, referred to in the Feudal mode as the 'Lairds', had the most authority but they remained obligated to their fellows. During the Feudal period, the Clan Chiefs began to travel and sometimes lived far away from their kinsmen and the clan land that supported them. There was still, however, a strong sense of social equality and a mutuality of affection. The chief and his clansmen were both recognized as belonging to the same family.⁴⁰

'Next in dignity to the Laird is the Tacksman', reported Johnson (1773)⁴¹ The tacksmen were the landed gentry, the *daoine uaisle*, of the clan system. Originally they were the closest kinsmen of the chief, who held customary rights and the authority in terms of the daily management of the clan land. In the 17th century these customary rights were formalized into written leases or 'tacks'. The tacksmen leased or paid the chief for the privilege of using large portions of the

process of establishing an alternative ideology or hegemony would ultimately be liberating. In *The study of Philosophy and of Historical Materialism*, Gramsci (1957) noted: (p.67) Critical understanding of oneself, therefore, comes through the struggle of political 'hegemonies' of opposing directions, first in the field of ethics, then of politics culminating in a higher elaboration of one's own conception of reality. The awareness of being part of a determined hegemonic force (i.e. political consciousness) is the first step towards a further and progressive self-consciousness in which theory and practice finally unite....The political development of the concept of hegemony represents a great step forward in philosophy as well as in practical politics, because it involves and presupposes an intellectual unity and an ethic conforming to a conception of reality which has surpassed common sense and, even though still within restricted limits has become critical.

In an essay called *The Modern Prince* Gramsci also distinguished between various forms of hegemony operating within the same state, i.e. political and civil. He also noted that often the dominant groups in the social order will make certain concessions in order to maintain control over subordinate groups. (p. 154,55)

The fact of hegemony undoubtedly presupposes that the interests and strivings of the groups over which the hegemony will be exercised are taken into account of, that a certain balance of compromises be formed, that, in other words, the leading group makes some sacrifices of an economic-corporative kind; but it is also undoubted that these sacrifices and compromises cannot concern essentials, since if the hegemony is ethico-political, it must also be economic, it must have its foundation in the decisive function that the leading group exercises in the decisive sphere of economic activity.

³⁹ Op. cit Smout, 1969 p.334

⁴⁰ Op cit. Samuel Johnson, 1773 p.80

⁴¹ Ibid. p.78.

clan lands. These *tacks*', said Johnson (1773), 'were long considered as hereditary, and the occupant was distinguished by the name of the place at which he resided.'⁴² In turn the tacksmen 'leased' out smaller portions (wadsets) to the majority of clansmen who eventually became known as 'tenants'; they in turn leased portions to the sub-tenants and cotters who eventually had to resort to wage labour to sustain themselves and their families.⁴³

The communal land holding system of the clans was able to adapt to the Feudal system because the land was still seen as belonging to the clan as a whole. A particular clansman's right to use these lands was still established by occupation, by marriage or heredity. The lands were still worked collectively, although it was a joint farming arrangement in which the tenants were the workers and the tacksmen the managers. Throughout the whole system the ties of family and community loyalty remained strong.

But with the rise of early capitalism, the clan chiefs, Johnson (1773) noted, 'gradually degenerate(d) from patriarchal rulers to rapacious landlords.'⁴⁴ The chiefs of the clan territory became lords and masters of their own large estates. The clan land became their 'property', a commodity that could be bought or sold or 'improved' in whatever manner they saw fit to profit them and to serve their individual interests. The land simply became one of their individual possessions.⁴⁵ And profit had become more important than kin.

As Marx (1973) pointed out the right of their fellows as 'hereditary possessors', their *dutchus* right, was totally ignored.⁴⁶ Although it was historically well recognized, this right was never formally written out in contract form. It was only a few generations before the traditional rights and also the associated responsibilities that went with them were totally lost.

In 1816, Roderick MacNeil, clan chief from Barra wrote regretfully of the emigration of some of the members of his clan:⁴⁷

Reports have come to me of late of a spirit of emigration from your parish...It is no doubt disturbing to my feeling that the people to whom I

⁴² Ibid.

⁴³ Ibid. pp. 77-81. See also Charles Withers Gaelic Scotland: the transformation of a culture region. Routledge: London, 1988.

⁴⁴ Op.cit. Samuel Johnson, 1773 p 81

⁴⁵ In modern jargon the privatization of a common-property resource.

⁴⁶ The *dutchus* right was the right of ancient possession.

⁴⁷ J.L. Campbell (ed.) The Book of Barra London: 1936. pp. 156-188. Cited in Ommer, 1986, p. 131.

am so much attached should leave me, but if it was for their good, I should regret less....if I can be of use to these people, whether my business requires it or not, I will not hesitate to go.

In 1825, only nine years later, his son, the last chief from Barra, Colonel Roderick MacNeil, wrote of his intention to 'clear' the clan lands:⁴⁸

So help me God, they shall go; at all events off my property- man, woman, and child.....I shall now look to my own interests without any further regard to obsolete prejudices.....They are of little or no importance to me.

Colonel MacNeil believed in the English notion of property. The land belonged to him to use, as Locke pointed out, for his own profit and interest. His responsibilities to his kinsmen and their rights to the land were simply perceived by him to be, as he said, 'obsolete prejudices'. From the English perspective his clansmen were simply 'squatters' who stood in the way of progress and 'improvement'.

By the 18th century the clan chiefs were almost all educated in England and so the English discourse and the social forms that it reflected made sense to them.⁴⁹ It also served their interests. The lower layers of Highland society, the tacksmen, wadsetters, cotters, sub-cotters, and later the crofters, resisted these changes, for these were the groups that were displaced. These were also the groups that emigrated to Nova Scotia.

Emigration And Settlement In Nova Scotia

The state system in Nova Scotia was also based on the English model, though. The English notion of 'property' was basic to it. According to John Locke (1690) property was the very basis of civil society: 'the chief end, whereof, he said, is the preservation of Property...that is, his Life, Liberty and Estate.'⁵⁰ His inclusion of life and liberty in his definition of 'property' may have had less to do

⁴⁸ Ibid.

⁴⁹ During the late middle ages the children of the clan chiefs were educated primarily in France not England as Nancy Dorian (1980) pointed out. At first it was the French language, not the English, that threatened to replace Gaelic as the language of the Highlands. See Dorian's *Language Death- The Life Cycle of a Scottish Gaelic Dialect* Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1981.

⁵⁰ John Locke *Two Treatises of Government* (ed. by Peter Laslett) Cambridge University Press: Cambridge, 1963. (orig. 1690) p.341

with the broadness of his conception of 'property' than with the narrowness of his ideas about life and liberty. For Locke, life and liberty themselves were commodities that could be bought and sold and he used this assumption to justify the relationship between master and slave.

Locke's ideas had little to do with the perspectives of either the Highland settlers who were emigrating to Cape Breton or the aboriginal people who were here before they came. This created certain tensions from the beginning.⁵¹ In the mid-19th century the Surveyor General in Cape Breton complained that more than 50% of the Highland settlers were 'squatters'. They simply occupied any unused land they could find, he said.⁵²

The settlement of Cape Breton by the European emigrants, dislocated hundreds of native people who lived there at the time.⁵³ The Highland settlers also had a very different perspective from that of the aboriginal people who lived here. The native Mi'kmaq people's semi-nomadic way of life depended on the existence of large areas of unimproved land for hunting and gathering and of smaller community commons for summer cultivation when their family groups came together to live in summer villages.⁵⁴ The natives historical 'rights' to their tribal lands were ignored by the Highland settlers. And as white Europeans, they seem to have been more favored in the New World social order than the aboriginal people that they were displacing.⁵⁵

⁵¹ Op. cit. Ommer (1986)

⁵² Stephen J. Hornsby Nineteenth-Century Cape Breton McGill-Queens' University Press: Montreal, 1992. p.54

⁵³ For the most part the aboriginal presence seems to have been ignored in official documents like the Dominion Census. In accounts of the area the native people are only mentioned in an offhand way. Certainly they are not listed in the Dominion Census as the occupants of all of the land they lived on, used and also needed to sustain themselves. In 1860, for instance there were still settlements of native people in Northern Cape Breton. See A.A. Johnston A History of the Catholic Church in Eastern N.S. Vol 2 Antigonish: St. F. of X. Press, 1971. (Parishes 1860) Chapter 14. p.356. There is a description of a sudden winter journey made by a Father Donald in 1860 from Ingonish to Cape North. He enlisted a MicMac guide in Ingonish so there must have been a group of Native people settled there at the time and then after a days journey they come upon another settlement and he gets a 2nd guide to accompany them.

After dark they came upon an Indian camp where they spent the night. Early the next morning they set off again with another Mic mac guide. The second day's experience was even worse than the first, and the two guides gave out- fell by the way utterly exhausted. Father Donald proceeded alone and reached the sick bed just in time to administer the sacraments to the longing patient.

⁵⁴ Harold Franklin McGee The MicMac Indians: The Earliest Migrants in Douglas Campbell Banked Fires- The Ethnics of N.S. 1974 pp. 15-35

⁵⁵ For instance, in searching titles at the Registry of Deeds office of Victoria County in Baddeck, I found deeds recorded in the 19th century, which were based not on grants, mortgages, or sale but as 'Indian lands'. It seems as if the encroachment of Aboriginal land by

Both these groups, though, were the subjects of an English colonial government that was attempting to re-define and enclose what had once been commons. The earth became taxable property marked out with fences and survey markers. The settlement of Cape Breton by the European emigrants ultimately meant the 'enclosure' of the island, a process of restriction of access and privatization of the land.

The land granting policies of the colonial office in London consistently favored Loyalists⁵⁶ or those with English connections because they were trying to establish English dominance in Nova Scotia. Until 1817, no other groups could obtain land grants in Cape Breton.⁵⁷ From 1817 to 1827, the British government made the terms of freehold land grants easier because they wanted to encourage emigration. During this time other groups were allowed to purchase land, but, in 1827, just as the Highland Scottish emigration was the heaviest, regulations tightened again. The price of crown land increased and most emigrants were unable or unwilling to spend the money involved to legally purchase their holdings.⁵⁸

The Nova Scotia government faced a serious loss of revenue, though, because so many of its citizens were 'squatters' who failed to pay land tax. The interests of the provincial government began to conflict with those of the 'Crown'. In 1840, when the provincial legislature tried to reduce the price of

white Europeans was recognized as an established 'right' of that group. This is corroborated by L.F.S. Upton *Indian Policy in Colonial Nova Scotia 1783-1871* Acadiensis (1986) p.14, 15. He noted:

The Mi'kmaq had always done some farming, but their farms were seasonal clearings with no one in year-round occupation. Land thus cleared was more attractive to whites who moved in while the band was out hunting. One chief told Walter Bromley that his father had cleared two hundred acres of land in various parts of the province as the whites discovered his clearings one by one. Indians who farmed in their customary locations outside reserves found that there was no obstacle to whites gaining legal title and forcing them to move on. (Petition of March 2 1829, Indian MSS, Vol. 430, Doc. 168.) With no hope of resisting the acquisitive whites, it is little wonder that many Indians agreed to sell the lands that they occupied for whatever they could get. If simple possession or purchase failed, there were other ways of expelling unwanted Indians: in a contest over river frontage, for example, basic white tactic was to net all the fish at the mouth of the river so that the fishermen upstream got none. The Indian response to these harassments was almost inevitably to move to a less desirable location, without offering any resistance beyond a petition to the government drawn by a local sympathizer. When the government did try to evict (white) squatters (on Indian land) it found that it could only bluster, for it had neither the money for the necessary court actions nor the force to remove undesirables.

⁵⁶ Loyalists were emigrants from the United States who remained loyal to the Crown during the 1776 Revolution there. Many moved to Canada after England's defeat.

⁵⁷ Op. cit. Hornsby, 1992, pp. 51-57, 125-128.

⁵⁸ Ibid.

crown land so that settlers could afford to purchase their holdings, the Colonial office in London, refused to allow it.⁵⁹

In 1851, however, the Nova Scotia Legislature finally established control of its own provincial policies. This was the beginning of the state's attempt to legalize and formalize all land holdings in the province. The so called 'squatters', whether European or aboriginal, were encouraged to get grants to the land that they were living on. By 1859, all of the occupied holdings on Cape Breton were in the process of being surveyed. Settlers were charged an extremely low rate and asked to pay for their property within the year. The easy terms of the government's land grant policy of the late 1850's meant that many settlers were able to formally obtain title to their holdings. But many never paid the amounts that they owed. Even in 1860, approximately half of the settled land in Nova Scotia was still occupied by 'squatters' according to the Committee on Crown Property.⁶⁰

The colonial government and later the provincial government controlled and shaped the land-holding patterns not only by setting down laws but also by formulating a certain discourse that supported and justified the whole process. The settlers paid little attention to either and simply continued to settle on whatever land they could. Their history in the Highlands must have supported their willingness and sense of 'right' to occupy land without title, but it also may have fueled their fear that without somehow obtaining 'legal title' this 'right' might not be respected. Most of the Highland settlers were destitute when they emigrated, though. Their circumstances at the time left them little choice but to occupy whatever land they could to sustain themselves and their families. Through most of the latter half of the 19th century the government attempted to legalize and formalize the settlers' informal claims to the land by convincing them that they were in fact doing something illegal. As 'squatters' they had no protection under this law, so it was in their interests to conform to state policy.

This whole process had less to do with the interests of the people living in Cape Breton than with the groups of people who were trying to impose a certain kind of political and social order. The colonial government attempted to exclude the Highland emigrants.⁶¹ The Provincial government tried to include them as tax-

⁵⁹ Ibid. The discussion in the next two paragraphs is based primarily on material in Hornsby's (1992) history, pp. 51-57, 125-128.

⁶⁰ Ibid. p.126.

⁶¹ Op. cit. Hornsby, 1992, pp 51-57, 125-128.

payers and land owners. And the natives were excluded by both. It seems to me that the fact that Aboriginal land was not subject to taxes was as important as the reality of racism in favoring the Highland settlers in land disputes.

The Highland settlers continued to resist the government's legalities, though. The land laws may have offered a certain kind of protection, but the settlers failed to comply with them. Despite the increasingly easy terms of the government grants, even in 1880, over half of the families on the island still occupied land that they never fully purchased or obtained title to. Finally, in 1880, the government assured compliance by surveying all of the occupied holdings on the Island and legalizing the squatters' claims. These settlers were supposed to pay a certain sum within the year, but many of them still couldn't or wouldn't pay.⁶²

Their land, however, was enclosed forever— and so were they. The earth itself was, now, just so many little pieces of taxable property, and the settlers, property owners and rate-payers. They were now assured of their places on the inside of the system that was bounded by the links and chains of the crown surveyors' marks. The native aboriginal population and their particular patterns of using this ground had very little to do with the whole process. Nor did the deer, the moose, the bear or any of the other creatures who depended on the land. It began to serve the Highland settlers' interests to accept and actively maintain the state system—as it had served the interests of the clan chiefs in Scotland, a few hundred years before, to support the English system.⁶³

Settlement in rural Cape Breton was ultimately a differentiating process shaped as it was by a political, social and economic framework that was colonial, English and capitalist. The government's land policies favored and legitimated the ownership of large tracts of the best lands by the first few families that settled Cape Breton. In 1774, there were no European settlers in Victoria County, according to a Census conducted by the governor of Cape Breton.⁶⁴ In the next

⁶² The price of granted land was again decreased to only 20 cents an acre; at first the residency requirement was 15 years but then it was reduced to only two years.

⁶³ For a time, though, many of the Highland emigrants organized their lives and their communities along different lines. They simply used the land. We might say that they resisted the system but this 'resistance' seems to have been for the most part unconscious. They simply continued to try to maintain their traditional way of life despite the larger and more dominant society. But they were ultimately vulnerable to it and so this 'resistance' could only faded as they themselves were forced or cajoled into becoming part of the process.

⁶⁴ George Patterson *History of Victoria County 1885* (New edition edited by W. James MacDonald) republished Sydney: College of Cape Breton Press, 1978. p.40.

50 years, though, the first emigrants were able to achieve control over the best land in the southern part of the county; this land was rich and fertile and usually close to the shore and to transportation routes to markets. These claims disadvantaged later settlers who either had to work on backland plots or to go into debt to buy land that had already been partially cleared. As Bitterman(1988) suggested in his study of Middle River, a small farming community in Southern Victoria County, there was disparity in rural Cape Breton's communities from the very beginning.

Conditions in Northern Cape Breton, however, were a bit different. Northern Cape Breton was settled later than the southern part of the island. The first Highland emigrants settled in the district of Bay St. Lawrence between 1817 and 1823.⁶⁵ In 1842, there were about 33 families settled in the district.⁶⁶ In 1861, the Bay St. Lawrence district was the smallest in all of Victoria County. but there were already 55 families living in the area with a total population of 353.⁶⁷

The MacKinnon family came to the area after the first few waves of European emigration were over and the best land in the area had been settled.⁶⁸ In order to get reasonable farmland, the MacKinnon family had to buy it.⁶⁹ According to the Registry of Deeds the original grantees in Black Point were

⁶⁵ Campbell & MacLean Beyond the Atlantic Roar. Toronto: McClelland & Stewart, 1974. p.71

⁶⁶ These householders signed an Assembly Petition requesting aid because of the destruction of their crops by mice. The man's name usually represented the household. PANS JPHANS: Assembly Petitions: Agriculture, 1842. Appendix to the Assembly Journals, p.125, #47.

⁶⁷ According to Census data there were 59 families living in the district in 1871 and 80 families living there in 1881.

⁶⁸ The first settlers in the Bay St. Lawrence district were Irish and English, not Scottish, according to both Patterson (1885) and Rev. D. MacDonald in his Cape North and Vicinity: Pioneer Families History and Chronicles. Sydney: 1933. The earliest census data of the area in 1861 bear this out. These families, the Kanaries, Powers, Kavanaughs, Browns, Youngs, Capsticks and Burtons, were also among the most well-to-do in the area. This also makes sense in light of the early Census data. See C. Bruce Fergusson, Provincial Archivist, ed. Uniake's Sketches of Cape Breton 1958, Introduction, pp. 28,30,32. According to the Census of Nova Scotia in 1765, there were 707 European settlers on Cape Breton: 271 Acadians, 170 Americans, 169 Irish, 70 English, 21 Germans and other foreigners and only 6 Scots. In 1774, the population had risen to 1012 settlers and 230 Native people. Americans, Scots, and English were lumped together as English and numbered 304 but it is apparent from the previous data that the bulk of these were not Scots. Irish numbered 206, and Acadians 502. After 1800, however, the bulk of the emigrants were Scottish although there are records of almost 1000 Irish and a smaller number of English arriving as well. By 1871, though according to the Census of Canada 1870-71, most of the settlers in Cape Breton were Scottish. In fact, in Victoria and Inverness counties they made up 75% of the population. The rest of the population were Acadian, English Loyalist and Irish— many from Newfoundland.

⁶⁹ Victoria County Registry of Deeds, Book C, p. 93 & Book D, p.110.

Thomas Kavanagh in 1857 and Pierce Power in 1858.⁷⁰ The Allan MacEachern family also lived in Black Point around this time and they were enumerated in the 1861 Census; but there was no record of their property recorded in the County Deed's office.⁷¹

I found the first record of the MacKinnon family's presence in the area in the Registry of Deeds office.⁷² Archibald MacKinnon bought 125 acres of land in Black Point on May 3, 1867⁷³ from Thomas Kavanagh for \$240.⁷⁴ This was quite a large sum considering that fact that only a few years before settlers were able to take out grants for only 1s. 9d an acre. The property had been settled and worked by the Kavanaghs and so it must have included a house and a barn. This kind of expense, though, would have been a huge burden in a cash scarce economy. In 1868, Archibald signed a mortgage, payable to Thomas Kavanagh, for half the amount.⁷⁵

Marcella Mac Eachern, Big Allan MacEachern's first wife, was originally a MacKinnon, and she is enumerated in the 1861 Census as a member of the MacEachern family.⁷⁶ The MacKinnon family, however, were neither included in the Poll Books for Victoria County in 1859 nor in a district list of registered voters on May 12, 1859. Nor were they enumerated in the 1861 Census of the district. They must have come to the district soon after this, though. In the 1871 Census, one of the MacKinnon sons, Archibald, age 30, was enumerated along with his wife, Ann Fraser, who grew up in the district, and his children. In 1871, they had a

⁷⁰ Both these men probably lived in the community earlier but took advantage of the easy terms of the land grants in the late 1850's to register their holdings.

⁷¹ According to an interview with Sandy Simon MacKinnon (1987), Marcella MacEachern, Allen's wife, was originally a MacKinnon, one of the children of the MacKinnon family that eventually made the community their own. Until his death in 1995, Sandy Simon was well known for his knowledge of genealogy and family history. See Appendix A: Genealogy Charts

⁷² I haven't yet located any other written record of the family in Cape Breton or the Highlands before this date. I will, however, use other evidence in an attempt to trace the origins of this particular family.

⁷³ This was exactly 100 years before the implementation of the relocation project in 1967, which led to the final closure of the community.

⁷⁴ Victoria County Registry of Deeds, Book F, pp. 62, 135. See Appendix B: Land Charts and Maps.

⁷⁵ According to the Victoria County Registry of Deeds, Book F, pp. 62, 135, in 1897 Archibald was also able to obtain a crown grant to a holding in the Backlands, an area behind Black Point. This land was less desirable in terms of farming, although his grandson, Archie Peter, did farm it a generation later.

⁷⁶ Interview with Sandy Simon MacKinnon, 1987.

daughter who was already nine.⁷⁷ It seems to me, then, that these MacKinnons probably moved to the district shortly after the 1861 enumeration was completed and a few years after their sister married.

Archibald's younger brother, Alexander, age 20, was also enumerated along with his wife and two infants. A widow, Ann MacKinnon, age 55, was also listed as a member of the younger brother's household.⁷⁸ According to Sandy Simon MacKinnon, an older brother Donald, drowned before the brothers moved to the Bay district.⁷⁹

Archibald may have been somewhat disadvantaged in terms of the earlier settlers in the district, but in terms of his own family, as the elder brother, he may have been formal heir to most of the family's resources. At any rate he was able to purchase the Kavanagh farm in Black Point. For many years Alexander occupied unimproved land that he didn't legally own. It wasn't until 1880, when the government once again attempted to encourage 'squatters' to formalize their holdings that the land in Black Point was legally granted to him in the Registry of Deeds office.⁸⁰

The Census Of 1871

The information collected by the government agencies often reflects the categories of thought of the people and the state which frame them but it also seems to me that this information may give some sense of the area, of the MacKinnon family and of their place in the community. The data in the Census of 1871 was fairly detailed and extensive.

⁷⁷ Census of 1871. The MacKinnon family may have lived for a time somewhere in the backlands between Meat Cove and Red River since many of Ann Fraser's relations lived in that area.

⁷⁸ I thought that this might be the mother in the family but family history refutes this. Ann MacKinnon may have been an aunt who was part of the extended family. A few years later, in 1881, Ann is listed as a member of the elder brother, Archibald's, household. In 1871, Catherine, Alexander's wife, had a baby that was only a few months old and it may be that Ann MacKinnon had moved in with them to help out.

⁷⁹ Although most people in the family agree that Archibald and Alexander were brothers, a few people question the full sibling relationship for some reason that is not entirely clear to me. Archibald was 10 years older than Alexander, who would have been only a child when the family first moved to the area.

⁸⁰ These grants most likely reflected the land that Alexander and his family had been living on, because eligibility for Crown grants was attached to a residency requirement.

In 1871 approximately 80% of the settlers in the Bay district were either Irish or Scottish. Like the MacKinnon's most of these were Highland Scots.⁸¹

Table 1-- Ethnic and Religious Background of the Households in the Bay District (1871)⁸²

Out of 59 Households

Scots----65%	English---20%	Irish-----14%	Dutch----1%
Catholic----27	Catholic----6	Catholic---8	Catholic---0
Protestant--11	Protestant--6	Protestant-0	Protestant-1
Scots-----T=38	English----T=12	Irish-----T=8	Dutch-----T=1

The language and the family traditions of most of the families in the district at this time were Gaelic, not English. Ommar suggested that Despite the state system, the Highland emigrants in Cape Breton re-wove in their new communities the patterns of relationships that reflected the fabric of their lives in the Highlands. These traditional patterns were:⁸³

based on communal holding, ideals expressed through marriage, kinship and land tenure practices....(These) survived in the New World....preserved for practical reasons of efficiency and cohesion in a harsh pioneer environment where communal effort was often necessary for survival.

Ommar's thesis is supported by the 1871 Census data, archival records, interviews with members of the Bay district, and participant observation. In 1871, though, half of the settlers hadn't yet acquired legal title to the land they were living on, almost every family in the district was listed in the census as being the owner of the lands they occupied.⁸⁴ At this time, both of the MacKinnon brothers perceived themselves and were recognized by others to be the 'owners' of the

⁸¹ Dominion Census of 1871. The information in Tables 1-10 which follow were taken from information that was contained in the 1871 Census. This data was probably a few years old by the time that it was compiled and printed.

⁸² Dominion Census of 1871.

⁸³ Op. cit. Rosemary Ommar, 1986.

⁸⁴ The census category was 'owner, tenant or employee. One family was renting a previously occupied farm. Most likely they were establishing themselves in the community. Four families lived in the village on 'lots' of land and worked for the merchants as 'employees' or tenant farmers. But these families were the exception rather than the rule in a district where almost everyone was engaged in subsistence farming on large holdings of land that they settled and worked themselves.

lands they occupied, although only Archibald, the older MacKinnon brother, held legal title to his land.

Table 2--Land Ownership in the Bay District (1871)⁸⁵

Occupied Acreage/Owners	50 [49 owned house & barn]
Occupied Acreage/Tenants	10
Occupied Village Lot	6 [2 as Owners/4 as Tenant]
Insufficient Data	2 ⁸⁶

Highland Patterns: Sharing The Tools And The Work

Although Alexander, the younger brother, didn't legally have title to his land in 1871, he did own the tools that were absolutely necessary to farm. Archibald didn't formally own any of these.

Table 3--Comparison of MacKinnon Brothers' Households (1871)⁸⁷

Farm	Acres	Occupied	Improved	Pasture	House	Barn
Alex	125	125	10	5 acres	1	1
Arch.	125	125	10	5 acres	1	1

Farm	Horse	Ox	Nets*	Plow	Sled	Wagons	Boats
Alex	0	1	23	1	1	0	0
Archie	0	0	0	0	0	0	0

*Nets in Fathoms

It seems likely from these data that the MacKinnon brothers must have continued the Highland patterns of joint farming. Neither brother owns a horse and there was only one ox listed between them. A work animal was absolutely

⁸⁵ Dominion Census of 1871. Also from that census:

Ownership of house and barns

No House--7

No Barn--9

Two Houses--3

Two Barns--3

⁸⁶ These men, Philip McRae and Isaiah Zwicker, were not listed as owning their own land or village lot. Nor were they listed as tenants or employees. These two men were each listed as owning a two-man boat. They were listed as fishermen who owned no stock. They could also read and write. A few years later the Zwicker family became merchants in the area.

⁸⁷ Dominion Census 1871

essential for subsistence and almost everyone in the district owned one. It was used in plowing, hauling logs, and pulling wagons or sleds.⁸⁸ There was only one plow, one sled and one set of nets between the two families.

The value of their farm and fishing efforts were roughly equivalent. Cooperative work was part of the tradition, and this evidence indicates that they worked cooperatively on certain tasks and then roughly divided up what they made. A comparison of the production of the MacKinnon families follows.

Table 4-- Comparison of the Household Production of the MacKinnon Brothers (1871)⁸⁹

Farm Animal Products (* Kept/Sold)

<u>Farm</u>	<u>Cattle*</u>	<u>Oxen</u>	<u>Sheep*</u>	<u>Pigs</u>	<u>Butter</u>	<u>Wool</u>	<u>Cloth</u>	<u>Seals</u>
Alex	2/2	1	6/2	2	0	12	25	14
Archie	2/2	0	5/2	2	120	10	26	13

Woods Production

<u>Lumber</u>	<u>Barrel Staves</u>	<u>Firewood</u>
Alex	2000	15 cords
Archie	2000	15 cords

Fishery Production (*Nets in Fathoms, Fish in Quintals, Oil in Gallons)⁹⁰

<u>Fishery</u>	<u>Nets*</u>	<u>Cod*</u>	<u>Herring</u>	<u>Mackeral</u>	<u>Halibut</u>	<u>Oil*</u>
Alex	23	20	2	2	1	15
Archie	0	20	2	3	0	15

Farm Crop Production (* T=Tons **B= Bushels)

<u>Production</u>	<u>Barley</u>	<u>Oats</u>	<u>Hay*</u>	<u>Potatoes**</u>
Alex	8	0	3 Acres/2T	3 Acres/50B
Archie	8	40	3 Acres/2T	.75 Acre/40B

⁸⁸ Oxen were more commonly used in the beginning of settlement because they were readily available as the male offspring of the milk cows that almost every family in the community seemed to own. According to the Census of 1871 of the Bay St. Lawrence district, there were 59 families enumerated and 56 of them owned at least one cow.

⁸⁹ Dominion Census 1871

⁹⁰ 10 quintals to a ton. See Lotz and Lotz Cape Breton Island 1974. p.91.

There are some important differences in production, though. Archibald harvested 40 bushels of oats but Alexander produced none. This probably has to do with the fact that the elder brother's land was more suited to farming. Archibald's family also produced 120 pounds of butter and Alexander's produced none.

This may be related to the fact that butter making was considered to be 'women's work' and at the time Alexander and his wife, Catherine, had an infant only a few months old and another only two years old. Catherine, who died quite young according to church records, may have found it difficult to do all of the hard work required of women.

Interviews and descriptive accounts indicate, though, that there was a degree of redistribution going on in the district that was not measured in the census data or the merchants' account books. Kinship webs seemed to have functioned as a social safety net. Catherine's condition may be the reason Ann MacKinnon, Alexander's mother, was living with his family at the time. Ten years later, she is enumerated as part of Archibald's household. This kind of kinship support continued well into the twentieth century, and in an adapted form, continues even today.

S.L. MacKinnon, Archibald MacKinnon's grandson, said that he remembers his father, Peter, taking in different families for the winter if their houses were inadequate. In the Highlands people in the kinship group who were needy weren't considered to be charity cases. They were only *ag iarraidh a' chodach*', seeking or asking the portion that was due to them.⁹¹ In the Highlands, the fulfillment of basic needs was considered the right of everyone in the group. In the Black Point community, no one went hungry. A.D. MacKinnon said that, no matter how little money 'there was always plenty to eat.' Widows or families in some sort of distress were given buckets of salt fish and barrels of potatoes in the fall by family members that produced them. Usually a portion of a family's surplus food production was redistributed among family and friends who needed it.

⁹¹ James Hunter The Making of the Crofting Community. Edinburgh: John Donald Publishers, 1979.

Relative Disadvantage Of The MacKinnon Families Compared To Other Settlers In The Bay District

The lack of butter, though, was significant. At the time, 10,060 pounds of butter were produced in the Bay district by 58 households. On the average each family produced 173.4 pounds of butter. At the time, though, Archibald produced only 120 pounds and Alexander produced none. Most families in the district sold their butter, or rather, used it, along with products like fish, barrel staves, and seal skins, to get credit from the merchant for the supplies that they might need, such as, sugar, salt, molasses, tea, or flour.⁹² In 1871, there was only one other family in the community, who were primarily subsisting off of the products of the land and sea, who also didn't produce butter.⁹³ This family was a close neighbor to the Black Point MacKinnons and, ultimately, they became part of the same kinship network. They also lived on a rough piece of land and had a young infant and had no older girls in the family to help.⁹⁴

There was a certain disparity, then, in the Bay district from the beginning. Highland traditions may have led the settlers to cooperate, work together and share but ultimately production was measured and rewarded by the state system and by the merchant on an individual rather than a community or kinship basis

In terms of this system, the MacKinnon family and others in their kinship group were disadvantaged compared to some of the other settlers in the district. Much of this had to do with access to good land. According to the 1871 census,

⁹² For a discussion of the 'truck system' which was used by the merchants in the Bay St. Lawrence district see Gerald M. Sider Culture and class in anthropology and history Cambridge University Press: Cambridge, 1986. pp. 86-87. The merchant extended credit for goods but the settlers sold their farm and fishing produce to these merchants when they harvested them. Money rarely passed hands. The settlers were usually in a state of constant debt carried over from one year to the next.

⁹³ Five other families in a district of 59 families didn't produce butter. But their situations were a bit different. One of these was the merchant, and the four others were his employees or were wage labourers. Three of these lived on village lots.

⁹⁴ Both of these families produced cloth, another women's task. But milking and skimming and churning are much more physically exhausting than spinning and weaving. It seems to me that these families may have used the milk for food for themselves and for their stock. Milk was a major food source. Actually, only three settler families in the district didn't own cows, two of these being families who didn't own land and were employed in the fishery. This is because milk was one of the basic sources of nutrition in these communities. Often families subsisted on milk when there was nothing else to eat. As Rev. John Stewart wrote in his journal of the conditions in Cape Breton in the early years of settlement: 'I have seen dwellings where six or eight of a family lived for weeks on the milk of a cow without any other food. I have endeavored to afford the consolation of religion at a dying bed in a habitation here no food existed but what was supplied by neighbors who could ill spare it. (PANS, MG9, no. 31; "Journal of J. Stewart, commenced 25 July 1834.)

on the average each family in the district had 18 acres of improved land, of which nine acres were pasture.⁹⁵ The MacKinnon families, however, had only 10 acres each of improved land and only five acres in pasture. This would have definitely handicapped them in terms of production. In 1871, 3976 bushels of potatoes were harvested in the district, an average of 67 bushels per family. At this time, Archibald MacKinnon grew 40 bushels. Alexander MacKinnon grew 50 bushels. In terms of hay, 265 tons of hay were made in the district, an average of 4.5 tons per family. Each of the MacKinnon brothers were able to put up 2 tons of hay. Total oat production in the community was 1506 bushels, so that family harvested on the average 26 bushels. Alexander produced no oats, but Archibald produced 40 bushels.

Table 5-- Participation in the Fishery in the Bay (1871)⁹⁶

<u>Families</u>	<u>Fishing</u>	<u>Nets</u>	<u>1-Man</u>	<u>2-Man</u>	<u>2-4 Man</u>	<u>Wages</u>
3	yes	yes	no	no	several	no
14	yes	yes	yes	yes	no	no
14	yes	yes	no	yes	no	no
5	yes	yes	yes	no	no	no
10	yes	yes	no	no	no	no
4	yes	no	no	no	no	no
3	wages	-	-	-	-	-
5	none	-	-	-	-	-

In 1871, almost all of the households in the district were engaged in the fishery.⁹⁷ See Table 6--Boat Ownership of Households in the Bay District (1871).

⁹⁵ This is not including the residents, who live on village lots.

⁹⁶ This chart does not include the merchants. According to the census data, the two merchants have 12 boats, 64 shares/48 Tons in Sailing Vessels. They have 2000 Fathoms of Nets, five Stores and two Houses.

⁹⁷ The calculations in the following table include all of the settlers, however, even those who weren't engaged in the fishery.

Table 6--Boat Ownership of Households in the Bay District (1871)

Percentage of 58 Households

67% = owned their own boats.

53% = owned at least one large boat crew of at least two

29% = owned more than one boat

5% = owned several boats that took crews of four to six men.

At this time, both of the MacKinnon families had relatively less access to the fisheries than did others in the district. Both of the brothers fished, but neither of them owned his own boat. This meant that they probably had to fish as crew with a neighbour or relation.⁹⁸

The MacKinnon brothers also had less gear on the average than other families in the district. Archibald owned no nets or boat. Alexander owned only 23 fathoms of nets at a time when the average in the community was 34.⁹⁹ The fact that the MacKinnons had no boats and less gear than other households in the district meant that their production was lower. Excluding the merchant's operation, each fishing family produced an average of 3.5 quintals of herring and four quintals of mackerel.¹⁰⁰ At this time Alexander produced two quintals herring and two of mackerel and Archibald produced two of herring and three of mackerel. On the average, each fishing family produced 28 quintals of cod. Each of the MacKinnon families produced only 20.¹⁰¹ In 1871, a total of 954 gallons of fish oil was rendered in the district for an average of 16.5 gallons per family. The MacKinnon brothers each produced 15 gallons of fish oil.

⁹⁸ Both of the MacKinnon brothers' in-laws have boats and they may have gone out with them.

⁹⁹ These calculations do not include the merchant who owned 2000 fathoms of nets. Nor do they include the three families who worked as crew fishermen for wages, nor the five families who didn't fish- these families were one very old couple, two widows, one farmer, one day (farm) labourer. The farmer who doesn't fish nor have anyone in his household engaged in the fishery was the oddity.

¹⁰⁰ The settlers in the district excluding the merchant produced an average of 179 and 202 quintals of herring and mackerel.

¹⁰¹ Nets are necessary for herring, salmon, and mackerel, but cod and halibut are hook and line fisheries. Very little halibut was caught in the community but most of the settlers, at this time, fished cod.

Although the MacKinnon family's production seemed to have been lower than the district average in all respects in 1871 there were other households in the same position.¹⁰² At this time, for instance, more than 50% of the settlers produced 120 pounds of butter or less, which was well below the arithmetic average production of butter:

Table 7-- Production of Butter in the Bay District (1871)

Pounds of Butter Produced by the number of households in the district.

<u>lbs</u>	0	60	120	140	180	200	240	280	300	360	400	480	500	600
<u>#</u>	6	12	12	1	10	3	3	1	1	3	1	1	3	1

Total Butter Production 10, 060 lbs x 58 Total Households
Average production per household = 173.4 lbs.

Stratification In The Bay District

In 1871, there were definite economic differences among people in the Bay district. There was a huge gulf between the merchant and the rest of the settlers. All of the settlers, were dependent on him to some extent. Two of the families lived and worked on his land, not their own, as his 'employees'. They were most likely paid in shares of the crops that they produced. The merchant and these two families who were entirely dependent on him had a different relation to the land than most of the other people living in the community.

The two merchants were English. They owned a great deal of property in terms of capital investments in buildings, boats, sailing vessels, fishing equipment and land.¹⁰³ They had to hire people, mostly the young men in the community, to fish for them at low enough wages so that they could cover their investment and still make a profit on the fish that were caught.

They made a profit on the goods they sold to the settlers and at the same time on the produce that they bought from the settlers.¹⁰⁴ By extending the settlers credit in the winter months in terms of goods that were advanced, the merchants took a certain risk. But because all of the settlers were dependent on

¹⁰² Arithmetic averaging is useful but I think that it can blur some of the economic patterns.

¹⁰³ At this time, these two merchants lived in the same household, according to the 1871 Census but their relation to each other was unclear.

¹⁰⁴ Highland Museum at Cape North. Merchant's Ledgers.

them for manufactured goods, the merchants ultimately ended up gaining more than they lost, and often they could adjust the prices to increase the margin of profit.¹⁰⁵ The difference between the merchants and almost everyone else was probably the most profound, because the quality of their lives¹⁰⁶ was essentially different from almost everyone else's.

This is not to say, though, that in 1871 there weren't definite economic differences among the settlers themselves. One of the old-line settlers, Thomas Kanarie¹⁰⁷, was by far the most affluent settler in the community. He owned three large boats, three small boats and hired six crew and one shoreman to work for him in the fishery. Because of the size of his operation he must have also hired farm help. Four other households were also well above average in terms of combined production of the farm and fishery. These 8% were the most affluent and well-established members of the community who had lived there for many years.¹⁰⁸ A few owned two barns and two houses. A few owned carriages. One owned a grain mill. A few owned more than one large boat.

Then there was a group of 12 families who also maintained high yields of fish and farm products. These families were also well established in the area and had lived in it for many years. These 12 and the previous five had access to the most fertile land in the district. Together they produced 5960 pounds of butter, which is more than 59% of the district's total production, even though they comprise only 29% of the population. They produced an average of 350 lbs. butter, which is about twice the district's average of 173 lbs. These families also had the highest the production of oats, barley wheat and potatoes, sheep, beef cattle, pigs, wool and cloth. All of them owned horses except for the two lowest producers, who were more involved with the fishery. Most were engaged in a combination of farming and fishing. Note Table 8, that indicates the fish production of the above average butter producing households in the Bay district in 1871.

¹⁰⁵ Op. cit. Sider.1986. pp. 86, 87.

¹⁰⁶ The quality of the two families who lived on their land as employees were also essentially different from everyone else's in the community.

¹⁰⁷ According to Clara Dennis (1942) Both Tom Kanarie and his neighbor William Capstick were man-o-war sailors. It is possible that they served together. Kanarie originally from Ireland and Capstick from England. The Kanarie family and the Capsticks were both English speaking. Clara Dennis Cape Breton Over The Ryerson Press: Toronto, 1942, p.305.

¹⁰⁸ They lived in the area at least ten years for all of them were enumerated in the 1861 Census ten years before.

Table 8--Fish Production of Above Average Butter Producers in the Bay District (1871)

<u>Settlers</u>	<u>Butter</u>	<u>Cod</u>	<u>Mackeral</u>	<u>Herring</u>	<u>Salmon</u>	<u>Oil</u>
T.Kanarie	360	35	5	52	25	27
A.MacDougal	300	50	13	10	0	120
J.Power	240	50	2	3	0	22
R. McDonald	240	89	15	6	0	80
D.McIntosh	500	0	0	0	19	8
J. Young	600	0	0	1	3	0
R.MacIntosh	500	0	0	3	5	8
A. McPherson	500	5	4	6	0	0
W.Capstick	480	16	0	6	4	3
J.MacIntosh	400	5	2	4	0	23
G. Burton	360	8	1	2	0	7
J.Buchanan	360	Fish/Wages	Fish/Wages	Fish/ Wages	Fish/Wages	Fish/Wages
D. McAskill	280	15	2	0	0	7
J.Gillis	240	0	0	0	0	0
D.MacDougal	200	30	15	4	0	10
T. Burton	200	20	1	0	0	7
P. Burton	200	30	6	2	0	10

Household Production Of Three Families: The Kanaries, MacKinnons, and MacNeils

Following is a chart that compares the production of Thomas Kanarie's household to that of Alexander MacKinnon's and Alex MacNeil's.

The MacNeil family was unique in the district in that they produced no butter nor fishery products. Alex MacNeil was the only 'household head' who was listed as working as a 'day-labourer'.¹⁰⁹

Table 9--Household Production of 3 families 1871

B=bushel	<u>Thomas Kanarie</u>	<u>Alex MacKinnon</u>	<u>Alex MacNeil</u>
Land	300 acres	125 acres	100 acres
Improved	35 acres	10 acres	8 acres
Pasture	8	5	4
Houses	2	1	1
Barns	2	1	1
Sleds	2	1	0
Boats-Common	3	0	0
Boats-2 Men	3 / 7 men hired	0	0
Plows	2	1	0
Barley	70 B	8	0
Oats	220 B	0	0
Potatoes	335 B/4 acres	50 B/1 acre	20 B on 1/2acre
Turnips	16 B	0	0
Hay	4 acre/6 tons	3 acre/2 tons	2 acre/1 ton
Horse	1	0	0
Colt	1	0	0
Ox	6	1	1
Cow	6	2	0
Beef Cattle	4	2	1
Sheep	13	6	2

¹⁰⁹ Alex MacNeil, who worked as a 'day-labourer' may, in fact, have worked for the Kanarie family, the merchants, or one of the few other prosperous families in the area- none of whom were quite as prosperous, though, as the Thomas Kanaries.

Table 9 (con't)-- Household Production of 3 Families in 1871

	<u>Thomas Kanarie</u>	<u>Alex MacKinnon</u>	<u>Alex MacNeil</u>
Pig	5	2	0
Beef (killed)	1	0	0
Sheep(killed)	2	2	0
Pigs(killed)	4	0	0
Butter	360 lbs	0	0
Wool	232 lbs	12 lbs	0
Cloth	110 yds	25 yds	20 yds
Seals	6	14	0
Mink	0	1	0
Nets	250 fathoms	23 fathoms	0
Cod	35 quintals	20 quintals	0
Herring	52 barrels	2 barrels	0
Mackerel	5 barrels	2 barrels	0
Salmon	25 barrels	0	0
Halibut	0	1 barrel	0
Oil	27 gallons	15 gallons	0
Barrel Staves	2000	2000	0
Firewood	15 cords	15 cords	30 cords
Logs	0	0	5

Differences in production may have had something to do with skillful management and hard work. But access or lack of access to good quality land resulted in a certain disparity of economic condition that tended to persist throughout the years. Notice the potato and hay production. The Kanarie family produced almost 84 bushels of potatoes per acre and they produced 1.5 tons of hay per acre. Alex MacKinnon's family produced 50 bushels of potatoes per acre and 2/3 ton of hay per acre. Alex MacNeil's family only produced 40 bushels of potatoes per acre and 1/2 ton of hay. Thomas Kanarie's yields were more than 100% greater than Alex MacNeils' and more than 50% greater than Alex MacKinnon's.

Table 10-- Comparison of Crop Production of Three Families in Bay (1871)

<u>Household</u>	<u>Bushels Potatoes/ Acre</u>	<u>Tons of Hay/Acre</u>
Thomas Kanarie family	83.7	1.5
Alex MacKinnon family	50	.66
Alex MacNeil family	40	.5

Social And Economic Stratification: The Quality Of People's Lives

There were a few people in the district in 1871 whose household production made them fairly prosperous. There were a few others, however, who depended on wage labour to survive. Wage labour, though, was not the predominant form of work in the district. People were able to produce much of what they needed in the farm and fishery. Others worked on share arrangements, that is, they were given a certain percentage of what was raised on the farm they worked on or what they caught in the fishery. This kind of 'share arrangement' continues in the fishery to the present day and it was probably the way most of the settlers in the community worked for others while independently producing most of their own subsistence.

Every household in the district cut their own firewood and produced much of their own food and clothing. Every household in the district, but two, grew their own potatoes. Every household, but four, owned their own cow.¹¹⁰ Only five families in the in the district didn't have someone in the household engaged in some way in the fishery.¹¹¹ Actually 80% of the families owned their own boat and/or their own nets and 86% owned their own cow.¹¹²

The families with limited access to good quality farmland were only able to survive because they were engaged in a combination of both fishing and

¹¹⁰ These were all families that were primarily engaged in the fishery. Two of these families may have been new to the community for they were not listed in the census of 1871 as either owning land, renting land or being tenants. They were also the only two households in the district that didn't grow potatoes at the time. These four did however own their own large 2-men boats. One of these families didn't own a cow but they owned 200 acres of land and grew potatoes and hay, raised a pig.

¹¹¹ Only eight families in the district didn't independently produce any fish as part of their household economy but three of these families had members of their households who were listed as fishermen. They must have worked as crew on one of the larger boats for wages. The five non-fishing families were: an elderly couple in their 80's; a widower age 60; 2 widows; and Alex MacNeil, the wage labourer.

¹¹² Alex MacNeil did not keep a cow, but his household still provided themselves with much of their own subsistence. They occupied one hundred acres of land, owned a house a barn and an ox and raised hay, potatoes and a few sheep, manufactured their own cloth and cut their own firewood.

farming.¹¹³ For instance, in the Bay district settlers who had below average production on the farm may have had above average production in the fisheries.

Table 11--Butter Production Above Average Cod Fishers in Bay (1871)¹¹⁴

<u>Settler</u>	<u>Butter</u>	<u>Cod</u>	<u>Mackeral</u>	<u>Herring</u>	<u>Salmon</u>	<u>Oil</u>
G. Young	120	80	18	0	0	110
J. Young	180	63	4	8	0	25
R. MacNeil	120	50	7	18	0	15
J. MacNeil	180	50	10	6	0	20
D. MacNeil	180	50	7	4	0	15
J. McDougal	60	60	2	5	3	28
T. Donahue	120	50	2	6	0	30
MacKinnon	50	20	10	18	0	0

* Not the Same MacKinnon Family

There were definite economic differences between individual settlers at this time, but ultimately the social divisions between most people in the Bay district had little to do with material relations.¹¹⁵ Most people in the district worked

¹¹³ According to the 1871 census the primary occupation of only 12 out of 59 households in the district or 16 out of 108 individuals was listed as both 'fishing and farming'. But the production data in the same census indicate that most of the households were actually engaged in both.

Occupations of Households Listed-59 households

#Households	Occupations
21	Fishermen
23	Farmers
12	Farmers and Fishermen
1	Day Laborers
1	Miller
1	Merchant

Occupations of Settlers-Total 108 listed-106 males/2 females(widows)

# Settlers	Occupations as listed
43	Fishermen
41	Farmers (one widow as farmer)
16	Farmers and Fishermen
4	Day Labourers (in two families)
1	Miller
1	Merchant
1	Seamen

No occupation for one widow

¹¹⁴ Dominion Census 1871

¹¹⁵ At this time differences between groups of people had more to do with kinship than economics. Even today there is sometimes very little difference in lifestyle between the

primarily for themselves on land that they had informal control over, whether or not they had legal title to it. Most worked independently either in small boats that they built themselves or on a lightly larger boat owned by members of the same kinship group.¹¹⁶ Household production was limited by the access that each household had to the land or the sea. For the most part, though, the households had a similar relationship to the resources that sustained them.¹¹⁷ The economic differences among most of the settlers were quantitative rather than qualitative. That is, they had to do with 'how much' they could produce rather than the quality of their lives.

There were the handful of settlers who produced more than enough in the farm and fishery to completely take care of their own needs. There were also the few who had to supplement their production on the farm and in the fishery by working in whatever way they could for others either for wages or shares. Most people, though, produced just enough to take care of their own needs although this might be supplemented by someone in the household working occasionally for shares. In 1871, the two MacKinnon families were not among the poorest in the community, but they were relatively disadvantaged.

Most of the settlers, though, shared the same basic relation to the 'means of production' on land or sea. There was a certain 'rough social equality' in their lifestyle or way of life.¹¹⁸ In Weberian terms most of the people in the district in 1871 ate the same kinds of food, had similar kinds of education, did the same kind of work, talked the same language, and married the same kinds of people.

The sense of social equality may have blurred the nature of the economic disparity in the Bay but the diverse opportunities in both fishing and farming also blunted and equalized its effect. In Newfoundland, where the state strictly

handful of fishers who make close to a quarter of a million dollars year and their cousins who are struggling to survive on UIC in the winter.

¹¹⁶ This relationship was not at all like the modern employee/boss relationship. They were independent fishers who were using a neighbour's boat, often fishing with their own nets but paying for the use with a share of their catch. Fishers would equally share in the catch but one share was put aside as 'the boat's share' to pay for the cost of the boat. This would be quite a different arrangement than working on the merchant's fishing boat as crew, even if payment was in shares and not wages.

¹¹⁷ In terms of the land this meant whether the land available to you was rough and rocky and in terms of the fishery this meant whether or not you had a boat and gear and what kind of boat and gear that was.

¹¹⁸ This also had to do with the fact that the majority of settlers originally came from a tradition that was striated more along the lines of kin than class or status. The same sense of social equality that usually exists in a family characterized the relationships within the various Highland kinship groups.

controlled the local fishers' access to farming and the fishery the differences between rich and poor were much more pronounced than in the Bay.¹¹⁹ Nor was the Bay district as highly stratified as purely agricultural areas in Southern Cape Breton, where access to limited land resources meant everything.¹²⁰

Family history has it that the MacKinnon family lived in Southern Cape Breton, in the East Lake Ainslie area, before they moved north to Black Point in the very early 1860's.¹²¹

Conditions In Southern Cape Breton

Randy Bittermen (1988) in his detailed study of the Middle River, not far from Lake Ainslie, reported the extent of the disparity there in the 19th century. The prosperous families had early on established control over the best farmland. Their neighbors who came later a little later settled the backlands and were at times also reduced to starving, stealing, or moving.¹²²

In April 1835, the Rev. John Stewart, a minister from Scotland who worked in the Lake Ainslie area wrote that:¹²³

Many of our people left their country without the means of paying their passage, the captain accepting their note of hand for payment **when they could**. A few years after their settlement, round comes the captain's agent for principal and interest. Money they cannot have. Their cow is taken, or perhaps their land on which they have been toiling, and the unhappy families must begin on a new lot in the forest, and at this moment a majority of the settlers have not paid for their grants of land, which may sink them in ruin again. Merchants very frequently cause their relapse into a state of abject poverty. Their grant is taken in security for the value of articles provided. Many wants must occur before the first difficulties of settlement are got over. The account swells; heavy interest accumulates. Often does the bear take the cow intended to satisfy the creditor; that land must go, and hard labour with much deprivation be again resorted to.....I could relate many a tale of distress occasioned by such occurrences. I have baptized the child of a parent lying on a pallet of straw with five children in a state of nudity. I have baptized where neither father, mother or

¹¹⁹ Op. cit. Sider, 1984.

¹²⁰ The fishery gave them an additional source of income, which gave them more control in bargaining with the merchant.

¹²¹ Interview with S.S. MacKinnon 1986. According to the Census data Archibald, Alexander were both born in Nova Scotia.

¹²² Randy Bittermen *The Hierarchy of the Soil: Land and Labour in a 19th century Cape Breton Community* *Acadiensis* Vol. XV111, No. 1 Autumn, 1988 (pp. 33-55)

¹²³ PANS *Journal of Rev. John Stewart*

children could venture out in their tattered rags. I have seen dwellings where six or eight of a family lived for weeks on the milk of a cow without any other food. I have endeavored to afford the consolation of religion at a dying bed in a habitation here no food existed but what was supplied by neighbors who could ill spare it.¹²⁴

In 1838, 'five consecutive unfavorable seasons reduced the settlers generally to extreme destitution, early frost preventing the grain and potatoes from ripening.'¹²⁵ Less than 10 years later potato rot or blight (*phytophthora infestans*) infected the settlers crops. From 1845-1851, Morgan (1986) reported there was a 'great famine' in many areas in Cape Breton.¹²⁶ Lake Ainslie was especially hard hit and starvation again became a reality for some settlers.

According to relief petitions received in the N. S. Legislature from Lake Ainslie, in 1847, many families lost cattle, horses, sheep and pigs. The animals starved themselves or were slaughtered to feed their hungry owners.¹²⁷ The mid 1850's, just before the MacKinnon family moved north, were also famine years and many settlers were simply unable to sustain themselves on the land.

D.B. McNab, the Deputy-Surveyor for Victoria County, reported on the situation:¹²⁸

Farming produce has never been found.....to pay for the cost of thus raising it [there is] little if any ungranted lands.....unoccupied or fit for cultivation....tradesmen or labourers [are] desirous of getting away to other countries, where their industry will meet with that remuneration that cannot be obtained here.

¹²⁴ None of this is to say that conditions weren't difficult in the Bay district as well. It's just that it was so isolated that people like the shipping company agent wouldn't be around to collect. People had to be pretty much on their own. They were still vulnerable to natural disasters but not to human greed.

¹²⁵ Op. cit. Patterson, 1885. p.83

¹²⁶ R.J. Morgan "Poverty, Wretchedness and misery" :*The Great Famine in Cape Breton, 1845-1851* Nova Scotia Historical Review, Vol 6, Number 1, 1986.pp. 88-103.

¹²⁷ PANS, RG 5 Series P, *Poor Relief Petitions*, volume 83, 1846-7;Petition from Magistrates, Merchants, Freeholders, settlers of Lake Ainslie, May 28, 1847.

¹²⁸ Ibid. p. 181. In the same letter Crawley also stated that there was a problem at this time with foreign fishing:

From all parts of the North American continent, on its eastern aspect; and from all the western portion of Europe, where such pursuits are known; the fishing vessels report in great numbers to these shores, and to the deep sea banks in this vicinity, conducting the business at great advantage, compared with what might be done by establishments on this island. The fishing ports in Victoria are Aspy Bay, Neale's Harbor, Inganiche, St. Anne's ad Great Bras d'Or.

These records indicate that there was quite a substantial out-migration from Southern Victoria County starting even before 1850. Some men left the farms with their wives and children during the summer season to get work in 'distant parts of the province or...the United States'. In this way they managed to 'eke out the means of a scanty existence.' Others would simply leave. McNab reported that: 'The young men as they grow up, generally leave the county. Hundreds are said to have gone away during the past year.'¹²⁹

Notice that in Table 12, Population in Selected Districts of Cape Breton in 1870 and 1880, there was growth in the population of the northern communities of Ingonish, Cape North and Bay St. Lawrence between 1870-1880 but the population of the earlier settlements in Baddeck, Middle River, Little Narrows (South and North combined) decreased or remained the same.

Table 12--Population Selected Districts of Cape Breton--1870 and 1880¹³⁰

<u>District</u>	<u>1870-71</u>	<u>1880-81</u>
Little Narrows	855	817
Middle River	1006	966
Baddeck	1749	1765
Ingonish	800	1088
Cape North	783	1215
Bay St. Lawrence	419	515

Internal Migration: Opportunities 'Down North'

In the mid-19th century, the Bay district offered more opportunities for settlers than in some other areas in Cape Breton.¹³¹ MacDonald (1933) reported that people in the North were hardly touched by the devastating effects of the famine in the mid-century. Morgan (1986) noted that coastal areas were not as affected by the blight as more inland regions and the fishery also provided a food source that enabled the settlers living along the coast to survive. In 1860, when the MacKinnons moved North, land still available in the area and the government

¹²⁹ *Journal and Proceedings of the House of Assembly Nova Scotia*, 1857, Appendix 71: D.B. McNab to R. Uniacke, Jan. 3, 1857, p.421.

¹³⁰ Victoria County Censuses 1870-71, 1880-81.

¹³¹ A Report on Victoria County 1861-1862. Op Cit. pp. 181-176 Not only was there the revenue from butter but also from the fishery.

exercised little control over the settlers' access to the fishery. Once settlers were established they could build small boats out of local materials. At this time the woods were still largely unexploited and there was a variety of trees available for the cutting.

The waters teemed with fish: cod, mackerel, herring, salmon, halibut and lobsters.¹³² The cod-fishery at this time was especially important:¹³³

The cod-fishing began very early in the spring near Louisbourg and continue(d) good until July when that fish proceeds towards Cape North and the Gulf of St. Lawrence; but in August when the mackerel, herring and caplin make their appearance the cod returns in pursuit of them in such numbers and with so much eagerness that many are caught in shallow water.

In a letter dated Dec. 10, 1861, H.M. Crawley reported that the fishery was a source of food and also 'the...major source of cash coming into the community'. D.B. McNab, Deputy Surveyor of Victoria County, reported in 1862 that:¹³⁴

At Bay St. Lawrence, Aspy Bay and on the eastern coast in general, cod, mackerel, herring and dogfish are caught by the settlers. These sell to the merchants who dispose of them in Halifax to the inland farmer.

Paterson reported, in 1885, that Bay St. Lawrence was:¹³⁵

made up of people...who, disappointed with the lands they had first obtained on the Bras d'Or Lakes, and anxious...to engage in deep sea fishery... moved to Bay St. Lawrence...At no other place in the County, excepting perhaps at Ingonish, did the earlier settlers encounter so few difficulties as at Aspy Bay or Bay St. Lawrence. Fish were plentiful...not more than a hundred yards separated them from hunting grounds filled with game. The main disadvantage...was that they had no means of intercourse with the other settlements except by water. Even yet, no road has been constructed from the more southern parts of the County...**Ultima Thule** was never more inaccessible than are these Northern districts. of Victoria.

¹³² There was no market for lobsters, however, until the turn of the century.

¹³³ Harold A. Innis The Cod Fisheries New Haven: Yale University Press;1940. p.87.

¹³⁴ D.B. McNab A Report on Victoria County 1861-1862. Dated and signed on Feb. 27, 1862. In Uniacke's Sketches of Cape Breton and Other Papers related to Cape Breton Island. Reprinted and edited by C.B. Fergusson. PANS: Halifax; 1958 pp. 169-170

¹³⁵ Patterson's History of Victoria County Ed. by James MacDonald. Op. Cit. p.62.

In 1850, a path had been cleared from St. Ann's, in Southern Victoria County, to Bay St Lawrence in the North.¹³⁶ In 1853 a rough road of sorts was opened from Ingonish to Aspy Bay.¹³⁷ Northern Cape Breton was wild, rough and isolated. But Bay St. Lawrence district on its very northern tip was probably the most isolated in all of Cape Breton.

The MacKinnons Move North

The isolation from mainstream forms, the diversity, the richness of both the land and sea all promoted a less profound differentiation in economy and in social structure in Northern Cape Breton than in the southern part of the island. But many settlers emigrated to jobs in the city. Many of the backland settlers whose lands were marginal were forced to move off the land. They were forced to choose between the uncertainty and independence of subsistence production and the certainty and dependence of wage labour. These people, however, didn't just move from one place to another. They were really involved in the process of transforming their whole relationship to the earth and essentially changing their way of life.

The MacKinnons, like the other settlers who moved to the Highlands of Cape Breton, may have been resisting this process. For it is clear that they weren't driven North by simple desperation economics. They had enough resources to make the move and to buy a piece of improved land. Within a period of a few years, both Alexander and Archibald had houses and barns and stock and tools. Having arrived late to the area, they did not, however, have free access to the best land in the area.

This is not to say that economics didn't matter. The internal migration north took place because settlers, like the MacKinnons, could sustain themselves there on the land and sea. The fact that the Bay district was more isolated at this time from the dominant political and economic system, which was English, also meant that the settlers were much more likely to be able to maintain the particular quality of their Gaelic way of life in which the economy of the people was embedded in social relationships like those of kinship and religion.

¹³⁶ *Journal and Proceedings of the House of Assembly Nova Scotia*, 1850 p.304.

¹³⁷ *Journal and Proceedings of the House of Assembly Nova Scotia*, 1853 p.434 (At the cost of 40 pounds.)

Religion: Free Church Presbyterians In The Bay

In the Census of 1871 the MacKinnons were identified as a Presbyterian denomination called 'Free Church' Presbyterians. According to the 1871 Census data, the only other Free Church family in the whole district was Archibald MacKinnons in-laws, the Frasers.¹³⁸ Most of the other settlers in the Bay were Catholic but there were a few Protestants of different denominations.¹³⁹

Table 13-- Religious Denominations of Households in the Bay District (1871)

PROTESTANT=18 FAMILIES

Church of England=7 (6 English & 1 Dutch)

Presbyterian=2 (Scottish)

Free Church of Scotland=3 (Scottish)

Church of Scotland=6 (Scottish)

CATHOLIC=41 FAMILIES

Scot Catholic=27

Irish Catholic=8

English Catholic=6

When the MacKinnons moved into the Bay district there was no Free church congregation there. It might appear strange that the MacKinnons would chose to emigrate there.¹⁴⁰ Religious differences in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries were critical and often determined settlement patterns:¹⁴¹

Our ancestors came in small bodies from the same counties and the same islands of the Hebrides, and, according to their religious denominations,

¹³⁸ There were Catholic Frasers in the district but these were a Catholic branch of the same clan.

¹³⁹ Dominion Census 1871

¹⁴⁰ There were obviously kinship factors at work. The Fraser family was one kinship connection and they shared the same religion. The MacKinnons moved to the district in 1861, just around the time that Archibald and Ann Fraser got married. The other connection, mentioned previously, was Marcella MacKinnon's marriage to the Catholic MacEachern family in Black Point.

¹⁴¹ Dr. A.G. MacDonald *The Highland Society of Antigonish. Why it Exists and Its History* Reprinted in MacDougall History of Inverness County. Bellville Ontario: Mika Publishing Company, 1972. (original 1922) p.501. MacDougall noted that West Lake Ainslie was settled by Catholics and East Lake Ainslie by Presbyterians.

they settled down in groups. Hence you find Pictou County predominantly Presbyterian and Antigonish Roman Catholic.

According to Stanley (1983), though, by 1860, the year before the MacKinnons moved North, the Free Church movement had all but disappeared. There was no Free Church congregation, as such, anywhere in Cape Breton.

This was because, in 1857, a Protestant Alliance was formed in an attempt to unite the different Protestant factions in Cape Breton¹⁴² and to strengthen the presence of the Protestants in Cape Breton in relation to the Catholics. In the 19th century there were many different Protestant denominations represented in Cape Breton, but there was a real rift between two sects—the Free Church Presbyterians and the Established Church Presbyterians.

There were many disruptions in the Presbyterian Church in Scotland in the 18th and 19th centuries, but, in 1843, one third of the members of that Church officially succeeded and formed the Free Church of Scotland or the 'Wee Frees'. (Campbell and MacLean 1974, Hunter 1976, Stanley, 1983). The evangelical lay preachers who had been active in the Highlands joined the Free Church while the 'moderates' remained in the church, which was then known as the Established Church.¹⁴³

The Protestant Alliance was an attempt to unite all Protestants, but especially these two these groups, so that the Protestants would have a stronger position socially and politically in relation to the Catholics. There was, for instance, a concerted effort to get Liberal Protestant candidates, like Joe Howe, elected in order to keep the Conservative Party Catholics out of office. (Stanley 1983)

Many Free Church members in Cape Breton, though, were disturbed by the attempt to form an Presbyterian Alliance because the gulf between the denominations was not simply theological. In the Highlands most of the clergy of

¹⁴² It wasn't until 1925 that almost all of the Protestant groups were brought together into the United Church.

¹⁴³ Most of the missionary work in Cape Breton was done by Free Church ministers, supported by the 'Glasgow Colonial Society', and spearheaded by Mrs. MacKay, a strong supporter of the Free Church, who organized a women's organization the Edinburgh Ladies Association, to fund the Colonial Society's Cape Breton Mission. Through this mission the Colonial Society funded ministers, libraries and schools in Cape Breton; after 1843 many of Presbyterian settlers became members of the Free Church. See Laurie Stanley, *The Well-Watered Garden: The Presbyterian Church in Cape Breton, 1798-1860*. Sydney: University College of Cape Breton Press, 1983. See also *History of Victoria County* by George Patterson (ed. James MacDonald) 1885 pp. 81-102

the Scottish Presbyterian Church, later the Established Presbyterian Church, had supported the lairds in their policy of the improvement of their 'estates' and the eviction and removal of the people living on them; from the people's perspective, though, these estates were traditional clan lands to which their rights were historically established. The strength of the support in the Highlands for the Free Church had much to do with the fact that the Established ministers used religion to justify and rationalize the evictions. Observers at the time reported that:¹⁴⁴

The clergy, too, were continually preaching submission, declaring these proceedings were forordained of God, and denouncing the vengeance of Heaven and eternal damnation on those who should presume to make the least resistance.¹⁴⁵ They said in their sermons 'that the Lord had a controversy with the land for the people's wickedness; and that in his providence, and even in his mercy he had sent this scourge to bring them to repentance.'

The clergy's support of the lairds, though, had little to do with 'other worldly' considerations. It was clear even at the time that it served their worldly interests:¹⁴⁶

With a few noble exceptions, the ministers chose the side of the landlords, who built them new manses, made carriage roads to their doors and invited them to share in the new prosperity now and then with the grant of a few acres of sheep pasturage.¹⁴⁷

¹⁴⁴ Donald MacLeod *Gloomy Memories* Glasgow, 1892. p.35. Cited in Gordon E. MacDermaid *The Religious and Ecclesiastical Life of the Northwest Highlands 1750-1843: The Background of the Presbyterian Emigrants to Cape Breton, N.S.* University of Aberdeen: Thesis Manuscript, May 1, 1967. p.141.

¹⁴⁵ Alexander MacKenzie *The History of the Highland Clearances* London: Melven Press, 1979 (original 1883). p.12. There was resistance, although it was sometimes brutally put down. Often it was the women who led it. MacKenzie (1883) reported: (p.xviii)

In 1792, *Bliadhra nan Coiorach*, the Year of the Sheep, there was indeed a spirited attempt to stop the northward flow of the Great Cheviot. The men of Ross drove the alien flocks from the glens but were quickly oppressed by armed gentry and men of the Black Watch, many of whom were young kinsmen. Thence forward, all resistance was brief and sporadic, and in the savage little encounters which did occur between the evicted and the sheriff's officers, it was the women of the glens who fought.

¹⁴⁶ Donald MacLeod *Gloomy Memories* Glasgow, 1892. p.35. Cited in Gordon E. MacDermaid *The Religious and Ecclesiastical Life of the Northwest Highlands 1750-1843: The Background of the Presbyterian Emigrants to Cape Breton, N.S.* University of Aberdeen: Thesis Manuscript, May 1, 1967. p.141.

¹⁴⁷ John Prebble *The Highland Clearances* London, 1963. p.71

The Evangelicals who joined the Free Church movement took up the cause of the people. In some sense this movement had as much to do with social justice in the Highlands as it did with spiritual liberation. (Hunter 1976). The Free Church ministers spoke out against eviction and resettlement and also against the state system that set up one human being over another. Some members of the Free Church in Cape Breton perceived the proposed union as a betrayal of the basic tenants of the Free Church Movement.

But during the 1850's, the Free Church had established itself in Cape Breton. It built up its churches and its congregations around the island. At this point, though, its worldly interests were identical to the Established Presbyterian Church and many people in the church favored the union. As Stanley (1983) observed, the secessionist Free Church 'was better fitted to be an antagonist than an ally,' because it had established itself out of existence.

The Presbyterian union was consummated in 1860 despite strong dissension among the members of some Free Church congregations. It was at this time that 'the Free Church in Cape Breton, for all intents and purposes, slipped into historical memory.'¹⁴⁸ When the MacKinnons moved in 1861, in some sense they had to carry their own church with them. More than 10 years later in 1871, they still considered themselves to be members of the Free Church, even though there was no physical church left to belong to.

It was especially difficult for the Free Church families in the Bay St. Lawrence district. There was a small Protestant congregation in the village of Bay St Lawrence, but it had never even been associated with the Free Church historically. The majority of Protestants in the district were either Church of England¹⁴⁹ or (Established) Church of Scotland.¹⁵⁰ It seems to me that this may be related to the fact that there were no regular church services held in the district

¹⁴⁸ Op. cit. Stanley, 1983 p.173. Chart Unions Within Presbyterianism in Canada from Campbell and MacLean, 1974 . p. 232.

¹⁴⁹ The Episcopalian settlers, most of whom seem to be have been English for the most part, were represented in Cape Breton as The Church of England rather than the Episcopal Church of Scotland. In Bay St. Lawrence, all of the Church of England members were English except for one Dutch family, the Zwickers. See also Stanley (1983) p. 32.

¹⁵⁰ For the most part the settlers in Cape Breton were either Catholic or Presbyterian. The Episcopalian, represented as the Church of England, were 'so few, so scattered so swamped and intermingled by marriage, among the Presbyterians and Dissenters, on the one hand , and among the...Romanists on the other' that they had a difficult time maintaining their presence on the island. Correspondence of the Rev. W.G. Porter, a traveling Anglican missionary in Cape Breton. 6 Feb. 1843. Cited in Stanley, 1983, p.33.

during the time that the Free Church ministers were working to build churches and congregations.

The first Protestant minister to visit the Bay district came just before the Free Church was organized in Cape Breton. Alexander Farquharson, a Gaelic preacher sponsored by the Edinburgh Ladies, was one of the first. He visited Bay St. Lawrence during his traveling ministry around Cape Breton in 1834.¹⁵¹

Soon after, Farquharson, like many other ministers in Cape Breton, decided to follow the Free Church secessionists. But the Bay district was so isolated that he never came again. It must have been rare that any minister visited the district to preach the new doctrine. The church records in Cape North give no indication that any minister traveled to the Bay St. Lawrence district until the latter half of the 19th century.

A Free Church mission station was established in Cape North, which is a village about 15 miles over the mountains from the Bay. But it remained vacant for years. According to the Home and Foreign Missionary Record of the Free Church of Scotland (May 1852), this station was only 'visited once a year with extreme difficulty.'¹⁵² From 1839 to 1865 Rev. John Gunn from Broad Cove would usually make an annual trip by horseback and on foot to Pleasant Bay and to the mission at Cape North. But it was not likely that these ministers made it as far as Bay St. Lawrence.¹⁵³

The Presbyterian settlers in Cape North who became members of the Free Church Mission soon came to identify themselves as belonging to the Free Church. The Presbyterian settlers in the Bay St. Lawrence district, though, who had no mission in the area and no personal experience of the shifts in the

¹⁵¹ Op. cit. Stanley p.77. According to Patterson (1885), Rev. John Stewart traveled to Cape North and Aspy Bay around the same time. But he may not have made it to Bay St. Lawrence. Rev. Stewart reported that he baptized the sons of a woman when they were in their forties. He said 'In their early days there was no minister to baptize them, and though thirty years they had lived at Cape North, this was the first opportunity they had of having the seal of the covenant administered to them.' (p. 63)

¹⁵² Cited in Stanley, 1983 p.201

¹⁵³ See A.A. Johnston A History of the Catholic Church in Eastern N.S. Vol 2 Antigonish: St. F. of X. Press, 1971. (Parishes 1860) Chapter 14. p.356.

The difficulties of the northern pastorate in these days can be judged from the following instance:

One day, in the middle of a violent winter an urgent sick call came (to Ingonish) from Cape North, so many miles distant. The supplicant was old John Fraser.....Father Donald and a sturdy guide set out immediately on snowshoes. The way was over crags and cliffs and trackless mountains. In many places the guide had to cut tracks with an axe to save them from tumbling headlong to eternity.

Presbyterian Church doctrine, maintained their religious identity as belonging to the Church of Scotland.¹⁵⁴

When a Protestant church was finally built in the district it was the Presbyterian and Church of Scotland families who formed the congregation.¹⁵⁵ According to records in the Registry of Deeds office in 1899, the heirs of Norman MacPherson, who were mostly MacPhersons and Macintoshs, deeded land to the Presbyterian Church in Bay St. Lawrence.¹⁵⁶ These two family groups were listed in the 1871 Census as Church of Scotland and Presbyterians.

None of the Free Church MacKinnons and Frasers attended this Presbyterian church in the Bay until many years later, long after it became a United Church. It was at the church in Cape North—originally the Free Church mission- that the older generation of MacKinnons were married, baptized and buried.¹⁵⁷

Margaret MacKinnon is still remembered by some of the older people in the community walking the 20 miles from Black Point to the church in Cape North in the early 1900's.¹⁵⁸

I remember seeing her with her long black cloak—the kind with a string in the hood they wore in the old days. Underneath she wore her light clothes but she always wore the cloak.... And she'd go every year to sit at the Lord's Table (take communion) in Cape North.

¹⁵⁴ Rev. Alex Farquharson was, in fact, the minister to the Free Church families in East Lake Ainslie where he served for more than 30 years until his death in 1858. According to Stanley (1883) he was well loved by the people in Cape Breton because he was the son of a farmer who knew more Gaelic than he did English. He was 'neither a scholar, nor an orator' but he was loved by the people because of his faith, his devotion to the Bible and his 'rustic manner', to which they could relate. Stanley (1883) p.73. Within a few years of his death in 1858 the congregation in Lake Ainslie was in conflict about the proposed union with the established church. Within a few years the free church was defunct and the MacKinnons began their move North. Without Farquharson's leadership and guidance, perhaps the various factions within the congregation became disunified. There was even some conflict about how his family was treated at his death by the Middle River and Lake Ainslie communities that he served so well (p.129) It seems to me that there may very well be some sort of connection between these events in the church and the MacKinnons move North.

¹⁵⁵ In the beginning years of settlement in the Bay St. Lawrence district the Catholic and Protestant families shared a church. One group would have services in the morning and the other in the afternoon. But tension between the two groups led to the demise of this cooperative arrangement.

¹⁵⁶ Registry of Deeds Office. Book W. p. 339 1899

¹⁵⁷ Some of the baptism, marriage and death records of the Presbyterian settlers are held at the Church in Cape North and others are microfilmed at PANS.

¹⁵⁸ Excerpt from an Interview with M. MacKinnon

Kinship: The MacKinnon Genealogy

The children of the Frasers and the MacKinnons tended to marry each other. Cousin marriage was common throughout 19th century Cape Breton. As Hornsby (1992) pointed out, 'endogamous marriages helped preserve ethnic and religious identities.'¹⁵⁹ The particular close cousin marriage pattern of the MacKinnon and Frasers was unusual but close cousin marriage was not prohibited by the church, by the state, or by tradition.¹⁶⁰ MacPherson (1968) noted that in the Scotland 'close-cousin marriage... was fairly frequent in Highland districts during the later nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.'¹⁶¹

The social pressure of being the only two 'Free Church' families in the Bay district which was predominantly Catholic, most likely accounted for the pattern of close cousin marriage in these two families. Over the years, these two 'Free Church' families have joined to become a tight knit kinship group. The particular way this happened can be seen by tracing the union of the families. For instance, all of the children of Archibald MacKinnon and Ann Fraser¹⁶² married a maternal first cousin.

Table 14-- Close Cousin Marriage in a Highland Family

The Children of Archibald MacKinnon and Ann Fraser

Daughter Ann	married maternal uncle Donald's son	Donald.
Son Donald	married maternal uncle Donald's daughter	Ann.
Son Simon	married maternal uncle Donald's daughter	Margaret Ann.
Son Peter	married maternal uncle Donald's daughter	Marcella.
Son Alexander	married maternal uncle Edward's daughter	Margaret.
Son John	married maternal uncle Edward's daughter	Marcella.
Daughter Marcella	married maternal uncle Edward's son	Archibald

¹⁵⁹ Op. cit. Hornsby, 1992 p144.

¹⁶⁰ Close cousin marriage was frowned on by the Catholic Church. A discussion will follow shortly.

¹⁶¹ Alan G. MacPherson *An Old Highland Parish Register (Part 2) Scottish Studies* 1968: Vol. 12. p. 85. MacPherson was of the opinion that the frequency of cross cousin marriage at this time had to do with the disintegrating clan system.

¹⁶² Ann Fraser was Donald (Simon) Fraser's and Marcella (Margaret?) Fraser's daughter. Notice the repeating pattern of names.

It seems strange that not one of Ann and Archibald's children married a paternal cousin, that is, Alexander MacKinnon's children. But Alexander's first wife, Catherine MacDonald, was Catholic and inter-faith marriages, at this time, were the exception. The children from Alexander's first marriage did marry into Catholic families, but perhaps this was because the district was predominantly Catholic and there was an active Catholic congregation in the community at the time. A priest maintained a manse in the community as early as 1857.¹⁶³

There were, however, particular Catholic families that the MacKinnon and Fraser children married: the MacLellans, the MacEacherns, and, to a lesser extent, the MacDonalds. For instance, three of Alexander and Catherine's children married MacLellans; their grandchildren almost exclusively married MacEacherns, Frasers, MacKinnons and MacLellans. These Catholic families became part of the same kinship web as the MacKinnons and the Frasers.

Alexander MacKinnon married twice, though. His second wife, Elizabeth (Big Lizzie) Fraser, belonged to a Free Church family in Pleasant Bay. Their children married first or second cousins who were either MacKinnons or Frasers and who were also 'Free Church'.¹⁶⁴ Archibald's grandchildren and the generations following tended to continue this endogamous pattern of cousin marriage.

Cousin marriage was common in Western Europe until rather recently.¹⁶⁵ In 1761, the Anglican church in England published a table of 'Kindred and Affinity' in their Book of Common Prayer, 'wherein whosoever are related, are forbidden in Scripture, and our Laws, to marry together'. At that time the relationship between cousins even in the first and second degree was considered

¹⁶³ Cabot Archives File #429 *Resident Pastors* It wasn't until 1876 that a resident Priest actually lived in Bay St. Lawrence. Between 1857 and 1883 the same priest served the whole North of Smoky district and maintained a home 'both at Bay St. Lawrence and at Ingonish'. Because of the isolation of the Bay district most of the clergy chose to remain in Ingonish during the winter months leaving the parishes in the North without services. According to a letter which Father Van Blerk wrote in the 1870's '....the greatest drawback os Bay St. Lawrence which, however, cannot be attended during the winter owing to the fearful state and distance of the roads.....'Johnston, A.A. A History of the Catholic Church in Eastern N.S. Antigonish: St. F. of X. Press, 197. Chapter 19 p.524. In 1883 the Northern pastorate was divided into two parishes and a resident priest lived full time in the Bay St. Lawrence/ St. Margaret's Village manse.

¹⁶⁴ Three of Alexander's children from his second marriage married Archibald's grandchildren-- their second cousins. One, Hattie, married one of Donald Simon Fraser's son's, Johnny (Johnny Donald Simon). The other married children from another Fraser family which had been Free Church but converted to Catholic through marriage.

¹⁶⁵ Edward Westermarck The History of Human Marriage Vol. 2, London: MacMillan and Co.; 1921. See especially Chapters 8 and 9. Also Claude Levi-Strauss The Elementary Structures of Kinship Boston: Beacon Press, 1969.

to be perfectly acceptable.¹⁶⁶ As late as the end of the 19th century, Westarmarck (1921) noted that cousin marriages accounted for about 4.5% of the marriages among the aristocracy and 3.5% among the middle and upper classes and the landed gentry.¹⁶⁷

Today cousin marriage is not the norm in western industrial society but the custom persisted in Northern Cape Breton through the 19th and early 20th centuries especially among the Protestant settlers. Catholic settlers needed special dispensation from the bishop before marriages of the first or second degree were consecrated. Their church disapproved, but did not forbid, these unions.

The MacKinnon and Fraser families' religion was different from all of the other families' in the district. By marrying within their kinship group they were able to maintain and strengthen their distinct family culture. This difference in religion, which helped them keep their kinship group together, though, ultimately began to separate them from the other families in the larger local community.¹⁶⁸

In a district where formal religion was one of the most critical social markers, members of the Black Point community were constantly belittled because they didn't attend the local churches. They were perceived as having no 'formal' religion or church affiliation.¹⁶⁹ Over the years this 'difference' in religion has been totally forgotten even by the members of the community themselves.¹⁷⁰ But it seems to me that it begins to explain the undeserved and what one social worker called 'terrible prejudice' that historically has been directed against the

¹⁶⁶ Anglican *The Book of Common Prayer* 1761 Cambridge. Cited in James B. Twitchell *Forbidden Partners*. New York: Columbia University Press;1987. p.129.

¹⁶⁷ Op. cit. Westarmarck p.235. Westarmarck noted the conflicting studies some which argued that first and second cousin marriage was harmless and others that argued the opposite. Although he supported those against cousin marriage he 'rationalized' cousin marriage among the upper classes and aristocracy by suggesting that it is only in 'savage regions. where the struggle for existence is often very severe' that 'consanguineous marriages are more injurious...than they have proved to be in civilized society, especially among the well-to-do classes that such marriages occur most frequently.' p235.

¹⁶⁸ Op. cit. Dorian, 1981. See also Nadel, Jane H. *Stigma and Separation: Pariah Status and Community Persistence in a Scottish Fishing Village* Ethnology, 1986. p.104. Nadel pointed out this same pattern in Ferrydon the fishing village she studied.

¹⁶⁹ Interview with members of the Bay St. Lawrence community.

¹⁷⁰ The Black Point families connection with the evangelical, anti-establishment Free Church may have been forgotten but the religious traditions were informally maintained in the family until the present generation. e.g. their extremely strict observance of the Sabbath and their custom of home worship and bible reading in Gaelic in the evening especially on Sunday. In recent years the converts in the Bay St. Lawrence district to evangelical religions like the Gospel Church or the Jehovah's Witnesses, come mainly from the Black Point community.

MacKinnon and Fraser families and by association the others in their kinship web.¹⁷¹

Highland Kinship Patterns Transplanted

The endogamous (cousin) marriages of the Free Church MacKinnons and Frasers in the Highlands of Cape Breton, reflected Clan patterns in the Highlands of Scotland.¹⁷² Ommar (1986) reported that Highland emigrant groups in Cape Breton and Newfoundland recreated their traditional kinship patterns in the New World.¹⁷³ In the Highlands, MacPherson (1967) reported, marriages usually tended to be 'within the clan group itself'.¹⁷⁴ This was a tradition that served to strengthen and maintain ties between people.

The word 'clan', as defined by the dictionary is 'a group of people of common descent; a group of families or households, as among the Scottish Highlanders, the heads of which claim descent from a common ancestor.'¹⁷⁵ The English word, 'clan', is derived from the Gaelic, *clann*, which means family (or literally children). The clan, MacPherson (1966) reported, was 'really an extended family broadly based in the present in a great multitude of cousins, tapering to a few dimly seen ancestors some generations back.'¹⁷⁶

In 1779, writing about his journey to the Western Islands in Highland Scotland, Samuel Johnson described his perception of the genesis of the clan group:¹⁷⁷

The inhabitants of mountains form distinct races, and are careful to preserve their genealogies. Men in a small district necessarily mingle blood

¹⁷¹ Interview with Social Worker from N.S. Department of Social Services. The Catholic families in their kinship group were not looked down on quite so much.

¹⁷² Note that this use of the notion 'clan' is not the same as Levi-Strauss's. To belong to the same clan as someone in Levi-Strauss's usage meant that you couldn't marry them. This is not to say that first and second cousin was prohibited, but that a particular society might, for instance, define a maternal or maternal first cousin as 'not' belonging to the same 'clan' as you. It is a category that he formulated to help him describe marriage exchanges.

¹⁷³ Op. cit. Nadel, 1986 pp. 121-141.

¹⁷⁴ Alan G. MacPherson *An Old Highland Parish Register* (Part 2) Scottish Studies 1968: Vol. 12. p. 108.

¹⁷⁵ Oxford Unabridged Dictionary

¹⁷⁶ Alan G. MacPherson *An Old Highland Genealogy and the evolution of a Scottish Clan* Scottish Studies 1966: Vol. 10. p.1.

¹⁷⁷ Johnson, S. and Boswell, A. Johnson's Journey to the Western Islands of Scotland and Boswell's Journal of a Tour to the Hebrides (1773) (ed. R.W. Chapman). Oxford University Press: London, 1971. p.42.

by intermarriages, and combine at last into one family, with a common interest in the honour and disgrace of every individual. Then begins that union of affections, and co-operation of endeavors, that constitute a clan.

Endogamous marriage, MacPherson reported, was 'instrumental in protecting the political and economic interests of the clan'.¹⁷⁸ He reported that clanship, characterized by its agnatic structure, that is, 'affiliation by male descent',¹⁷⁹ was 'the basis for land holding' in the Highlands. Exogamous marriages, which were uncommon, were often 'farm-endogamous', that is between families who were close neighbors.¹⁸⁰ This would explain the marriages of the MacKinnons and Frasers to their close neighbors in the Black Point/Meat Cove/Lowland Cove area, the MacEacherns, MacLellans, and MacDonalds even though they were Catholic.

The MacKinnon family may also have had previous relations, either in Scotland or in Southern Cape Breton, with the Frasers and the other Catholic families that they are associated with. The family seems to have maintained its connection to what might be called the Highland culture than most Presbyterian kin groups. In the 18th and 19th century the Protestant clergy tended to suppress the Gaelic folk culture so in Protestant communities, many Highland traditions, like storytelling, fiddle playing, or step dancing, were entirely lost because of the church's influence. In some communities the minister would start a huge fire and all the fiddles in a community would be burned in an evening.¹⁸¹

¹⁷⁸ Ibid. p.86.

¹⁷⁹ Alan G. MacPherson *An Old Highland Parish Register* (Part 1) Scottish Studies 1967: Vol. 11. p.189.

¹⁸⁰ Ibid. p. 93

¹⁸¹ Some of the Highland people questioned the influence of the clergy. The interests of the minister and also the priest often seemed to be more wordly than spiritual. This was noted in one of the old stories that was told in the Bay district. Actually social criticism in the district usually took the song or story form.

There was an old blind man, a storyteller, who had no home of his own but he would go around from house to house and help out with what ever work he could. Most everyone was happy to see him come because of his stories and his wit. Well, one night, a rainy and stormy night, there was a knock on the door of the manse, the priest's house. It was the old storyteller and he was wet, soaked to the skin from the rain. There were two priests seated in front of the fire warming themselves. The old man took a seat behind them but he was having a hard time getting warm. After a few minutes one of them asked him how where he had come from that night. 'Well Father', the old man said, 'I've come straight from Hell.' 'And what was it like in Hell', asked the other priest. 'Well', the old man said, 'It was just about the same as here. There were that many priests sitting around the fire I could hardly get my feet warm.'

Dr. John Shaw, a Gaelic scholar, who did some collecting of stories and folklore in the Black Point community, found it unusual that a Presbyterian community had maintained so many of its traditional Gaelic forms. But he also noted that many of the Gaelic stories he heard were more characteristic of a Catholic than of a Protestant community.¹⁸² MacDougall (1922) also reported that the MacKinnon families from the Lake Ainslie area originally came from the Isle of Muck, a small island in the Hebrides. Some of these families are Catholic and some are Protestant.¹⁸³ One of these MacKinnon families, he reported, were Catholics in Scotland, but 'had left the church (in Scotland) on account of some severe act of discipline to which one of them was subjected by his parish priest.'¹⁸⁴ The West Lake Ainslie (Catholic) MacKinnons had many of the same names in their family as the Black Point MacKinnons have in theirs: Donald, John, Alexander, Ann, Margaret. (See Appendix A)

It is important to note that there were also MacLellans, MacEacherns, Frasers, MacKays¹⁸⁵ and MacDonalds in the Lake Ainslie area. There is no real evidence yet to indicate what the exact relationship was between these families in Southern Cape Breton or in the Highlands, but certainly a kinship web was functioning in Northern Cape Breton during the latter half of the 19th century.

Ommar (1988) found that Highland groups in Cape Breton relocated after initial settlement to recreate kinship groups that had previously existed in Highland Scotland; they moved closer to the families with whom they had kinship relations in the Highlands. Often, she reported, this re-organization often took a generation to accomplish. If the MacKinnons were associated with the Fraser, MacEachern, or MacLellan families in Scotland, this may have been a factor in the marriages of their children and also in their migration North from Lake Ainslie to Black Point.

The social organization of kinship groups in the 19th century in the Highlands of Cape Breton or Scotland were characterized by the 'interconnection

¹⁸² Taped interview with Dr. John Shaw.

¹⁸³ The Protestants settled in East Lake Ainslie and the Catholics in West Lake Ainslie.

¹⁸⁴ Op. cit. MacDougall, 1922 pp. 515-529.

¹⁸⁵ A few of the original Free Church Fraser and MacKinnon families were married to MacKay's. The MacKay's never lived in Northern Cape Breton but remained in Southern Cape Breton. Farquhar Fraser from the Black Point kin group wrote a Gaelic song to his wife Mary Ann MacKay that is still sung today. The popular Gaelic singer, Mary Jane Lammond, has included it in one of her tapes.

of biological reproduction of the clann¹⁸⁶ and the socio-economic structures which supported it.¹⁸⁷ The characteristic settlement pattern of the clan in Scotland was called a *clachan*, a 'kin-based...group of farmsteads...with an economic base in joint farming'. The *clachan* grew up as a physical representation in space of the *clann* organization. The landscape of their new home was ultimately shaped by their family culture, which they had brought with them.¹⁸⁸

The cultural landscape is fashioned from a natural landscape by a culture group. Culture is the agent, the natural landscape is the medium, the cultural landscape is the result....With the introduction of a different, that is, an alien culture, a reorganization of the landscape sets in or a new landscape is superimposed on remnants of an older order.

Ommar(1988) found that the Highland pattern of settlement and community organization was reproduced in the New World along with and as a result of the descent system. This is why the growth of the Black Point community and the MacKinnon family or *clann* seem to be synonymous. In some way the place and people were one and the same. In some very real sense the MacKinnons were Black Point.

Originally, most of the small settlements in Northern Cape Breton were organized, as Black Point was, as *clachans*, as a kinship based network of neighboring holdings. Often a small settlement in Northern Cape Breton will historically be considered as two or three entirely separate even smaller communities. The village of Capstick is really made up of Wreck Cove which was associated with the Kanarie family and Capstick which was associated with the Capstick family.¹⁸⁹ The small village of Bay St. Lawrence is locally considered to

¹⁸⁶ The clan was usually divided into major branches or septs, a *sliochd*, plural *sliochdan*, which each stemmed from a common ancestor. Within each of these were smaller, local kin groups called *cloinne*, singular *clann*. For a more complete discussion D.S. Thompson The Companion to Gaelic Scotland Oxford: 1983. pp. 43-44. Or see MacPherson (1966, 1967, 1968) for a look at a particular clan and clann group.

¹⁸⁷ Op. cit. Ommar, 1986 p.125

¹⁸⁸ Orwin Sauer Writings of Carl Orwin Sauer Berkeley: 1969. pp.322, 343. Cited in Charles Withers Gaelic Scotland: the transformation of a culture region. Routledge: London, 1988. p. 181

¹⁸⁹ Op. cit. Dennis 1942 p.305.

be two separate communities, St. Margaret's Village and Bay St. Lawrence, that were historically associated with particular kinship or clan groups.¹⁹⁰

Militarily the clans were crushed at Culloden in 1746. Johnson (1773) Smout (1969), and many others have marked this year as the end of the Clan system. Hunter (1976) and Withers (1988), however, reported that after 1746 the people living in the Highlands actually resisted the political and economic changes in the state system on a local level as they had in the Middle Ages when the state system was feudal. This argument makes sense because more than a hundred years later Highland emigrants were still cultivating the same Highland kinship and settlement patterns in their new homes in Cape Breton (Ommar 1988).

It may be that as long as people were able to live on the land, they were able to maintain their connections within the community and they could adapt or accommodate to the changes in the state system. As long as they could continue their joint farming arrangements, and fulfill the subsistence needs of each member of the community, people could maintain their marriage patterns, their language, and their way of life. These were the most basic and important aspects of clan society in terms of the life experience of the members of the clan. As long as they could continue on the land, they had the resources for a certain kind of independence from the state system.¹⁹¹

This kind of independence became increasingly difficult, though, as their clan chiefs started towards the end of the 18th century to implement development programs in the Highlands that reflected the market philosophy that they had been trained to adopt during their school years in England. Efficiency in terms of the market became associated with progress. Agricultural 'improvements' were capital intensive and to pay for them the laird either charged his clansmen

¹⁹⁰ A community like Dingwall was transformed by the gypsum quarry into that modern hodgepodge of families who have absolutely no kinship connections living together. When the gypsum quarry opened there in the late 1930's many young families from all over the area gave up their subsistence farms for wage work at the quarry. Because transportation at the time was difficult many of these families resettled, taking up residence in Dingwall. This kind of settlement was really an anomaly in an area whose settlement pattern was based more on kinship than on caprices of wage labour. A couple who moved there from the Bay district around 1940 complained in an interview that everyone in Dingwall acted as if they were strangers.

¹⁹¹ This kind of independence marked the way of life of other pre-capitalist peasant communities. See E.P. Thompson *Patrician Society, Plebeian Culture* Journal of Social History 1974-7 (4) pp. 386

This independence was for many never far from mere subsistence,....but it was possible for many... from the common, from harvest and occasional manual earnings from by-employment's.....from daughters in the service, from poor rates or charity.

exorbitant rents for using the land or created sheep runs out of the traditional farmland. Both increased his profits, but ultimately displaced the people living on the land.

The response of the people in actively shaping their experience, the story of their life in the Highlands of Scotland or the Highlands of Cape Breton, seems to be one of agency, not of passivity. (Hunter 1976, Ommar 1988) They may have been abused in the Highlands of Scotland but it doesn't seem to me that they responded as victims when they emigrated to Cape Breton.

This is not to say that the Highland Scots weren't sometimes physically forced off of their land, evicted as a result of the 'so-called clearing of estates i.e. 'the sweeping of men off off them.'¹⁹² But it seems to me that many of the emigrants were in their own way resisting the social and economic changes that were transforming the Highland way of life. They were, as Thompson (1980) put it actively engaged in responding to their experience to make something different of their lives 'than what their history would make of them.'¹⁹³

Actually the first Highland emigrants who came in the late 18th century and early 19th century decided to leave Scotland on their own. For many years, emigration was considered to be a problem by the government and was discouraged.¹⁹⁴ People were encouraged either to resettle in the cities to work in factories or to resettle in the new coastal communities that had been built around the kelp industry. Marx (1867) reported that people were often 'forbidden to emigrate and were driv(en)....by force to Glasgcow and other manufacturing towns' or down to the shore to starve on kelp.¹⁹⁵

But in 1773, Johnson wrote that there was a 'general discontent' in the Highlands.¹⁹⁶ The tacksmen, he said, were fairly prosperous but they had no place

¹⁹² Karl Marx (edited by Friedrich Engels) Capital Chicago: Great Books of the Western World, 1952 (original 1867) Part 8, Chapter 27, p. 361.

¹⁹³ E.P. Thompson The Making of the English Working Class Hammondsworth, 1980

¹⁹⁴ In 1773 Samuel Johnson described the depopulating of the Highlands and suggested that 'Some method to stop this epidemick (sic) desire of wandering which spreads its contagion from valley to valley , deserves to be sought with great diligence.'" Journey to the Western Islands p.87. See also J.M. Bumstead The People's Clearance Edinburgh University Press: Edinburgh, 1982.

¹⁹⁵ Op. cit Karl Marx Capital Part 8, Chapter 27, p. 362

¹⁹⁶ Johnson (1773) reported that the final blow to the Highland way of life came in the suppression of the rising of 1745. But really it was a long process. For instance the Statutes of Iona enacted in 1609 outlawed both the kilt and the Gaelic language. And even before that many of the Clan Chiefs began to enact high rents from their kinsmen so that they could send their children to school in France or enjoy a life of increasing privilege at their expense. See James Hunter (1976) and T.C. Smout (1969)

in the new order and they were the first group who were displaced. Unlike the lairds, they had no legal title to the land. Unlike the tenants, they didn't work the land. They were the the managers of the old estates and they were very much a part of the traditional system. Unlike the factors, the lairds had hired to increase the profits of their holdings, they had neither the inclination nor the experience with the kind of 'improvements' the lairds wanted to implement. A tacksman was considered 'as a useless burden of the ground, as a drone who lives upon the product of an estate, without the right of property, or the merit of labour, and who impoverishes at once the landlord and the tenant.'¹⁹⁷ When the lairds increased the rents of the tacksmen he in turn had to increase the rents of the cotters and they in turn the rents of the sub-cotters. Resentment and dissatisfaction began to eat away and corrode the whole system.

Many tacksmen and tenants chose to emigrate, but in the late 18th and early 19th century emigration was expensive. The tacksmen, however, could afford their passage. Others less fortunate, but just as determined, paid for emigration by becoming indentured servants. Bumstead (1982) suggested that this 'early Highland emigration to British North America was based upon pride and choice, and that the transplanted Highlander recognized full well that only by departing his native land could he hope to maintain his traditional way of life.'¹⁹⁸

This is not to say that the element of coercion was always absent. Many emigrants were forced to choose between dislocation in their own country or emigration to another. But the early emigrants were certainly more fortunate than those who came later, for they arrived early enough to establish themselves on the best farm land and many had more resources to begin with. The family of Ann MacKinnon, the widow who was living with Archibald and Alexander's mother, emigrated from the Highlands fairly early. According to the 1871 Census, Ann was born in Nova Scotia in 1816. This was the beginning of the middle period of the Scottish emigration to Nova Scotia. It was the very beginning of the Scottish settlement of Cape Breton. They would certainly have had more access to land there than those coming later.

¹⁹⁷ Op. cit. Samuel Johnson (1773) p.78 Johnson also said that some tacksmen, like the lairds, cared more about making money than anything else. They began to charge tenants larger and larger amounts for the use of their 'wads'.

¹⁹⁸ Op. cit. Bumstead, 1982 p. xvi

The MacKinnon's, may have emigrated sometime in the 1820's or 1830's and if they did it is likely that they were more pushed out of Scotland than pulled by the attraction of the New World. For these were the years of the mass clearances when groups of cotters and sub-cotters were physically evicted from their homes and forced onto emigrant ships.

But both these groups found solace and comfort in the fact that they emigrated with their neighbors and kinsmen. And as Ommar (1988) reported they literally transplanted their Highland communities in the New World. Samuel Johnson (1773) reported:¹⁹⁹

whole neighborhoods formed parties for removal... departure from their native country is no longer exile. He that goes thus accompanied carries with him all that makes life pleasant. He sits down in a better climate, surrounded by his kindred and his friends: they carry with them their language, their opinions, their popular songs, and hereditary merriment: they change nothing but the place of their abode.

A Culture Transplanted

The way of life that Johnson and Boswell described in their journey to the Highlands in the 18th century has persisted in some form in Cape Breton in the 20th. The 'language, opinions, popular songs and hereditary merriment' that he spoke of are still alive in Cape Breton, although it is hard to say for how long. Some people still speak the Gaelic language and sing Gaelic songs.²⁰⁰ Some still remember their genealogy or believe in second sight. Others still plant with the moon and maintain the art of home brewing, fiddling or step dancing. Fighting and funerals are often community pastimes and the 'old laws of hospitality' have not yet been lost.

¹⁹⁹ Op. cit. Johnson (1773). pp. 86-87. Most of the emigrants arrived with no written record made of their passage, but the lists of passengers that are available confirm what Johnson reported.

²⁰⁰ The results of a Gaelic survey completed in 1990 indicated that at the time of relocation Gaelic was the first language of the older members of the MacKinnon kinship group. Most of the adults who had grown up in Black Point could still speak with some measure of proficiency although a few of the younger ones could only speak standard phrases. English had replaced Gaelic as the 'kitchen' language but the children in the community understood common words and phrases. Gaelic was and still is used occasionally by a few of the older members of the community when they meet. This generation, however, may be the last to hear their elders speaking Gaelic for when the older people in the community die, the Gaelic may die with them.

The strength of these family traditions is evident in the following account of Johnson's visit to the Highland island of Coll and the laird or clan chief there. After supper, he said, they were entertained by a musician from the 'family of Rankin....which has long supplied the Lairds of Col (sic) with hereditary musick.'²⁰¹

In Cape Breton the Rankin family is still famous for their music. In the last few years some members of the Lochaber Rankins formed a folk group that calls themselves 'The Rankin Family' and which has achieved success in the mainstream terms. They represent and in some way market the Gaelic tradition by arranging and adapting most of the traditional songs in a country and western style that suits mainstream tastes. Father John Angus Rankin, who was a traditional fiddler, and also a patron of 'Gaelic culture' died in the fall of 1995. He was probably as well known in Cape Breton as his younger and more famous relations. At his funeral in Sydney hundreds of fellow fiddlers, pipers, singers and step-dancers turned out.

The family traditions of the Highland Scots were transplanted in Cape Breton when the emigrants first arrived. They took root there and for many years flourished. But why? How was it that they persisted so long?

For many years the relatively isolated natural and social environment of Northern Cape Breton protected these *clachans*, these family based communities, from development in mainstream terms but at the same time provided the ground that they needed to cultivate their own way of life and of knowing. It was in their everyday life, as they worked the soil and the sea, that they were able to shape the patterns of both their material and social relationships. At the time, these were inseparable one from the other.²⁰²

Frolics: Work And Play

In Northern Cape Breton in the 19th century, people in the community got together for what were called 'frolics'. This kind of gathering was also common in Highland Scotland. They were usually associated with work but they were also important social gatherings. Boswell (1773) traveled with Johnson (1773) to the

²⁰¹ Op. cit. Johnson, 1773 p.116

²⁰² This shape was reflected in their particular 'ways of knowing', their language, their stories and their songs. I will talk about Gaelic education in the next chapter.

Highlands in the 18th century and he wrote his own descriptive account of a milling frolic there:²⁰³

Last night, Lady Rasay shewed him (Dr. Johnson) the operation of *wauking* cloth, that is, thickening it in the same manner as is done by a mill. Here it is performed by women, who kneel upon the ground, and rub it with both their hands, singing an *Erse* (Gaelic) song all the time.

After the work was done, there was always food and usually entertainment. Johnson (1773) said that at one gathering after the fiddling, dancing, and food the:²⁰⁴

ladies sung *Erse* (Gaelic) songs to which I listened as an English audience to an Italian opera, delighted with the sound of the words which I didn't understand...I inquired the subjects of the songs, and was told that it was a love song and of another, that it was a farewell composed by one of the Islanders that was going..to seek his fortune in America.

Frolics were the place that people in the wider kinship group, outside of the immediate family met for work and for play. Frolic's were a form, a forum, that supported all of the social relationships in the community and at the same time all of their economic interests.

According to the 1871 Census data, most of the settlers in the district spun their own wool and wove their own cloth. After the cloth was spun, though, it needed to be worked or *wauked*. This was extremely heavy work for one or two people and so it was carried out in Black Point, as in other parts of Cape Breton, by a group that gathered for just that purpose.

When that cloth left the loom, an invitation was sent to all the young folk of the settlement to attend one of the most lively entertainments of the period-- the Fulling Frolic.²⁰⁵

²⁰³ Op. cit. Boswell, 1773 p.275

²⁰⁴ Op. cit. Johnson, 1773 p. 53

²⁰⁵ Op. cit. MacDougall, 1922 (reprint 1972) p.6.

An improvised table, long and low, was fixed upon the floor. A row of hearty girls on each side, sat down on large bags filled with straw. The cloth, which had been ashed and soaked was produced, dripping. Those....young maidens took hold of that cloth and the process of Fulling began...To see those splendid young girls manipulating that cloth--pulling, twisting, turning, rubbing, wringing, lifting, pounding-- all to the accompaniment of lilting Gaelic songs. When one set of maidens got tired, it was replaced by another, eager for the job. This whirlwind operation continued for, at least, two hours without intermission; and, when it was all over, that cloth was nearly an inch thick, and guaranteed to wear indefinitely.

The fulling or milling was done on a sort of a grooved table six or seven yards long, nearly a yard wide, and less than two feet from the floor. The young people of the community would be seated around this table with sleeves rolled up and ready for a merry time. The cloth, with both ends were together, was wrung out of warm soapsuds and stretched loosely around the table. Every one on one side of the table took hold of the cloth firmly and all together gave it a strong rubbing push across the table, then drew it back and sent it on to the neighbor on the right or on the left if they so preferred. Those seated on the other side of the table did the same in their turn, and the cloth was kept moving around in its circle; and all this was done to the tune of some lively Gaelic song, with a chorus in which everyone was expected to join.²⁰⁶ After the fulling or milling was over 'supper was served and then followed music, dancing, Gaelic songs and stories...One vied with another as to which could produce the greatest good cheer.²⁰⁷

It was at gatherings like the frolics that people in the community exchanged work, courtesies, songs, stories and favors. MacDougall (1922) reported that 'frolics were informal social gatherings at which the chief functions were music, dancing and story-telling...the songs the harmonies of a past history...and the dancing...a beautiful work of art'²⁰⁸ There was, however, always work that needed to be done and that was made lighter by many hands doing it. The younger people would go from house to house when wood needed to be bucked up or split.²⁰⁹ They would do the same when potatoes needed to be planted or dug, or when hay needed to be put in, or when oats needed to be threshed.²¹⁰

²⁰⁶ Op. cit. Rev. D. MacDonald ,1933 pp. 19, 20

²⁰⁷ Op. cit. MacDougall,1922 p.6

²⁰⁸ Ibid. p.630

²⁰⁹ Cabot Archives File #536 Chopping Frolics

(M)any neighbors gathered with axes and cross-cut saws. The men always had their meals at the home where the wood was cut. It was not uncommon for a winters wood (15 cords) to be cut in one day. The days work was often followed by a candy pull. The women made many platters of molasses candy. The molasses candy was pulled and twisted...the evening was spent playing games and music was sometimes supplied by several playing mouth organs.

In 1935, John G. MacNeil acquired the first sawing machine in the Bay St. Lawrence district. This was made up of a saw bench and engine. A group of men would go from house to house with the machine. Dinner and supper were prepared at the home where the wood was sawed. They would stay for about four hours to saw up the wood. The pay was one dollar per hour. The saw engine was carried on one sleigh by horse and the engine was on another sleigh. (Cabot Archives #536)

²¹⁰ The descriptions of members of the Black Point community of the process of threshing and winnowing are confirmed by written sources. According to MacDougall (1922 p.4) 'The threshing was done by a flail consisting of two light sticks of hardwood fastened together with an eel-skin thong.' MacDonald 1933 p.23 reported that: 'The common method (of

These work gatherings were an occasion for having a good time together and in some sense people worked as hard at having a good time as they did at the work itself. The work was simple necessity. They had to do it. The parties afterwards, though, were pure joy. People in the district reported that, sometimes after working together all day, they would stay up and dance and sing until very late at night. As MacDougall (1922) noted above, the basic function of the frolic from the settlers, perspective was really pleasure not work.²¹¹ The material relations of these small communities were entirely embedded in their social life.

Because we inhabit an entirely different social and temporal space, it is very easy to lump all of the Scottish Highlanders together into one undifferentiated mass. Certainly they all shared the same language and they the same general quality of life, despite the fact that some were quite a bit more prosperous than others. But the settlers themselves may have had a different sense of identity, one that had less to do with nationality than with the particular kinship group that they belonged to.²¹²

winnowing)...was to spread sheets on the ground, or more frequently, on the snow, and take the threshed grain and chaff in large sieves and, holding the sieve high up pour out grain and chaff very gently, giving the wind the chance to drive the chaff away and let the grain drop in a heap on the sheet.'

²¹¹ Op. cit. MacDougall, 1922 p.630 There was also a negative attitude growing up among people in the community who were 'educated' formally in mainstream terms.

MacDougall(1922) defended the Highland settlers:

The habit of dancing and holding frequent frolics was another fault imputed to our ancestors. In connection there with we think they are entitled to a special explanation. They were strangers in a strange land. They lived in the forest thousands of miles from the homes of their first impressions. Their labors were arduous and imperative. They had nothing to read, and even if they had libraries only few could use them. They had no clubs, societies or moving pictures. It was essential that they should preserve their fitness for the task to which their hands were set. How could they preserve that fitness without those light amusements and recreations which their lot imposed and the Lord permitted?....Were these simple recreations things of evil? *Honi soit qui mal y pense.*

Although MacDougall, 1922 was sympathetic notice the condescension in the above passage and the presumption that libraries, clubs, societies and moving pictures were activities that were more desirable and refined. This was a perspective that was in conflict with the Gaelic perspective of the majority of the Highland settlers. In 1922 when MacDougall wrote his History of Inverness County this perspective was emerging in Gaelic Cape Breton as local knowledge and traditions gave way to formal English schooling. In the Bay district people stopped weaving their own cloth in the early 20th century but the Gaelic milling or fulling songs were still sung at other gatherings that are still called *Celiah's* in Cape Breton. In 1994 one of the Gaelic singers from the Black Point community, Marcella MacKinnon, performed fulling or milling songs at an outdoor concert during the Cabot Day festivities.

²¹² The internal migration of Highland settlers that Ommar (1986) described was not simply 'chain migration'. These people were not simply moving to where friends or family had gone before in order to have help in adjusting to a new way of life. These groups of Highland settlers relocated a second time in an attempt to re-generate the kinship ties that had previously existed in Highland Scotland. This would also account for MacLean's (1938) report that at first seems to contradict Ommar (1986) in her thesis that particular clann groups

Within the Bay district, not all of the Highland settlers had social or economic relationships with each other. The community as a whole didn't gather at every work party to plant and harvest each others potatoes, cut up each other's wood, or launch and haul each other's boats. It was the members of a particular kinship web who worked together, shared tools, or cultivated other joint relationships. Usually, but not always, these were also the people who were living, as MacDonald (1933) said, in the same 'neighborhood'. Proximity, however, was not as important as kinship and religion. There was, for instance, much less social intercourse between the Catholic families in Capstick and Wreck Cove and the Protestant families in Black Point.²¹³

These kinship networks provided help and support for all of the everyday activities that needed to be done. It was within them that people learned to weave together the particular community patterns of cooperation. The hands of everyone at the milling frolic had to move together to the rhythms of the songs, the collective harmonies that were established by each voice present and re-established in the next generation. It was here that the fabric of the community was made strong. The milling and making of all of the social relationships of the communities were as much a part of the process as the material reality of the cloth.

It is no coincidence that the word 'frolic' is also used in the community in reference to the reproductive cycles of the cattle. When our cow was in heat she broke the fence and took off down the road in search of our neighbor's bull, which was in pasture. Often cows will break out of one pasture looking for greener grass down the road. But when the cow is looking for a mate she is sometimes said to be 'frolicking' with the bull. It seems to me that in some sense these human 'frolics' were also reproductive. In the simplest sense it was at these gatherings that couples had a chance to meet and to decide whether they wanted to 'tie the knot'. These were the ties that held the community together and ensured its generation.²¹⁴ These frolics, then, were really a medium for the 'culture' of all of the social relationships of the community.²¹⁵

tended to settle together. For MacLean reported that the Scots were scattered more widely over the country than most other ethnic groups and that 'they had a lesser tendency to "bloc" together, wherever they happened to find themselves.' M.C. MacLean *The Mobile Nova Scotian* Public Affairs August, 1938. p.6 Cited in R.A. MacLean *The Scots- Hector's Cargo* in Douglas F. Campbell (ed.) Banked Fires The Ethnics of Nova Scotia The Scribblers' Press: Port Credit, Ontario, 1978. p.136

²¹³ The Catholic families in Meat Cove, however, would visit the families in Capstick. I will discuss this in more detail in Chapter 3.

²¹⁴ Gerald M.Sider *The ties that bind: culture and agriculture property and propriety in the Newfoundland village fishery* Social History Vol. 5, #1: Jan. 1980 pp. 1-39. Sider uses this

The Notion Of Culture

I have tried to avoid using the word 'culture' as much as I can because it seems to me that it is a particularly onerous concept. In some sense it is like talking about 'colic' in a baby. Both words refer to something real. Everyone knows what they mean but no one can define them precisely.

There are any number of reasons a baby cries but sometimes a baby's distress is something that no one, neither doctor nor mother, can quite put a finger on. Often we simply say that the baby has colic. There are also countless ways that different groups of people organize and shape the pattern of their lives and there are countless ways of talking about all these differences. Neither anthropologists nor the subjects they study can put their finger on the real nature of these differences, though. People simply say that different groups have different 'cultures'.

Taylor's (1871) broad definition in his work Primitive Culture is the one that is most quoted. It is still used as the basis of the standard dictionary definition. 'Culture', he said, 'in its wide ethnographic sense, is that complex whole which includes knowledge, belief, art, morals, law, custom, and any other capabilities and habits required by man as a member of society.'²¹⁶ Kroeber and Kluckhohn published a whole book devoted to the concept but they simply listed the numerous ways in which the word has been used by categorizing these various definitions in six separate sections.²¹⁷ After reading their book I had doubts about the concept's usefulness because it can be used in so many different ways.

phrase a bit differently. I am suggesting that the 'ties that bind' are generated in all of the relationships cultivated in the community in terms of cooperative work not just those around agriculture. In his study of small communities in Newfoundland he primarily looked at relationships that were or were not able to be generated in relation to agriculture or land ownership. His thesis was that the people living in Newfoundland communities were not allowed to own or cultivate the land and so their community culture was distorted and many of the ties that could have bound them together were weakened.

²¹⁵ I'm using the word social here to include the economic exchange relationships in the community here.

²¹⁶ E. B Tylor Primitive Culture NY: Harper 1958 (original 1871) p.1

²¹⁷ A.L. Kroeber and C. Kluckhohn Culture: a critical review of concepts and definitions Harvard University: Papers of the Peabody Museum, 47. The six categories were 1. enumeratively *descriptive* (the description of a groups social customs, traditions, and artifacts etc.) 2. *historical* (the development of groups through time i.e. primitive to modern), 3. *normative* (in Durkheim's sense of the values and norms of a group that achieve a kind of existence as a whole in shaping the individual 4. *psychological* (the particular solutions of a group to ecological problems, 5. *structural* (the systems of understanding and the patterns

Second-order concepts like 'culture', 'unconscious', 'normal' or 'intelligence' can be dangerous. These concepts are inventions used to explain our experience but they really are outside that experience as such. The notion of a 'Highland culture' would probably have made little sense to members of the MacKinnon family as they cut hay in the Highlands and Islands of Scotland or to Archibald and Alexander as they mowed hay in Northern Cape Breton.

Notions of this sort can be used as political tools to justify and rationalize policies that serve the interests of the more dominant group in a society. The word 'culture', for instance, was used originally by anthropologists, like Tylor, when discussing what they perceived were 'primitive' groups of people. These people were objectified as the word itself was popularized in the late 19th century at the first world exhibitions in Paris in the 1880's and in Chicago in the 1890's. For the first time, groups of people from different parts of the world were 'exhibited' and their ways of life purveyed by anyone willing to pay the price of admission. There can be political and social consequences to such a theoretical construct.

But, having said all of this, I still think that the concept itself might be helpful. We know that there are essential differences in the lives of different groups of people: a Russian family in Minsk, an Italian family in Calabria, a Kung bushman in Southern Africa, or a Gaelic family in the Highlands of Cape Breton. We know that there is something that all of the people within one of these groups share with each other that they don't share with the people outside of them. We can feel all this with our hearts and our minds. We can even see it in the particular expressions that everyone in small groups share--the characteristic way they hold their mouths, or the way they move when they walk, or the different languages they speak, or the different ways they think about the world. These differences are striking. So I am going to use the term 'culture' but only after examining it's roots.

The best place to begin might be with the word itself. Before the word was appropriated by Tylor (1871) and the generations of anthropologists and sociologists who followed him, the word 'culture' was used primarily as a verb in the sense of 'cultivation'. It was originally derived from the Latin, *cultura*, which means tending or cultivation: the process and practice of cultivating the soil or

the raising of plants and animals.²¹⁸ It came into Middle English via the French. In the 16th century, though, the word also began to be used in referring to the process of human development. Until the late 18th century it was used in either of these two senses. Then it began to be used in relation to social progress, civilization or enlightenment. That is to say, the word was used as the opposite of primitive or barbaric. At this time, it also took on the meaning of individual refinement.

Originally, then, the word 'culture' signified a process not a thing. It seems to me that perhaps one of the difficulties with the notion of culture is that often social scientists use it in such a way that the sense of process, which was so much a part of the original verb, is completely lost. In the minds of theorists, it becomes a thing—something static, something that shapes people, cookie-cutter fashion and that is passed on as a gift-wrapped treasure to their children, something that can be preserved and admired like Hopi pottery or Highland dancing and fiddle tunes.

In talking about culture we tend to lose sight of the fact that human society is always in process. Strangely enough, though, as Sider (1986) pointed out, the Marxist notion of 'class' has been an extremely useful tool in analyzing the social process. Perhaps this has to do with the fact that class is primarily an economic concept. And in our particular social order, the economy has taken on a life of its own, a life separate from us. In fact, it basically defines and frames almost all of our experience as human beings, from the minute we are born to the minute we die. Modern society²¹⁹ is primarily different from any that existed before, because 'instead of economy being embedded in social relations, social relations are embedded in the economic system.'²²⁰

When feudalism gave way to capitalism the economy became the main organizing principle of life and of the world we live in. People became commodities to be bought and sold. Nature became property. Life became labour. And patrimony was turned into capital. Over the last few centuries human beings

of organization that define a group), 6. *genetic* (the ways that the particular symbols used by a particular group are transmitted and maintained through time or through space)

²¹⁸ Oxford English Dictionary The Oxford English Dictionary Oxford: Clarendon, 1989.

²¹⁹ I am using 'our society' broadly to mean western industrial capitalism. This separation also was implicit in industrial communism as it existed in the Soviet Union and still exists in China.

²²⁰ Karl Polyani The Great Transformation Beacon Press: Boston 1944 (reprinted 1957) p.57.

have been transformed into a new species. Mauss (1925) called it 'homo economicus':²²¹

The word 'interest' is recent in origin and can be traced back to the Latin *interest* written on account books, written on rents to be recovered. In the most Epicurean of these philosophies pleasure and the good were pursued and not material utility. The victory of rationalism and mercantilism was required before the notions of profit and the individual were given currency and raised to the level of principles. One can date roughly...the triumph of the notion of individual interest. It is only awkward paraphrasing that one can render the phrase 'individual interest' in Latin, Greek or Arabic...It is only our Western societies that quite recently turned man into an economic animal...*Homo economicus* is not behind us but before, like the moral man, the man of duty, the scientific man and the reasonable man. For a long time man was something quite different; and it is not so long now since he became a machine--a calculating machine.

This is not to say that human society has not in some way always been shaped and limited by economic factors. But in the modern social order the notion of economic self-interest has become the absolute driving force:²²²

Nineteenth century civilization alone was economic in a different and distinctive sense, for it chose to base itself on a motive only rarely acknowledged as valid in the history of human societies, and certainly never before raised to the level of a justification of action and behavior in everyday life, namely gain....The mechanism which the motive of gain set in motion was comparable in effectiveness with only the most violent outburst of religious fervor in history. Within a generation the whole human world was subjected to its undiluted influence.

Despite this influence, many human beings realize, at least on a personal level, that gain and profit are not the only things that give meaning to a human being's life. The assumption that the economic determines everything else leads to a somewhat distorted view of the social process from either the perspective of *laissez-faire* capitalism or state controlled marxism. The notion of class may certainly be useful in explaining certain aspects of the social process; but from the economic point of view, what we call culture becomes simply derivative.

The Ties That Bind: Economic And Social Exchange

²²¹ Marcell Mauss *The Gift* Norton & Company: New York, 1967. (Originally published 1925 in French *Essai sur le don, forme arcaïque de l'échange*) pp. 73-4.

²²² Op. cit. Polyani 1944 p. 30

Charles Withers (1988), in his work on the cultural transformation of the Highlands of Scotland, discussed the difficulties of using the concepts of culture and class. He chose to use the notion of class as an analytical tool because he was primarily dealing with Anglicization of the Gaelic Highlands. In doing so, though, he ignored the everyday exchange relationships between people in the Highlands. These were really what held the Highland communities together and gave them their particular shape.

The real transformation of what he called a culture area had to do with the changes that took place in the everyday life experience, in the everyday exchanges, of the people who lived there. This transformation takes place from the inside out so to speak, rather than from the outside in. This is not to say that outside pressures don't drastically affect people's lives. A change in land holding patterns, in the way the state system regards these patterns, can totally disrupt the life experience of the people who live there. But class and culture are wrapped tightly together. Cultural transformation is marked by the particular ways that people choose to adapt or resist these changes. So, without ignoring the effect of outside forms, it seems to me that we need also to look to the inside exchanges as well.

Sider (1980) also considered the theoretical distortions involved in using the concepts culture and class. He suggested that we reunite the two concepts by considering the relation between the notions agriculture and culture. The relations that people have to the earth may reflect the kind of relationships that they have with each other. Sider's (1980) research dealt specifically with the connection between the state prohibition of agriculture, land ownership, in the Newfoundland outports and a lack of social cohesion in these communities that he related to their failure to resist relocation and resettlement.²²³

The people in the Bay district cultivated both the earth and the sea for their sustenance. Many of the families in the Black Point community were, however, vulnerable because they were considered to be squatters who had no rights to the ground that they lived on. It seems to me that the ability or inability

²²³ At the end I found Sider's thesis limited, especially his discussion of the outport relocations. Human beings do not need 'agriculture' as such to generate and regenerate a vital community culture. The fishing grounds in Newfoundland were the grounds of people's local culture, just as the Northern woods were the Cree's grounds and the tundra the Innu's.

of a group of people to sustain themselves by cultivating some ground of their own determines whether their particular local culture will manage to survive.

As long as the people in the Highlands of Scotland or Cape Breton were allowed to cultivate their own ground, they were also able to shape their own community relationships in opposition to the mainstream perspective.²²⁴ These were generated in traditional Highland patterns of kinship and cooperative work, embodied in the music and dance and story forms, and transmitted and maintained in the Gaelic language itself.

It seems to me that culture is generated and formed within the social and economic relations of a particular group. But culture as such doesn't really exist separately from these relations. It is at once the matrix and the medium in which these relations themselves grow and take shape.

The Gift: The Culture Or Cultivation Of Exchange Relations

Mauss (1925) reported that in social systems of the past the social and material relations of a group were exchanges in which the material and spiritual wealth of a community were circulated and shared. These relations took the form of what he called an 'exchange of gifts', although there were always mutual obligations involved. These exchanges were not primarily economic, though.²²⁵

(W)hat they exchange is not exclusively goods and wealth, real and personal property, and things of economic value. They exchange rather courtesies, entertainments, ritual, military assistance, women, children, dances, and feast; and fairs in which the market is but one element and the circulation of wealth but one part of a wide and enduring contract....

These gift exchanges were the cultural medium in which the communities he studied generated and regenerated themselves. The mutual obligations of the exchange of gifts worked as a kind of energy, called *mana* in Samoa, which held together the fabric of the community. Mauss described certain characteristics that

²²⁴ Polanyi 1944 p.92 described the labourer in England during the rise of early capitalism: As long as domestic industry was supplemented by the facilities and amenities of a garden plot, a scrap of land, or grazing rights, the dependence of the laborer on money earnings was not absolute; the potato plot or stubbling geese; and family earnings acted as a kind of unemployment insurance. The rationalization of agriculture inevitably uprooted the labourer and undermined his social security.

²²⁵ Op. cit. Mauss 1925 p. 3.

were present in various forms in all of the groups that he studied and he called this a system of '*total presentations*'. He reported that:²²⁶

- The most important of the spiritual mechanisms is clearly the one that 'obliges us to make a return gift for a gift received.'
- There are three obligations: giving, receiving, repaying.
- The form usually taken is that of 'the gift generously offered; but the accompanying behavior is formal pretense and social deception.'
- Often the exchanges are marked by an extravagance that seems to make absolutely no economic sense.
- What is really exchanged and circulated is 'the honour or prestige', the *mana*, that the giving of gifts confers.

Exchange Relations In The Bay: Gifts Generously Given And Recieved

Mauss' metaphor of 'the gift' and his analysis of the system of exchange is extremely useful not only in understanding the particular nature of exchange relations in the Highland settlements in Northern Cape Breton but also in understanding just how the Gaelic culture has persisted so long despite pressure from the outside. Even if we took a very narrow view of culture it would be a helpful analysis, for it wasn't only labour and skills that were shared in the community but also songs, stories, place-names, herbal lore, music, and dance. This was the spiritual wealth of the community, of the family or clan culture, that is still circulating, but with difficulty, in the Highlands of Cape Breton in the 20th century.

Exchange relations in mainstream society are almost entirely governed by written contracts and monetary considerations. We even set up relationships within our family on a contract basis. We pay our children to wash the windows or mow the lawn. We give them an allowance that depends on certain chores getting done. Many people believe that this teaches children responsibility and how to live in the world. But this is a different world than the one that existed in Cape Breton in 1971, the year that the Black Point community was closed.

In 1971, the frolics were a thing of the past but people still helped each other plant potatoes and make hay and launch their boats. Afterwards they sat in

²²⁶ Ibid. pp.5,1

the kitchen, drank tea, shared something to eat, and exchanged stories, jokes and songs. The old forms had been adapted but the kind of relations that Mauss (1925) reported were still alive. In this next section, I will like to look at the relations in Northern Cape Breton that I observed and participated in relation to Mauss' (1925) system of '*total presentations*' or theory of gift exchange.²²⁷

The Gift Of Hospitality: Visiting And Tea

Where Everyone Knows That 'No' Means 'Yes'²²⁸

In the Bay district it is customary to offer guests tea when they come to visit.²²⁹ This seemingly spontaneous behavior is actually quite prescribed and formal. The social obligations that are very much a part of the tea ritual and the set of rules that guide the whole transaction became apparent to me when someone in the community didn't follow them.²³⁰

R.C., a young man of 25, told me that a woman, J., in a neighboring community was 'mean', the local term for stingy, because she didn't serve him tea. He was visiting the family because his father had picked up something for them in Sydney. He was delivering it.²³¹ The women invited him in; they chatted for awhile and then she offered him tea. But, he complained, she never made him tea.

This seemed very unusual and I asked him to explain. He told me that when she had offered him tea he had refused. He believed, she should have brought him the tea anyway, and that she had treated him rudely. I remember laughing at him. It seemed perfectly reasonable to me that, if he told her that he

²²⁷ The following accounts are taken from observations in a journal I've kept.

²²⁸ Although I am using the present tense these forms are not at all as rigid as they were in the 1970's.

²²⁹ The 'laws of hospitality' are changing in the Bay district, as the area becomes developed in mainstream terms. But customs, like tea, still persist although they are changing. For instance, people might offer you instant coffee if they know you are from away. Tourism is really affecting the community because people are learning that in the modern world it is necessary to make money to survive rather than to give gifts.

²³⁰ The rules governing the behavior towards people in the immediate family and kinship group are different. The tea ritual that I am describing is the one that I observed most often. So it must be understood that these are the 'rules' and the forms defined when a person is not located within the kinship group.

²³¹ Sydney is a small city about 120 miles from the Bay. Northern Cape Breton continues to be quite isolated. There are few services available in the area and often people have to drive to Sydney to buy a pair of shoes or to go to the dentist. For many years there was a small bus service that operated a few days a week but the government cut the small subsidy that enabled the bus to operate.

didn't want tea, then she wouldn't think that she should give him tea. My perspective, however, was not the perspective of the community at that time.²³²

R. knew that for some reason the women wasn't following the rules.²³³ The answer to the question 'Would you like a little tea?' was supposed to be 'No'. Usually, 'No, thank you, I've just eaten'--because it is also understood that tea meant a 'little lunch'.²³⁴ This, however, is pure social deception.

The host is supposed to ignore that guest's 'No, thank you' and to begin the preparations for tea. The table might be set, the food prepared, and the boiling water poured into the teapot. The water on the stove would usually be boiling at this point because at the first sight of a visitor the kettle is filled with water and moved over to boil on the stove.²³⁵

When tea is served it is proper not to refuse it. There is, however, no real pressure put on the guests to eat--as there might be in a Jewish or Italian household. The tea cup is kept filled and guests are encouraged to eat as much as they want. 'Have some more tea. Have some more bread. Have some more scones'. The visitor refuses but the hostess keeps the plate and the cup filled.

There seems to be a whole mode of behavior that defines visiting. Guests always enter through the kitchen even if there is a front door to the house. Guests remove their shoes in the porch if there is one and enter without knocking. If there is no porch they simply walk in and remove their shoes by the door. The kitchen is the place where people gather.

Usually, the host will remark that there is no need to take off the boots or shoes; but the visitor will take them off anyway. The guests walk directly into the doorway but not into the house. They stand by the door until they are invited in

²³² These 'old ways' are changing but even in the 1990's they are maintained by the older people in Northern Cape Breton-- especially those who have continued to live on their family farms.

²³³ She may have considered him a child and not an adult because children usually are more direct. If they say they want a cookie when they are asked no one thinks it rude nor do they think it rude if they refuse to accept.

²³⁴ In Northern Cape Breton 'tea' was never just tea. It was understood as tea and something to eat, a 'little lunch'. I overheard a conversation between three older men who had worked in various places. One said that people up in Sydney were 'mean' because when they offered a person tea they just brought out tea and nothing but tea. They all agreed. One of the other men remarked that people in PEI were the meanest he'd ever met because he'd been working there and the people he met didn't even invite a person in for tea.

²³⁵ In 1971, most people had a unit that is locally called a 'keymac'. This is, however, simply the brand name of an oil unit which fits into a wood stove and which burns continuously so that the stove stays warm all through the night or when no one puts wood in it. These stoves were usually also fitted with a hot water tank and the heat of the stove was used to keep the water warm.

and asked to sit down. Guests rarely take their coats off and will often sit for hours with them on no matter how warm the kitchen is. Visitors are encouraged, however, to take their coats off through the entire visit. The proper response is to say that it is time to go.

'There's plenty of time', the host will say throughout the visit, no matter how late or how long a guest has stayed. When the hostess asks about tea, visitors usually will make a motion that they are just getting ready to leave. But at this point the hostess usually has the tea just about made. Visitors also might make a motion to leave before they have been asked but this is a signal for the hostess to inquire if the guest would like something. If she doesn't, then her husband might say 'A cup of tea would be nice'. If there are older girls in the household, they might be asked to fix tea. But it is usually more of a command. 'Give the woman a cup of tea', as if to remind them of their duty. The food accompanying tea can be anything from a light meal to a plate full of cookies and cakes to bread or bannock and molasses or jam.

There was a sense of plenty and abundance that accompanied tea. There was plenty of tea, plenty of time, and certainly plenty of scones. The whole encounter seemed to be completely spontaneous and there was never a sense of any kind of obligation to the patterns that everyone expected.

These patterns really defined people's behavior and also their expectations of the behavior of other people in the community. But they allowed enough variation so people could use them to express their thoughts and feelings about the other person. The variations were all meaningful. How a person offered tea or when they offered it. How many times the tea cup was filled and what kind of food was provided—all of these were signs that could communicate exactly what people thought and felt about each other.

People could chose to disregard these rules entirely but their reputations were at stake. They were considered 'mean' if they chose not to give and rude if they chose not to receive. Visitors were never in so much of a rush when they came on business that they didn't stay at least for a little while and visit.

In these exchanges the social relations seemed to take precedence over any economic or material necessity. This may have been an illusion, but it worked. In visiting and taking tea, people were able to take care of business but at the same time they communicated quite subtly and gracefully the nature of their relationship. They also had the freedom to decide whether or not they wanted to strengthen or weaken the bonds of their relationship.

Purpose And Pretence: Borrowing And Lending

The purpose served by the social deception involved in these encounters might not be immediately apparent to an outsider who would think it strange that people said 'no' when really they meant 'yes'.

The guests refusal may have been an illusion, but it was graceful way of giving the hosts the freedom to offer whatever it was they had or chose to give. As Mauss (1925) found in the communities that he studied, whatever gift was being given must always seem to be 'freely given'. There were also three obligations: to give, to receive and to reciprocate.

Most exchanges in Northern Cape Breton took this form and many still do. For instance, often when someone comes to visit, there is a reason; but often that reason is not immediately or directly stated. This is true even if they came for something quite specific, to borrow a ladder, to get some information, or to ask for help. The request that is made is translated into the form of the exchange pattern.

When L., my neighbour, came to visit, I knew, because it was the middle of the day, that he probably came for a particular reason. I was busy working in the garden. Dennis, my mate, wasn't home. I took the vegetables that I had picked and we both went to the house. As we were talking I was trying to figure out from the conversation what he had come for. I made tea and tried to ask the questions that would reveal the reason for his visit.

He seemed totally relaxed as if he had all the time in the world. His only concern seemed to be that he was taking me away from my work. The conversation continued spiraling in smaller and smaller circles until after awhile we reached the necessity that had carried him to my kitchen. He told me that he and his son had been putting new shingles on their roof. We talked about wood shingles and asphalt shingles and the merits and cost of both. We talked about Oddie Morrison in Cape North who used to have a shingle mill and also about the mill still operating in Scotsville. I wondered if he had run out of shingles or tar and mentioned that it was hard to know exactly how much a person material to order. I wondered if he was inquiring if we were going into Sydney soon, so we could pick him up more supplies, or whether he thought we might have some extra shingles, because we had just finished building. I mentioned that we were going into Sydney that weekend. We talked about this briefly and about the bus to Sydney not operating. But that conversation didn't go anywhere.

Then he started talking about the weather being great for shingling. He hoped that he would be able to finish the job while they had such a good spell of weather. The weather had to be dry and cool enough to make it possible work on the roof but warm enough so that the tabs of tar on the shingles stuck. We discussed how important it was to put extra tar under the shingles because in our area there are extremely high winds. I asked how long he thought the job might take. He said that he really didn't know at this point. They couldn't reach the peak of the roof with their ladder, so they might have to build some staging.

He needed our long aluminum extension ladder. He still didn't ask, though. He started to tell a funny story about a local woman known as 'Big Theresa' and how when her roof was leaking and needed to be fixed, she did it, not her husband. When he was finished, I told him that we had a long extension ladder that might reach where he needed to go. At first he refused. He wouldn't want to take it, he said, if we needed it. I assured him that we weren't working at anything vaguely connected with a ladder. He was also close by if we did need it. What was unspoken was all of the help that he had given us in the past. All of the tools we'd borrowed and all of the times he'd taught us how to do something. He said that if it was no trouble 'that would be great' and then after a quick 'tea' and a few more funny stories we went out to the barn to get the ladder.

This kind of encounter, filled as it was with gift exchanges, was extremely enlightening for me. He came to ask me about the ladder, but we exchanged tea, stories, lunch, and gifts. Actually, there was a kind of continuous exchange going on with our neighbour, so the reciprocity between us had little to do with a feeling of owing something specific or measurable. I didn't feel obligated to lend him the ladder simply as a payback because he had loaned us his bob sled last winter. The obligations that I felt were real but they were more like the ties of family than those of business.

I had been taught to be much more direct in my exchanges with people. I had been taught that people shouldn't waste other people's time. Time was like money and there was never enough of it. In this community, however, there was no sense of 'wasting' or 'spending' time. Instead people 'passed the time'.

My response and manner may not be typical of the community pattern, but in some sense it was shaped by my neighbor's way of relating. I couldn't be direct because this would simply reduce his visit to business. This certainly wasn't the nature of our relationship. To someone whose rationality was entirely instrumental it might seem that the ladder was real purpose of the exchange. But

the ladder was merely another token of the currency of mutual affection that flowed more or less continuously between our households. This is not to say that it wasn't important, but we both knew that it wasn't the most important thing between us.

So, in some way, the seeming lack of purpose is important. The exchange between us was able to unfold gracefully and the threads connecting us strengthened. In some sense we both let business take care of itself while we used the occasion to enjoy each other's company.

The Obligations Of The Gift

Because these rules are unwritten, though, it was difficult to understand them until, out of ignorance, we broke one of them. One winter afternoon our horses broke out of the fence and ran off down the road. We couldn't locate them, but that evening they made their way to a neighbor's, J. He lived in the village itself, which was about five miles away from us. It was a cold evening and one of the horses, a young mare, leaned up against his warm kitchen window and cracked one of the panes of glass. J. called us up and told us that our horses were at his place. He never mentioned the broken glass. We came and got the animals and it was then that we found out about the damage. We offered to pay him but he refused. We offered again but he still refused. What we didn't realize, though, was that this refusal was something of an illusion. It wasn't that he wanted the money. As Mauss (1925) pointed out, in these exchanges the payment of the return 'gift' is not immediate because there is a certain lack of respect in just paying people for a favour or a gift they have given you. The immediacy of the act belittles the expression of friendship that is implied in the original gift. So the return gift is deferred and this is a sign of a certain deference or respect.

But we didn't understand any of this. We just thought that he was being really nice. We also believed that he didn't want the money and we thought that he would be insulted if we pushed it on him. We were probably right, but he probably would have made allowances because we were from 'away'. It would have been better than what we did which was simply to thank him without bringing him a return gift. What we should have done was to bring him a roast of pork when we slaughtered our pig or to pick up a bottle of rum for him at Christmas. We thought that when he said 'No', he didn't want anything for the window, that he really meant what he said.

So we never really thought too much about it until about a year later. We were at a little get together at our neighbor's and J. was drinking. Out of the blue he challenged, Dennis, my mate, to a fight. I finally realized that it was over the window. J. felt extremely insulted at our behavior. We learned that it wasn't really the cost of the window. He didn't want payment as such. But he thought that if we cared for him we would have brought him some 'gift' as a token of appreciation of his generosity and friendship. By not taking our money for the window he had in some sense given it as a gift to us. We should have honored this generosity and the connection he had initiated in some more formal and material way than simply by saying thank you. We ended up insulting J. without meaning to because we didn't really understand the pretense that is often involved in these social exchanges.

This is not to say that people 'lie' to each other because sometimes they say 'no' when they mean 'yes'. Everyone knows what is happening. It is like being thirsty and wanting a drink, but learning to go to the end of the line and take your turn. It is simply part of a larger form that allows a certain spaciousness to be part of the exchanges between people. People who feel as if they have room don't mind sharing some of it with the people around them. It allows people a freedom, because exchanges almost always take the form of 'giving and receiving' rather than 'owing and taking'.

The form does entail a certain kind of illusion and deception because people do have economic and social obligations that are tacitly understood, that is, there is a principle of reciprocity at work. But people choose whether or not they are going to fulfill what they or others might perceive as their obligations. For instance, a direct question, 'Will you lend me your ladder?' demands an immediate reply and there is compulsion in this. When questions are posed indirectly, it allows for the form of I give this to you as a gift. I give not because you demand it of me or because I owe it to you but because I offer it to you freely, because I honor you, because I respect you, because I am your friend and your neighbor. This freedom is not deception because I can still choose not to 'give'. This refusal may be read as an insult but there is actually room within the form to refuse in a manner that is graceful. What is at stake is really the honor and reputation of the people giving and the people receiving. So there is much room allowed in every exchange for expressing respect and regard. What impresses me always is the gracefulness of exchanges that follow this form and a certain sense of freedom and lack of compulsion or push.

The whole system of relations revolves around generosity. This is not to say that exchanges are entirely devoid of self-interest. It's just that they have little to do with simple economic self-interest or utility. What is always at stake is a person's honor and worth, not only on a public but also on a private level. Mauss (1925) mentioned the importance of the public display of generosity in the groups that he studied. In many of these everyday exchanges in the Bay district, there is not always a big public display involved. But the community is small enough that people do tend to know almost everything about each other's activities. There is also a kind of personal honor at stake, that seems just as important as what other people think—that is what you think of yourself and what you do.

In the traditional Black Point family generosity is valued more highly than anything else. As A. MacKinnon said, 'If I have it and you need it, if I don't give it then something is wrong with me.' This leads sometimes to a kind of extravagance in giving, which Mauss (1925) also reported.

Extravagant Exchange

When the transmission went in our old truck one winter, A. MacKinnon said that he had one that we could borrow. He told us that he would need it back in the spring, though, because it was the transmission from his lobster fishing boat. But, he said, we were welcome to use it all winter.

He never considered the wear and tear on the transmission nor of the fact that it might even break while we were using it. He never considered that, if it did break, we might not be able to replace it and then he would be unable to fish. Or, if he did consider it, he never told us about it.

Implicit in his offering us the gift of his transmission was the trust and faith in our friendship but also his faith in the whole system itself. His act had social meaning. He was communicating to us and to the community that we were more important than the transmission. And that he honored us as friends.

But he also had a certain faith that he wouldn't lose. He had no assurances, though, just faith in his friends and neighbours. Mauss (1925) found that in this system people rarely are impoverished by the gifts they give, even when they give away everything that they own. Because they also receive extravagantly. Mauss(1925) reported an extravagant feast that was part of the birth ceremonies that were performed by the new parents in Samoa. They received numerous birth

presents from the guests and they were actually left no richer or poorer than they were before the feast. But, he said, 'They had the satisfaction of seeing what they considered to be a great honour, namely the heaps of property collected in the occasion of the birth of their child.'²³⁶

Although A. MacKinnon's offer of a transmission might seem foolish from a mainstream perspective it makes perfect sense in this light. Traditionally, there is no value placed on the individual accumulation and ownership of material goods or on an people's ability to display their wealth. Success has to do more with a people's willingness to dispose of their wealth, to give it away to their friends, to spend it as a mark of honor and respect.²³⁷

Things are changing in the Bay district, but only a few years ago, when the engine did go in A. MacKinnon's boat, a mechanic who had experienced his incredible generosity, took a leave from his job, traveled more than a hundred miles, and stayed with A.'s family for a week, to help rebuild the engine, free of charge, so that A. could go fishing.

The Circle Of Giving: *Mana* In Northern Cape Breton

Mauss mentioned the *mana*, 'the honour or prestige' that the giving of gifts confers. He also spoke of the 'absolute obligation to make return gifts under penalty of losing 'the *mana*, authority and wealth.'²³⁸ The *mana* was a kind of powerful energy that the givers themselves received when their gift was given. This was a kind of spiritual energy--a magical, religious, and spiritual power-- that circulated in the community, what Mauss called 'the spirit of the thing given'.²³⁹ If a person received a gift, there was a responsibility to give in turn. But, again, this was not necessarily in the form of direct reciprocity between two individuals.

²³⁶ Op. cit. Mauss 1925 pp. 6-7.

²³⁷ There is still much less concern with the individual display of wealth in the Bay district than in the larger society. No matter how much money people make, and some people now make large amounts of money, the quality of their lives, for the most part, remains surprisingly the same. In fact, most people seem ashamed of making money. If you ask the most prosperous fishermen how they doing, more often than not you won't get a straight answer, or you will hear about how poor the fishing is.

²³⁸ Op. cit. Mauss 1925 p.6.

²³⁹ Ibid pp. 8-9. The Taonga, or property, are the vehicle of the '*mana*' or spiritual energy. The Maori's used the word '*hau*' for this spirit. Mauss (1925) discussed the custom of cross cousin marriage and child fosterage in Samoa. Child fosterage was also common in the Highlands. (Johnson 1773). According to Mauss the child or the was a 'channel through which '*tonga*' (feminine property)...continues to flow to that family (the foster family) from the parents of the child' It creates a living bond between the two families.

You give this to me and this means that I have to give something of equal value to you. The circulation of *mana* in the system that Mauss (1925) described took place on a community basis and this was recognized as such by the people involved.

When we were building our first house, we brought our logs to a man who owned a small saw mill. His father had been a sawyer before him. Neither of them did this as a business. They simply milled up logs when they needed them or when their neighbors did. Because two people were needed in the operation usually the person who brought the logs would help him do the milling. The person was charged a small amount of money for each board foot of lumber that was milled. This covered the cost of operating the mill and perhaps a little extra.

After our logs were sawed we went to pay the man but he refused the money. Because this was a recognized transaction so we knew that there was no insult involved in giving him money. We insisted but he refused. We tried to leave it on the kitchen table when we left but he came out to our truck and gave us back the money. Then he told us this story.

When he was young, he said, and was building his first house, he brought his logs to a man to saw them because his mill wasn't set up at the time. When he went to pay, though, the sawyer wouldn't take any money. The sawyer told him that when he, in his time, had been building his first house the man who milled up his logs had also refused to take payment. He told him that he couldn't repay the man the favor because he was dead, but that he was passing it along to him.

Our neighbour told us that he, in turn, was passing it along to us. We were honored and we felt as if we were filled with an energy that we also wanted to keep alive. When we killed our chickens that fall we made sure to bring him enough for the winter. But this had little to do with material reciprocity or obligation. We didn't feel that we were repaying a debt, that is, giving him the chickens to pay back for the milling of the logs. Instead we were honoring the relationship and his friendship and, in our turn, bestowing a gift. His gift to us and his story explaining it also nurtured a certain kind of awareness in us that helped to shape our relationship to everyone in the community.

The obligations that people feel when they receive 'gifts' of this kind are bonds that tie them together to everyone else in the community. Many families in the community still have no insurance because the ties that they have with each other really serve as insurance against disasters. When our neighbor's house burned down, people in the community raised the money for the materials for a

new house. Collections, benefit bingos and concerts were organized. Other people worked to put the house up when the building materials arrived.²⁴⁰

The giving and receiving of gifts of this kind generated an energy, among the people in a community. This is an energy that nurtures and supports a whole system of mutual relationships that ties everyone together. As Mauss reported there is a 'bond created by the transfer of a possession'. It is a bond between persons because 'to give something is to give a part of oneself....to refuse to give, or fail to invite is—like refusing to accept—the refusal of friendship and intercourse.'²⁴¹ These exchanges keep the community together materially but also spiritually.²⁴² The acts of making music together, of talking together and of making love together all have to do with the art of giving and receiving.

It seems to me that it is only through exchanges of this kind that a particular community culture can be generated and sustained. The crafts, the skills, the costumes and the customs may vary from one generation to the next. But, if the culture is to flourish, the ties among people need to remain strong.

Purely utilitarian exchanges, which are characteristic of mainstream relations, may be efficient in economic terms but they have nothing whatsoever to do with cultivation or cultural maintenance. In fact, it serves to tear apart the fabric that holds people together. (Polyani, 1944, Mauss 1925, Sapir 1925, Daly and Cobb 1989, Vandana Shiva 1988, Thompson 1977) In mainstream society

²⁴⁰ We divided the jobs. I mixed all of the cement for the cinder block basement by hand in an old wheelbarrow. Someone else carried it over to the basement. Someone else, more skilled, lay the blocks.

²⁴¹ Ibid. pp. 10, 11

²⁴² Mauss (1925) suggested that there is 'something other than utility which makes goods circulate in (the) multifarious and fairly enlightened societies' that he studied. 'Relationships ensuing from contacts between (people) are in a state of perpetual economic effervescence which has little about that is materialistic; it is much less prosaic than our sale and purchase, hire of services and speculations.(p.70) This is a system that is 'neither of purely free and gratuitous presentations, nor of purely interested and utilitarian production and exchange...This economy of gift-exchange fails to conform to the principles of so-called natural economy or utilitarianism.' (p. 69) and yet Mauss pointed out it is at 'the very heart of a normal social life.' (p. 67) Mauss suggested that this system of total presentations and gift exchange, 'constitutes the oldest economic system that we know' (p. 68) 'The theme of the gift, of freedom and obligation in the gift, of generosity and self-interest in giving reappear in our own society like the resurrection of a dominant motif long forgotten.' (p. 66) This is a return of the 'old and elemental' a 'return to the ever present bases of law, to its real fundamentals and to the very heart of normal social life.' (p. 67) 'Once again we shall discover those motives of action still remembered by many societies and classes: the joy of giving in public, the delight in generous artistic expenditure, the pleasure of hospitality in the public or private feast. Social insurance, solicitude in mutuality or cooperation.....are better than the mere personal security guaranteed by the noblemen to his tenant, better than the mean life afforded by the daily wage handed out by management's, and better even than the uncertainty of capitalist savings. (p. 67)

people are taught to make sure to take care of their own material needs. We have constructed our society around individual self-interest. and then we wonder why people act as if they are just out for themselves. This kind of materialism certainly doesn't support community or generate any kind of viable community culture.

Chapter Conclusion And Summary

In order for a community to exist, for a community culture to exist, there always needs to be some 'common ground' that people share and that they can cultivate both as individuals and as a group. For many years, people in the Bay St. Lawrence district shared the land and the sea. They certainly didn't all have an equal share, but people in the community had some control over the piece of ground that they lived on and the waters that they fished. They had enough, sometimes barely enough, but enough to piece together enough of their subsistence so that everyone's basic needs were met. As the Lynd's (1929) pointed out these basic needs are the same whether they are in Northern Cape Breton, 'Middletown' America, or an 'Arunta village in Central Australia'²⁴³ At the end of the 19th century in the Bay district in Northern Cape Breton, there was room and space and time enough for relationships to unfold. There was common ground that people shared and worked together and it was in the cultivation of this common ground that the Highland culture was re-generated.

Class and culture are really woven together. Class has to do with whether or not a group of people has access to whatever ground is being cultivated. And this ground need not be the earth itself. It could just as easily be particular fields of knowledge as particular fields of farmland. Culture has to do with the cultivation of that common ground, which could as easily be a field of dreams, a shared vision, like the union movement of the 1920's and 30's, the feminist movement of the 1970's, and the impressionist painters of the late 19th century.

Certainly a particular community culture can become extremely limited or even deformed if a group of people begin to lack the opportunity to participate in

²⁴³ Lynd, R.S. and Lynd H.M. Middletown: A Study in American Culture Harecourt, Brace and World: Boston, 1929 pp. 3-6. 'Whether in an Arunta Village in Central Australia or in our own seemingly intricate institutional life....human behavior appears to consist in variations upon a few major lines of activity.'

certain kinds of productive relations--either because of an accident of birth or their 'life chances'.²⁴⁴

Culture is 'rooted in the social relations of daily life and production and in particular in the reproduction of these social relations.'²⁴⁵ As long as people in the Highlands had access to some ground of their own they could cultivate the patterns of social and economic exchange that were so much a part of the everyday fabric of their lives. Their communities themselves remained whole and the culture sustained itself despite the stresses and strains pulling at it.

In Cape Breton there was also pressure from the state system, the dominant English society, which was for the most part a market society marked by sharp class differences. But there was resistance from within--especially in the Northern Highlands. Southern Cape Breton, including Baddeck and the Middle River area, the scene of Bittermen's (1988) study, might be called the Lowlands of Cape Breton.

Bitterman (1988) pointed out the incredible economic disparity in the Middle River area in the 19th century. Like the Lowlands of Scotland, the Cape Breton Lowlands, responded much more quickly to the market reality and patterns of the dominant English society than did the Highlands. This is not to say that disparity didn't exist in the Northern districts but the web of kinship relationships operated like a safety net to help support the individuals who made it up. Hunger was nothing new to the emigrants or to their descendent. But starvation didn't seem to exist in these Northern communities. Nor, according to the Victoria County Jail Reports, did the crimes of burglary and theft exist until the mid twentieth century. Bitterman (1988) reported that these crimes accompanied the marked social disparity in Middle River. It has been only within the last 10 or 15 years that people in the Bay St. Lawrence district even started locking their doors. Even now, not everyone does. Tractors and boats are left with the keys still in them and tools and equipment, like mowers and rototillers, are left in the barn or even in the field.²⁴⁶

²⁴⁴ I like E.A. Thompson definition of class as 'the productive relations a person is born into or enters into involuntarily.' so I am using it. E.A. Thompson The Making of the English Working Class. The notion of 'life chances' is Max Webers. See Gerth, H and Mills C.W. From Max Weber New York: Oxford University Press, 1946. p.181.

²⁴⁵ Op. cit. Gerald Sider, 1980 pp. 15-16.

²⁴⁶ This is not to say that small things that are needed in the moment, like gas or hammers, don't get stolen.

Small communities like Black Point, in districts like the Bay in Northern Cape Breton, have been able to maintain the fabric of community life, their particular community culture, because they still had access to some common ground that they cultivated on their own terms to sustain themselves, and at the same time they were relatively isolated from the larger and more dominant English society and the its institutions: the market, the church, the school and the media

In terms of the market, people in the community were certainly dominated by the merchant. But they actually maintained control over their own work processes and social relations. The domination happened, as Sider (1980) pointed out in the Newfoundland context 'at the point of exchange' rather than during the 'process of production'. In terms of the church, the district never had a resident minister nor for many years did it have a resident priest. The people in Black Point who had no church of their own were almost entirely isolated from the influence of priest or minister and the 'Englishing' effect of church organization.²⁴⁷ English schooling, which I will talk about in the next chapter, came to the area relatively late.

For many years people in the district were able to maintain their local culture because of the relative autonomy of the social processes in the area. The Gaelic language and the pattern of exchange and exchange relations in Mauss's 'total' sense, were sustained as the people sustained themselves. From the dominant perspective, though, these local patterns were 'backward' and the area was in dire need of development.

But as Sapir (1964) pointed out, culture has nothing whatsoever to do with technology or what some have called 'level of civilization'.²⁴⁸ It has nothing inherently to do with development. People living in communities with relatively low technology may be more 'cultivated' or cultured in the sense that they have more freedom and capacity to cultivate their own lives. This, Sapir (1964) said, is a question neither of utility associated with technological efficiency nor the

²⁴⁷ 'The Casket', the Catholic paper published in Antigonish, was delivered to some of the Catholic homes in later years. This newspaper was circulated in the district and it seems to me that this also served to increase the social distance between the Catholic majority in the district and the people living in the community of Black Point.

²⁴⁸ Edward Sapir *Culture, Genuine and Spurious* in *Culture, Language and Personality* edited by David Mandelbaum University of California Press: Berkley, 1964. p.90. 'a genuine culture is perfectly conceivable in any type or stage of civilization, in the mold of any national genius.'

sentimentality associated with 'regrets of the passing of the natural and innocent' past.²⁴⁹

The Indian's salmon-spearing is a culturally higher type of activity than that of the telephone girl or mill hand simply because there is normally no sense of spiritual frustration during its prosecution, no feeling of subservience to tyrannous yet largely inchoate demands, because it works naturally with all the rest of the Indian's activities instead of standing out as a desert patch of merely economic effort in the whole of life. A genuine culture cannot be defined as a sum of abstractly desirable ends, as a mechanism. It must be looked upon as a sturdy plant growth, each remotest leaf and twig of which is organically fed by the sap at the core. And this growth is not here meant as a metaphor for the group only; it is meant to apply as well to the individual. A culture that does not build itself out of the central interests and desires of its bearers, that works from the general ends to the individual, is an external culture. The word 'external', which is often instinctively chosen to describe such a culture, is well chosen. The genuine culture is internal; it works from the individual to ends.

²⁴⁹ Ibid. p. 93

Chapter 2: Rites of Passage

Prologue: Angus Dan MacKinnon: Gaelic Storyteller

Angus Dan MacKinnon, Alexander MacKinnon's grandson, was born in 1928. He spoke Gaelic until he went to school.¹

I learned English in school. Not in Black Point in Meat Cove. There was no school at Black Point. The first school was on the Hill at Donald D. Fraser's.² It was 1932 or thereabouts the Meat Cove school was built. John Alec MacKinnon and Steven MacKinnon and Simon George MacLellan took the stuff out for the school.³

In the winter the snow often drifted in on the road to Meat Cove and there was no plow to clear it. Angus and the other children had to walk a few miles to get to school. The schoolhouse was heated by a large cast iron wood stove with a picture of a swan on the front. It would go out overnight and it took a few hours to warm up the building in the morning.⁴ The children had no books or school supplies.⁵

The first teacher in Meat Cove was old Mrs. Cameron—my first teacher. There was no scribblers then. It was all slates. She use to send me outside to get little round beach rocks. She'd send me outside, honest to God almighty. I'd like to see the same thing now. When she didn't have the rocks she'd use the slate pencils. The slate pencils was made of rock. You'd get the slate and two or three pencils for 15 cents.

¹ Interview A.D. MacKinnon. John Alec MacKinnon was Angus' father.

² The Hill was a settlement that was located between Black Point and Meat Cove. Members of the MacKinnon Fraser kin group lived there.

³ They cut the logs and took them out of the woods by horse and sled.

⁴ Interview A.D. MacKinnon.

⁵ In 1934 free textbooks were introduced by the Department of Education. The children lacked such supplies as pencils, pens, paper, and scribblers. Before free textbooks were introduced the Department of Education had a lending library of books. Each school could borrow a box of books for a certain period of time. Then they would return the first box and get another selection. In Northern regions this presented difficulties because of the relative isolation and communication difficulties. See Arthur Thomas Conrad Educational Development in Nova Scotia under Henry Fraser Monro M.A. thesis: St. Mary's University, 1960. p.89.

Angus left school in Grade 4 because, at the time he said, it didn't seem like it 'would be any good to him'.⁶ Outside of school, Angus Dan was learning a wide variety of skills, from knitting herring nets to carving bagpipe chanters. Angus' uncles, Duncun MacKinnon and Rory MacKinnon, played the bagpipes.⁷ Rory made his own set of pipes using an animal's bladder for the bag and the metal from a .22 bullet to seat the reed. Angus reported:⁸

Mostly they had to buy the reed but they made the rest. The chanters wasn't hard...I've made them myself. You'd get the wood for the chanters from this tree....I don't know the name of it in English.⁹

Angus Dan never learned the English words for many of the things that he knew in Gaelic. The school at Meat Cove only went up only to grade six and it just taught the very basics. For instance, his grandmother taught him the uses and preparation of certain medicinal plants that grow in the area, but he knows their names in Gaelic not English.¹⁰

Angus also learned many Gaelic stories from his father, his grandfather and grandmother. The story-telling tradition in the Black Point community was noted in two collections of Gaelic folktales from Cape Breton Tales Until Dawn (1987)

⁶ He finished Grade 4 as a child and as an adult went to an upgrading school that was offered in the area by the Department of Manpower.

⁷ 'Red' John MacKinnon, another one of Angus' uncles was a well known fiddle player. So was 'Little' Simon Fraser, a cousin. 'Mossy' MacKinnon, 'Red' John's brother, was a champion step-dancer. The musical tradition of the MacKinnon-Fraser kin family has long been recognized within the Cape Breton Gaelic community and it is mentioned in Allister MacGillivray's The Cape Breton Fiddler College of Cape Breton Press: Sydney, 1981.

⁸ Interview A.D. MacKinnon. The MacKinnon-Fraser kin group seems to have brought with them from Scotland the tradition of playing the bagpipes. According to Rory MacKinnon's son Wilson, Rory learned to play the pipes from Sandy MacKinnon. He said that Rory made a set of bagpipes himself. He made the bag from an animals bladder although he preferred cow hide. Later he bought a set of pipes from Scotland which he gave to his brother, Duncun. Wilson learned from his father how to carve chanters for the bagpipe.

⁹ I found out later that the tree was the Ironwood.

¹⁰ On one occasion, at least, he has made a healing herbal salve which helped a neighbour's skin condition. His technique and description of making salves is similar to descriptions in modern herbals. In Black Point the sheep fat around the stomach was used in salves. Angus began to substitute lard after people stopped keeing sheep in the district.

and *Luirgean Eachinn Nill* (1981).¹¹ In 1986, I interviewed Dr. Shaw about his research. He said that he had talked to Angus Dan MacKinnon.¹²

Angus' stories are interesting and valuable in themselves. They are also interesting from the point of view of what they call the big stories in Gaelic, which I have never before come across in a non-Catholic community. The list of stories and titles and so on is impressive for a collector of oral tradition in Cape Breton and it would be impressive for any community in Scotland...In their own Gaelic terms, which on this planet are perfectly legitimate, there is strong evidence that many of the people in the community were cultured and literate. They may not have been lettered but they were literate.¹³

By the 1950's when Angus and his wife Christie Anna¹⁴ were raising their family in Black Point English was replacing Gaelic in everyday life.¹⁵ Angus told his grandfather's stories to his children but he told them in English. Angus' son, Dan Hughie, still tells some of the same family stories to his nieces and nephews.¹⁶

Angus Dan never learned to read Gaelic, although his grandfather, Alexander MacKinnon, could both read and write the language. In 1871, over 50 years before Angus was born or regular public schooling had come to the area, one adult member in each of the Free Church MacKinnon-Fraser families could read. At that time, 58% of the families in the Bay district had no one in them who could read and 80% of the households had no one in them who could read and write.¹⁷ In terms of Gaelic literacy, the MacKinnon-Fraser kin group was the most literate family group in the Bay district.

¹¹ Shaw (1987) noted that the story-telling tradition within this kin-ship group seemed 'remained in a fairly highly evolved form' until Angus Dan's generation. See John Shaw (editor) *Tales Until Dawn* Montreal: McGill-Queens, 1987 p. xxv. See also John Shaw and Margaret MacDonell *Luirgean Eachainn Nill Folktales from Cape Breton*. Stornoway, Scotland: Acair Ltd., 1981

¹² Interview with Dr. John Shaw 1986.

¹³ Interview with Dr. John Shaw 1986.

¹⁴ Her given name is Christie Anna but people call her Christianna.

¹⁵ Results of a Gaelic Survey (1990)

¹⁶ Dan Hughie plays the guitar and writes songs. One of Angus and Christianna's grandchildren plays the fiddle and some of his daughters sing. On Sundays when the family gets together they often play and sing together. There is also a strong and continuing tradition of family prayer and worship.

¹⁷ Dominion Census 1871. In 1871 Ann Fraser MacKinnon was also one of only eight women in the district who was literate. Thirty-four out of 59 households have no one in them who could read. In 47 households no one can write.

Reading

In 1971, after a hundred years of English schooling, Gaelic literacy in this kin group was lost, but English literacy was reported to be a problem. A 1970 study, commissioned by the Nova Scotia Department of Public Welfare, stated that the families had difficulty with English language skills.¹⁸ The chapter of this study devoted to education said that the adult members in the Black Point and Meat Cove communities had low levels of formal schooling.

Later in the same report the researcher suggested that there might be evidence to support the idea that people in the Black Point community, that is, the MacKinnon-Fraser kin group, might have a lower intelligence because of their English 'reading habits, vocabulary and skills'.¹⁹ At the same time, though, it reported that:²⁰

older members of the community still speak Gaelic...Names are often rendered in Gaelic even in English conversation...Members of the community still speak with a pronounced Gaelic brogue.

It noted that there were still strong kinship bonds within the families, that the parents were devoted to their children, and that Gaelic customs and cultural forms persisted.

The researcher noted that some people in the Black Point/ Meat Cove communities did not want to move but said that the people were 'socially, psychologically and physically deprived' and that relocation was necessary. The

Bay District-58% of the households in the Bay district in 1871 had no adult member who could read. (34 out of 59 households)

MacKinnon- Fraser Households- All (100%) of these households had one adult member of the family who was literate. (3 out of 59 households)

Writing

Bay District-80% (47 out of 59) of the households in the whole district had no adult in them who could read and write.

MacKinnon- Fraser Households- 33% (1 out of 3) of the households in the kin group had an adult member who could read and write.

Female Literacy

(Note: Of eight women in the district who could read one of them was from the MacKinnon-Fraser kin group.)

Bay District- 93% (51 out of 59) of the households had no adult families who can read.

MacKinnon- Fraser Households-33% (1 out of 3) of the households in the kin group had an adult female who could read.

¹⁸ Helen Ralston Black Point-Meat Cove Relocation Project- Evaluation Study Halifax: Dep't Public Welfare, 1970. pp.21, 23, 56.

¹⁹ Ibid. p.21 It also noted that the children were relatively old for their grades and tended to have lower scores than expected on intelligence tests. This was attributed to cultural deprivation. According to the records at the Highland Consolidated School children in the district generally tended to score lower than the norm on standardized tests.

²⁰ Ibid. p.2.

researcher stated that the people in these communities lacked the 'knowledge and resources to cope' with, or integrate into, modern society.²¹

Angus Dan and his wife Christie Anna and their young family were one of the first six families that were relocated from Black Point.

²¹ Ibid. pp.23, 56.

Rites of Passage

All living creatures pass on to the next generation the information that they need to live. Whether they are protozoa or people, they need to instruct their offspring. *Homo sapiens sapiens*, as a species, seem to be less certain than other creatures, though, as to what their children should learn and how they should be instructed. In Sophocles' Oedipus Rex, the people of Thebes were plagued by the riddle of the Sphinx and the question of what it meant to be a man or a woman. This was the central question of the play; it is also one that none of us can avoid even now. How we create and recreate ourselves and what we pass on to our children are basically the answers that we give to the riddle of our lives.²² Some of us, like Oedipus, end up weaving the very patterns that we fear the most and are actually trying to escape.²³ Others are certain that they have the answer for us all. History is filled with the stories of people who believe that they have the right and duty to impose their ideas on everyone else.

Education as Initiation

Before the European invasion, the Mi'kmaq people had no particular social institution that was devoted to the education of their young. This is not to say that they were uneducated but only that the process of education was embedded in the daily life of family and community.²⁴ Adam Smith noted that people living

²² I don't mean that these children necessarily have to be ours biologically.

²³ In Sophocles' Oedipus Rex he tells a version of the Oedipus myth. When Oedipus was born, his father, Laius, tried to have him killed because he learned of a prophecy that said that Oedipus would kill him and marry his wife, Jocasta. Oedipus, however, was saved by a softhearted soldier who couldn't kill him. He was left exposed but he was found and adopted by a peasant couple. Oedipus also learned of the prophecy and tried to avoid his fate, as his father had done. Only he thought his adopted parents were his real parents. Oedipus flees his adopted home and what he thought was his fate, but, unknown to him, he was simply plunging headlong into it. Oedipus met his real father, Laius, who was the king of Thebes, on the road. They got into an argument and they fought and Oedipus ended up killing him. On the same road he met a sphinx who had been troubling the people of Thebes. The Sphinx wouldn't leave unless someone answered her riddle. The sphinx asked Oedipus: 'What is it that first walks on four legs, then on two legs and finally on three legs?' Oedipus has the answer: 'A man' The sphinx destroyed herself and the people proclaimed Oedipus the king of Thebes, to replace the dead Laius. He married Jocasta, the queen, his mother. The question 'What is a human being? What does it mean to be a man or a women?' was central to the myth and the play.

²⁴ See Ruth Holmes Whitehead The Old Man Told Us : Excerpts from Micmac History Nimbus Publishing: Halifax, 1991. See also Cape Breton's Magazine edited by Ron Caplan.

in what he called 'barbarous' societies were actually more educated than the mass of people living in his own:²⁵

In such societies the varied occupations of every man oblige every man to exert his capacity and to invent expedients for removing difficulties which are continually occurring. Invention is kept alive...Every man...is in some measure a statesman, and can form a tolerable judgment concerning the interest of the society and the conduct of those who govern it.

Smith believed that the division of labour in 'civilized' society allowed a few people to be more educated but this was at the expense of the great mass of people who spent their lives working in factories and mills. The factory system and wage labour made it impossible for most people to be as well educated as they once were:²⁶

The understandings of the greater part of men are necessarily formed by their ordinary employment's. The man whose whole life is spent in performing a few simple operations, of which the effects are perhaps always the same, or very nearly the same, has no occasion to exert his understanding or exercise his invention...His dexterity at his own particular trade seem to be acquired at the expense of his intellectual, social, and martial virtues. But in every improved and civilized society, this is the state into which the labouring poor, that is, the great body of people, must necessarily fall, unless government take some pains to prevent it.

Compulsory state schooling was necessary, Smith said, because progress in terms of 'civilized society' meant ignorance for the majority of people living in it.

In oral cultures like those of the Mi'kmaq or Highland Gael, everyone within the society needed to learn how to cultivate its intellectual traditions. Knowledge was carried into the next generation by the people, not by their books. The society depended on all of its children being actively engaged with the cultural forms that would sustain them; and they needed to learn how to adapt these forms to their own experience. These societies were dependent on the education of each child and their successful initiation into the group.

²⁵ Ibid. p.341 Smith was using the term 'barbarous' here to mean any pre-capitalist social formation. At the time he was writing the term 'barbarous' was used for societies that were organized around herding and simple husbandry, that is pre-capitalist agriculture. The term 'savage' was used to refer specifically to simple hunting and gathering societies.

²⁶ Adam Smith. An Inquiry Into the Nature and Causes of the Wealth of Nations Encyclopedia Britannica: Toronto, 1952 (Originally published in 1776) pp. 340,341.

This is not to say that these small societies were free of what Bourdieu and Passeron (1977) have called Pedagogic Action.²⁷ The knowledge system of any society structures the understanding and shapes the perspective of its children. Education, Durkheim said, creates 'a new being in man'.²⁸

not the man such as nature made him, but as the society wishes him to be; and it wishes him such as its internal economy calls for....religious beliefs, moral and practices, national and occupational traditions, collective opinions of every kind. Their totality forms the social being. To constitute this being in us is the end of education.

Education in any society initiates a child into its particular symbol systems and metaphors. Language itself shapes the way we think about our fundamental experiences of time and space and relation.²⁹ Symbol systems, such as language, reflect but also serve to structure the material and social relations of the people that use them. Any society imposes a certain perspective on its children that is culturally arbitrary and also limited in scope; but like a window it does enable people to see and to make some sense of their experience and their lives.

Ruling Ideas: The Notion of Progress

A real problem arises, though, when one group of people in the social order attempts to impose their particular social perspective on another. This is not particularly unusual. Development in any society is conceived from the point of view of the group that has become the most dominant, the group that has been

²⁷ Pierre Bourdieu and J.C. Passeron Reproduction in Education, Society and Culture London: Sage, 1977 .pp. 5-31

²⁸ Emile Durkheim (ed. George Simpson) Emile Durkheim (Selected Works) New York: Thomas Y. Cromwell, 1963 p. 99, 102 From Education and Sociology.
...the person, who has undergone it (initiation) takes his place in the society...he becomes conscious of... all the rights and duties which he assumes from then on. The initiate by the very fact of initiation...became an entirely new man...Initiation was considered as a second birth...a transformation symbolically, imaging that a spiritual principle, a sort of new soul, has come to be incarnated in the individual'

²⁹ See Benjamin Lee Whorf (Ed.) John B. Carroll. Language Thought & Reality N.Y.: Wiley, 1956.

Edward Sapir Culture, Language and Personality (Ed.) David Mendalbaum. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1957. Hymes, Dell. Language in Culture and Society. N.Y.: Harper & Row, 1964.

Dell Hymes Language in Education: Ethnolinguistic Essays London: Center for Applied Linguistics, 1980 : Edward Hall Beyond Culture New York: Anchor Books, 1977 also Edward Hall The Hidden Dimension New York: Anchor Books, 1969 : R. Harre (Editor) Life Sentences- Aspects of the Social Role of Language. London: John Wiley & Sons, 1976.

able to exercise a certain amount of control in organizing and maintaining the social order to its advantage. It involves a certain bias that is always distorting.³⁰ Society tends to develop in ways that serve this group's interests because the notion of development both reflects and serves to maintain the existing social order. As Marx (1846) put it:³¹

The ideas of the ruling class are in every epoch the ruling ideas: that is, the class, which is the 'ruling material force' of society, is at the same time its ruling intellectual force. The class which has the means of material production at its disposal, has control at the same time over its means of mental production, so that thereby, generally speaking, the ideas of those who lack the means of mental production are subject to it. The ruling ideas are nothing more than the ideal expression of the dominant material relationships, the dominant relationships grasped as ideas; hence of the relationships which make the one class the ruling one, therefore the ideas of its dominance.

In the 19th century, one of the ruling ideas in Europe and in the European colonies was that of 'progress'.³² The notion of progress at that time was tied

³⁰ Bernard Lonergan Insight San Francisco: Harper & Row, 1978. p.224.

³¹ Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels The German Ideology International Publishers: NY, 1947. (original in 1846) p. 39 See also pages 6-7, 13-15, 39-40

The production of ideas, of conceptions, of consciousness, is at first directly interwoven with the material activity and the mental intercourse of men, the language of real life. Conceiving, thinking, the mental intercourse of men appear at this stage as the direct efflux of their material behavior. The same applies to mental production as expressed in the language of the politics, laws, morality religion, metaphysics of a people. Men are the producers of their conceptions, ideas and so on—real, active men, as they are conditioned by a definite development of their productive forces and the intercourse corresponding to these, up to its furthest forms. Consciousness can never be anything else than conscious existence and the existence of men is their actual life-process.

³² In the 19th century the terms progress, development, evolution, seem to have been used interchangeably. These ideas shaped the ideas of most people in the 19th century even those of critical theorists like Marx. See Karl Marx (edited by Friedrich Engels) Capital Chicago: Great Books of the Western World, 1952 (original 1867) See also Adam Smith An Inquiry Into the Nature and Causes of the Wealth of Nations Encyclopedia Britannica: Toronto, 1952 (Originally published in 1776). Because the theories of Smith and Marx grew out of the same ground, they shared certain assumptions. Both believed in a stage theory of social development. They both believed that capitalism was an advance over previous forms of social organization and that industrial formations marked by the division of labour were inherently superior to any other. Smith, however, believed that capitalism was the most advanced, that is, if people were completely free to pursue their private interests and to improve their estates, an 'invisible hand' would make sure that the public good was served. Marx believed, however, that capitalism was full of social contradictions. These would bring about its collapse and give rise to communism. Marx believed that each stage was driven to a higher form by the contradictions inherent within it, or as he put it, that 'the history of all hitherto existing society is the history of class struggles'. When the productive forces in each stage of development could no longer be contained by the productive relations, then there was a transformation to a higher level of organization. See also Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels The Communist Manifesto (orig. 1848) or Marx and Engels The German Ideology

intellectually to the development of modern technology, politically to the development of the nation state, economically to the development of industry, and socially to the development of civil institutions like the schools, the church, the hospital, and the prison.

This is not to say that the idea of progress was new. A developmental paradigm had existed in the west long before the 19th century. Aristotle, in the Politics, described social progress as the gradual evolution from the family, to the village, to the state. But for Greeks like Aristotle and Plato it was justice that was the 'bond of men in states'.³³ Aristotle recognized the virtue of property or wealth in maintaining a household and a state economy, but he distinguished between the wealth that people needed to live a good life and the riches that were accumulated simply for their own sake. He thought that the pursuit of wealth for its own sake was absurd.³⁴

New York: International Publishers, 1947. (original in 1846) Typically, Marx's stages were ancient, feudal and modern bourgeois.(capitalist). See also Grundrisse (translated by Martin Nicolaus) New York: Random House, 1973. (originally written in 1857-8) In the Grundrisse, however, he also discussed a mode he called 'Asiatic' or (Oriental Despotism) and his general analysis was a bit different. In the section *The Forms Which Precede Capitalist Production*. Marx said that each of the modes he described could arise from tribal formations that were communal in nature.

³³ For Aristotle and Plato, the *teleos*, the final end or purpose, of society, was virtue and the cultivation of wisdom was the means towards that end. The Greek word *teleos* means the purpose in the sense of the final completion of a developmental process in which the end stage is inherent in the beginning. See Liddell and Scott's Greek-English Lexicon Oxford: Clarendon Press. 1961 (originally 1889) p.797. Aristotle. (Translated by Richard McKeon) The Collected Works. New York: Random House, 1962. The Politics Bk.1: Chapter 2 pp. 1127-1130. See also Chapter 6. p.1134.

³⁴ Ibid. The Politics Bk. 1 Ch. 9 pp.1138-1141

The art of getting wealth which consists of household management, on the one hand, has a limit; the unlimited acquisition of wealth is not its business. And, therefore, in one point of view, all riches must have a limit; nevertheless, as a matter of fact, we often find the opposite to be the case; gettters of wealth increase their hoard of coin without limit. The source of the confusion is the near connection between the two kinds of wealth-getting; in either, the instrument is the same, although the use is different, and so they pass into one another; for each is a use of the same property, but with a difference; accumulation is the end in one case, but there is a further end in the other. Hence some persons are led to believe that getting wealth is the object of household management, and the whole idea of their lives is that they ought either to increase their money without limit, or at any rate not to lose it. The origin of this disposition in men is that they are intent upon living only, and not upon living well; and as their desires are unlimited, they also desire that the means of gratifying them should be without limit. Those who do aim at a good life often seek the means of obtaining bodily pleasures; and, since the enjoyment of these appears to depend on property, they are absorbed in getting wealth; and so there also arises the second species of wealth getting. For as their enjoyment is in excess they seek an art which produces the excess of enjoyment; and if they are not able to supply their pleasures by the art of getting wealth, then they try other arts, using in turn every faculty in a manner contrary to nature.....Some men turn every quality or art into a means of

For early Christians like Augustine or Aquinas human progress on earth also had little to do with material gain or wealth. Social progress was tied to spiritual development. In The City of God Augustine suggested that civilization was progressing through spiritual stages; these started with the Age of Innocence when Adam and Eve were in the Garden and would end with the City of God.³⁵

This is not to say that before the 19th century material improvement wasn't recognized as part of the process of social evolution, but the focus was less on technological advance and economic progress than on spiritual, moral and philosophical development. Progress also seems to have been perceived as a gradual unfolding that led ultimately to the fulfillment of a particular tradition, not with a clean break from it.

In the 19th century, progress becomes synonymous with the ideology of improvement. From this perspective, the economic and social ties of traditional social formations held back progress; its intellectual traditions, were perceived to imprison the mind. Durkheim spoke of a new 'intellectual culture' based on modern science and technology.³⁶

The advantages of a solid intellectual culture have been far from recognized by all peoples. Science and the critical mind....were for a long time held in suspicion... We must guard against believing that this indifference to knowledge was not artificially imposed on men in violation of their natures. By themselves, they had no desire for science, quite simply because the societies of which they were part did not at all feel the need of it. To be able to live they needed, above all, strong and respected traditions. Now, tradition does not arouse, but tends rather to preclude, thought and reflection.

getting wealth; this they conceive to be the end, and to the promotion of the end they think all things must contribute...

Aristotle also distinguished between 'getting wealth from out of fruits and animals' which he considered natural, and trying to make money by profiting from exchanges with other human beings, which he considered unnatural.

There are two sorts of wealth getting, as I have said; one is a part of household management, the other is retail trade: the former necessary and honourable, while that which consists of exchange is justly censured; for it is unnatural, and a mode by which men gain from one another.

³⁵ Conflict was a much bigger issue for Augustine than for Aristotle or Aquinas. In the Confessions he was torn by his own conflict and lack of faith. In the City of God, he theorized that human beings have to choose between the city of god and the pursuit of God and the spirit or the city of man and the pursuit of worldly pleasures.

³⁶ Op. cit. Durkheim p.103.

Modern Science and the New Discipline of Knowledge & Submission: The Baconian Paradigm

For Francis Bacon, who articulated the new scientific paradigm in the 17th century, all inherited tradition was filled with what he called *idola* or the accumulated error of centuries.³⁷ This new tradition is based on an instrumental rationality that is quite narrow but it has shaped state policy and also educational practice, so it's worth looking at.

Bacon claimed that scientific truth was the only truth. Empirical observation and induction, he said, were the only way to a 'real model of the world', undistorted by either human 'reason' or passion.³⁸ Bacon assumed that the natural universe was inert and that human beings had the right to dominate it. His method, he said, was based on 'dissecting and anatomizing the world' in order to know and control it.³⁹ 'Knowledge and human power', he said, 'are synonymous...(N)ature is only subdued by submission.'⁴⁰

The purpose of science or knowledge, he said, was 'the improvement of man's estate...the real and legitimate goal of the sciences..the endowment of human life with new inventions and riches.⁴¹ Bacon believed that science would allow human beings 'to regain their rights over nature, assigned to them by the gift of God.' In this way they could 'obtain that power whose exercise will be governed by right reason and true religion'.⁴² Bacon believed that science united reason and religion, that is, if people had faith in science and lived according to its truths, society could develop according to scientific principles rather than traditional doctrine.

³⁷ Frances Bacon Work of Francis Bacon Chicago: Britannica Great Books, 1952.(originals published from 1605-1620. Novum Organum First Book Sections 37-44 pp. 109-110. These *idola* are the idols of the tribe, the den, the market place and the theatre. In the New Atlantis that Bacon envisioned, science was the new religion and scientists the prophets and seers.

³⁸ Ibid. First Book, Section 124. p.133. When Bacon used the word reason here, he meant philosophical reason that was not based on instrumental rationality.

³⁹ Ibid.

⁴⁰ Ibid. First Book Section 3 p. 107. See also Second Book Section 1 p.137 'To generate and superinduce a new nature or new natures, upon a given body is the labour and aim of human power'.

⁴¹ Ibid. First Book Section 81 p. 120.

⁴² Ibid. First Book Section 129 p, 135. In the 17th century Newton and Leibnitz continued this identity between religion and science. But they were much more reverent and much less concerned with domination, control and profit. In the General Scholium to the second edition of the Principia, Newton (1713) said, 'This most beautiful system of the Sun, planets, and comets, could only proceed from the counsel and dominion of an intelligent and powerful Being'.

Bacon did not perceive that he was part of any tradition. This might be disputed but his new paradigm for the first time joined together the notions of technological control and enlightened self-interest with those of religion and the public good. From this perspective, 'improvements' based on the objective principles of scientific thought would lead at one and the same time to social, spiritual, and material development. But there was no sense of human beings as being a small part of a larger process, of a natural and gradually unfolding universe. Human beings and their rationality were instrumental. In terms of Bacon's paradigm, people had to make these improvements happen. It was their duty to break the intellectual hold of tradition and to impose a new order based on science and reason. For Bacon, knowledge meant power and control.

The Imposition of Enlightened English Authority and the Breakdown of the Traditional Gaelic Society

Bacon was Attorney General in 1609 when the English government imposed a series of laws in the Highlands of Scotland, which were an attempt to break up the patterns of traditional Gaelic society.⁴³ The Statutes of Iona, as the laws were called, effectively suppressed the traditional intellectual classes.⁴⁴

The payments for sustentation of traveling bards, musicians, historians and other learned persons were made illegal. Such people, as well as many of the king's Gaelic speaking subjects might be regarded as either vagabonds or bards--in either case, a category under prohibition-- and thus summarily condemned to imprisonment, the stocks or transportation.⁴⁵

⁴³ I don't know if any one has connected Bacon's ideas with English policy in the Highlands, but it would be worth looking at much more closely.

⁴⁴ Kenneth MacKinnon. *The Lion's Tongue*. Inbhirnis: Club Leabhar, 1974. pp.35, 36. See also John Lorne Campbell *Gaelic in Scottish Education and Life* Edinburgh: W.A. Johnston, 1950 p.40. J.H. Delargy *The Gaelic Story-Teller* *The proceedings of the British Academy* Vol. XXXI: London, 1945; and Shaw 1986. Campbell explained: 'The sixteenth and seventeenth century Gaelic bards were the equivalent of the intellectual class in a modern European country...Training in the bardic art demanded a huge store of Gaelic learning, wide acquaintance with contemporary Latin literature, and expertness in the use of some of the most difficult metrical forms that have ever been invented...When the Gaelic and English civilizations came into violent conflict after the Reformation, in both Ireland and Scotland the governments did everything they could to destroy the bardic class, whose power to encourage Gaelic patriotism and uphold traditionalism they greatly feared.'

⁴⁵ These laws, MacKinnon (1974) said, were 'directed towards the extirpation of the Gaelic language, the destruction of its traditional culture and the suppression of its bearers. Traditional forms of Gaelic learning were not recognized as knowledge by the authorities. Literacy in Gaelic did not count as literacy in the eyes of official policy. The language itself

The 'Statutes of Iona' were the first of a number of laws enacted by the English to weaken traditional Gaelic society and force the Highland people to submit to English authority and adapt to an English language culture, which, from the English perspective, was more advanced. During this period the English burned and destroyed many great libraries of Gaelic manuscripts and books and attempted to impose English language schooling on the Highland people. This was probably the very first occasion of the now common practice of using the schools to impose a more dominant language and way of life on a particular group of people for their own good. From the English perspective, the English language schools would civilize the backward Gaels. At the same time they legitimated the authority of the English whose economic and political interests were served by the English language culture and the new ideology of science, 'true' religion and progress.⁴⁶

Forasmekle as the kingis Majestie haveing a speciall care and regaird that the trew religioun be advancit and establisheit in all the pairtis of this kingdome, and that all his Majesties subjectis, especiallie the youth, be exercised and trayned up in civilitie, godliness, knowledge and learning, that the vulgar Inglishe toung be universallie plantit, and the Irishe (Gaelic) language, which is one of the chief and principall causis of the continewance of barbarite and incivilitie amongis the inhabitantis of the Iles and Heylandis, may be abolisheit and removit; and quhairas thair is no means more powerfull to further this his Majesties princelie regaoid and porpois than the establisheing of scooles in the particular parrocheis of this kingdome whaire thje youthe may be taught at the least to write and reidm and be catechiesed and instructed in the groundis of religioun; thairfore the kingis Majestie, has thocht it necessary and expedient that in everie parroche of theis kingdome where convenient meanes may be had for intrteyng a scoole, that a scoolesall be establisheit, and a fitt persone appointit to teache the same....

Change has often been imposed on small groups of people by others who were more powerful. People have been forced to work for others; they have been forced to serve others; people have even been forced to pray to the gods that others revere. They have been enslaved and they have been converted but in

came to lack official status as civilized speech. See also D.S. Thomson *Gaelic Learned Orders and Literature in Medieval Scotland* *Scottish Studies* Vol. 12, 1968'

⁴⁶ Cited in Kenneth MacKinnon. *The Lion's Tongue*. Inbhirnis: Club Leabhar, 1974. pp.35, 36.

modern times they are sent to schools to be educated.⁴⁷ The abusive relations of power and dominance are so thoroughly hidden behind the mask of benevolence that the perpetrators themselves are fooled.

The Discourse of Democracy: Education and Engineered Freedom

Schools were 'necessary and expedient' in modern social formations, for they served to break up traditional patterns of authority and to legitimate and reproduce the authority of the new state system. Theoretically, democratic states depended on the political will of the people. For example, Rousseau (1762) said that the authority of the state was grounded in what he called 'the general will' of the of people. But people, he said, need to be educated before they can judge reasonably.⁴⁸

(T)he judgment which guides it (the general will) is not always enlightened. It must be got to see objects as they are, and sometimes as they ought to appear to it; it must be shown the good road it is in search of, secured from the seductive influences of individual wills, taught to see times and spaces as a series, and made to weigh the attractions of present and sensible advantages against the danger of distant and hidden evils. Individuals must see the good they reject; the public to will the good that it does not see. All stand equally in need of guidance. The former must be compelled to bring their wills into conformity with reason; the latter must be taught to know what reason wills.

Initially, Rousseau said, the legislators of the republics would guide the will of the people by establishing state institutions, which he called the machinery of the new state. The legislator was the 'engineer who invents the machine'.⁴⁹ But, afterwards, he said, these institutions would 'mould the rulers'.⁵⁰ In the liberal

⁴⁷ From the dominant perspective, ignorance and lack of understanding make other people resist what they conceive of as progress. From that perspective if people are educated and sent to school, their reason would be able to be trained properly. This would free them from the holds of tradition and traditional society. These ideas ultimately informed the relocation of the Black Point community.

⁴⁸ J.J. Rousseau The Social Contract and Discourses London: J.M. Dent, 1913 (original published in 1762) p. 34.(Book 2 Chapter 6.) In Book 1 Chapter 7, he said that, if people refuse to follow because they don't understand that their interests coincide with the general will then they must be forced to follow the 'general will' that is 'forced to be free'.

⁴⁹ The legislator was an expert with 'superior intelligence beholding all the passions of men without experiencing any of them' This argument was similar to Plato's in The Republic when he suggested that the 'Philosopher Kings' be the Guardians of the state.

⁵⁰ Op. Cit. Rousseau 1762 Book 2 Chapter 7.

tradition of Rousseau, the modern institution of school was the machine invented to engineer the consensus of the people and to guide their judgment and to shape their 'will'.⁵¹ People, Rousseau said, must be 'forced to be free',⁵² if not by violence, then by education.⁵³

The problem of whether the basic function of the state's institutions like the school was education or manipulation doesn't seem to have existed for Rousseau. Nor did the problem of certain kinds of tyranny that tend to threaten democratic social formations: the tyranny of the majority who can oppress a minority⁵⁴, the tyranny of the legislators and experts who make policy, the tyranny of the bureaucrats and other people who control state institutions and the tyranny of a dominant minority who can use the democratic process to oppress other groups in the social order.

Rousseau didn't seem to recognize the danger of democratic tyranny because he believed that the authority of a republic would always rest on the dictates of an entirely dis-interested and objective Reason. Reason, however, can never be entirely objective. It is always limited and shaped by the mind and heart of the person who is doing the reasoning.

John Stuart Mill (1859) specifically addressed the relationship between liberty and authority in democratic society, that is, the problem 'the tyranny of the majority', as de Tocqueville called it. How can people avoid the problem of mistaking the judgments, morality and interests of a particular class for the general interests of society?⁵⁵

The 'people' who exercise the power are not always the same people with those over whom it is exercised;... The will of the people; moreover, practically means the will of the most numerous or the most active *part* of the people--the majority, or those who succeed in making themselves accepted as the majority; the people, consequently, *may* desire to oppress a part of their number and precautions are as much needed against this as against any other abuse of power.

⁵¹ School defined as being 'the age-specific, teacher-related process requiring full time attendance at an obligatory curriculum.' Ivan Illych Deschooling Society New York: Harrow Books, 1970. p. 38.

⁵² J.J. Rousseau The Social Contract and Discourses London: J.M. Dent, 1913 (original published in 1762) p. 18 Book I Chapter 7

⁵³ Jean-Jacques Rousseau, Emile London: Everyman's Library, 1974. (original in French in 1762) p. 84.

⁵⁴ Hitler was originally voted into power.

⁵⁵ John Stuart Mill On Liberty Cambridge: Hackett Publishing, 1978. (original in 1859) p.4

Mill also recognized the dangers of the institution of state controlled schooling.⁵⁶

A general state education is a mere contrivance for molding people to be exactly like one another; and as the mold in which it casts them is that which pleases the predominant power in the government—whether this be a monarch, a priesthood, an aristocracy, or the majority of the existing generation—the proportion as it is efficient and successful, it establishes a despotism over the mind, leading by natural tendency to one over the body.

Mill limited his ideas about freedom, liberty and education to people who, he believed, were socially developed. The government, he said, should impose schooling on people 'when society in general is in so backward a state that it could not or would not provide for itself any proper institutions of education unless the government undertook the task'.⁵⁷ Some people, he said, needed to be 'improved' for their own good. Progress needed to be imposed on these people before they could be allowed to be free. Mill suggested that.⁵⁸

Despotism is a legitimate mode of government in dealing with barbarian, provided the end be their improvement and the means justified by actually effecting that end. Liberty, as a principle, has no application to any state anterior to the time when mankind have become capable of being improved by free and equal discussion. Until then, there is nothing for them but implicit obedience...

From Mill's perspective, oral cultures like the Mi'kmaq or the Highland Gael were primitive; and the people living in them were ignorant. He believed that they were incapable of making decisions, determining their own fate, or choosing the way they wanted to live.

⁵⁶ Ibid. p.104

⁵⁷ Ibid.

⁵⁸ Ibid. p. 10. The full quote began:

(W)e may leave out of consideration those backward states of society in which the race itself may be considered as in its nonage. The early difficulties in the way of spontaneous progress are so great that there is seldom any choice means for overcoming them; and a ruler full of the spirit of improvement is warranted in the use of any expedients that will attain an end perhaps otherwise unattainable.

The Institution of Schooling in Nova Scotia: Denominational Education and Colonial Politics

The Europeans brought the institution of school with them when they came to Nova Scotia. The first schools in the province were religious; they were run by the various churches and their clergy. The priests and ministers, however, were often more concerned with converting and proselytizing the children than they were with educating them.⁵⁹ Bingay (1919) suggested that in the 18th century the British colonial government used the schools politically to legitimate and secure their rule. The English were still a minority although they had defeated the French and their Mi'kmaq allies.

In 1749, the British colonial government made an arrangement with the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts, the S.P.G, to establish Church of England schools in each community.⁶⁰ From the state perspective these schools would attract more English speaking Protestant settlers to the area and they would also anglicize the Acadian children who were already living there.⁶¹ The Acadians resisted the English education of the S.P.K. schools and they continued to be perceived as a threat to English rule. Eventually, in 1755, the British government initiated a policy of expulsion or forced relocation.⁶²

⁵⁹ See James Bingay Public Education in Nova Scotia Kingston: The Jackson Press, 1919. p. 1. The first schools in the province were French and they were run by Roman Catholic priests who were taken up with converting the native population and catechizing the Acadian population. Bingey suggested that this was the reason 'in the eight or ten volumes of Jesuit Relations there is hardly a single reference to schools, schooling or teaching.'

⁶⁰ Ibid p.8 This organization was similar to the Scottish Society for the Propagation of Christian Knowledge, the SSPCK, which was at the same period supporting English language education in the Highlands of Scotland by opening parish schools. The SSPCK was Presbyterian though, not Church of England. The colonial government in Nova Scotia would grant the S.P.G. free land for a church and school and for the schoolmaster's household and would supply the money for passage, for building, and for subsistence for 12 months. In 1834 the S.P.G. ended its educational mission and it turned over its schools to the colonial government. In the 19th century the Presbyterian church was also involved in opening church schools in Cape Breton See George Patterson's History of Victoria County 1885 (New edition edited by W. James MacDonald) republished Sydney: College of Cape Breton Press, 1978. Also Laurie Stanley's The Well-Watered Garden: The Presbyterian Church in Cape Breton, 1798-1860. Sydney: UCCB Press, 1983. For the Anglican presence see Bruce Fergusson (Editor). Uniacckes Sketches of Cape Breton Halifax: Public Archives of Nova Scotia, 1958 (original in 1865) or Patterson (1855).

⁶¹ Ibid. p. 5 During this period Catholics were prohibited from teaching even in Catholic communities. In 1786 they were granted permission to teach Catholic children but not Protestants.

⁶² Ibid. p. 10. The British drove the French families from their homes. Many were set adrift in small boats and various groups landed in places as far removed from one another as Cape Breton, or New Orleans. After the Expulsion of the Acadians, English political control became more secure and by the 19th century the restrictions on Catholic teachers

Civic Schooling: The Education Acts and Property Values

At the end of the 18th century, the state gradually began to become more directly involved in establishing and organizing the schools. For instance, in 1780, for the very first time the colonial government voted to provide funds for education.⁶³ They ended up sponsoring a lottery to raise the money needed to construct a secondary school in Halifax.⁶⁴ In 1794, legislation was passed to provide for a more permanent source of school funding by charging an additional duty on wine brought into each county.⁶⁵

Whatever may have been the intention of the framers, the act had a tendency to accomplish two objects. On the one hand it encouraged the establishment of schools in a county; on the other hand, it encouraged the consumption of wine. For the more wine a county imported, the more revenue it obtained for the support of its schools. So far, what financial support the schools could obtain from the government depended upon the gambling and drinking proclivities of the people.

In 1811, the colonial government passed the first of a series of education acts that attempted to institute a centralized system of education in the province. The 1811 Education Act, which was a model for those that followed recognized the necessity of offering a basic education to everyone in the province, no matter what their 'rank or station'.⁶⁶

The problem was that, in principle, it also tied school access to property ownership. This idea was fundamental to educational policy until the middle of the 20th century and also to the institution of an extremely stratified educational system. Basically, the property holders in each area were held responsible for establishing and maintaining the schools. The province provided some funding but the property holders were charged with the responsibility of raising most of

disappeared. Also see pp. 14-17. The German population also had difficulties with the S.P.K. schools. .

⁶³ Ibid p.25 Money was to be raised for 'establishing a public School in such part of the Province as shall be thought most proper.'

⁶⁴ Ibid. p.25. They raised 1500 pounds at the time.

⁶⁵ James Bingay Public Education in Nova Scotia Kingston: The Jackson Press, 1919, p. 32.

⁶⁶ PANS Nova Scotia Laws from 1766. See 1811 c. 8.

Whereas it is highly advantageous to the Youth of this Province to afford them easy means of acquiring useful knowledge in those essential parts of general education which are necessary to persons of every rank and station in civilized society.

the revenue for the schools.⁶⁷ The act stated that the government authorized schools to be established by those inhabitants who were freeholders or who had 'an income in real and personal Estate of Forty Shillings a year at the least'. In 1826, settlers living in districts that consisted of at least 30 families were also compelled by law to organize schools for the whole school year.⁶⁸ This set the principal for compulsory education, that is, the idea that the state had a right to compel the people living in it to be educated in state's terms.

By the latter half of the 19th century, the Council of Public Instruction regulated every aspect of the school: it prescribed the content of the curriculum⁶⁹ and the form of the school registers; it regulated the times of school sessions, holidays and vacations and controlled the establishment of 'separate schools for different sexes and colours'; it appointed School Inspectors and it established minimum examinational requirements for each grade level.⁷⁰

These changes were perceived by many to be reforms⁷¹. But the education that was offered in the state schools in the 19th century, like that in the S.P.K. church schools in the 18th century, often had very little to do with education as the settlers themselves saw it.⁷² With the rationalization of the educational system, knowledge began to be perceived of as property in Lockian terms.

⁶⁷ Ibid. The act recognized three forms of revenue. The first was assessment. The second subscription and the third gifts. If assessment was adopted, then school would be free to all of the children in an a given school area. If subscription was used, than the school would be confined to the children whose families paid or subscribed.

⁶⁸ PANS Nova Scotia Laws from 1766. See 1826 c. 5. Sec. X111. Districts with fewer than 30 families had to maintain a school for only part of the year.

⁶⁹ See PANS Nova Scotia Laws from 1766. See 1811 c. 8. The education acts, for instance, began to specify the kinds of knowledge that were important at various levels. The 1811 Education Act, for instance, stated that, 'Orthography, Reading, Writing, and Arithmetic' were the 'essential parts of general education' and the knowledge that was necessary for people living in 'civilized society.'

⁷⁰ Op. cit. See sec. 6 of the Act Powers of the Council of Public Instruction. School organization and practice was becoming more and more rationalized as Weber would say. In 1826, the Secretary of the Province was given the task to provide a certain uniformity among all the schools in the province in terms of curriculum, teaching, and equipment. In 1841, the Secretary of the Province was replaced by a General Board of Education, consisting of five members who were appointed by the governor. In 1826, a Board of School Commissioners was organized in each district. These boards operated under the direction of the Secretary of the Province or later on the Department of Education. The District Boards of School Commissioners were responsible for inspecting the schools on a regular basis. They also appointed and instructed the local boards of trustees who were responsible for the day to day operation of the schools. In 1865 a more centralized body, the Council of Public Instruction, took over most of the responsibilities of these boards.

⁷¹ See, for instance, James Bingay Public Education in Nova Scotia Kingston: The Jackson Press, 1919.

⁷² For instance, in 1765, the Germans in mainland N.S. wanted a teacher who was Lutheran and who would teach their children German. The S.P.K. sent a Minister who was supposedly

Schools allow an individual to improve and control his or her personal estate, which, according to Locke, all human beings, own.⁷³ A degree or diploma gives the people who possess it a claim over a particular field of knowledge which is then theirs to market.⁷⁴ From this perspective, education is the improvement, and certification is the deed. These establish a person's intellectual property rights.

Schooling allows people to accumulate what Bourdieu called 'cultural capital' and this means success in material terms.⁷⁵ Certificates or degrees establish 'expert knowledge' that allows people to get high paying jobs and also social positions of power and agency.⁷⁶ Not all groups in the social order have the same educational opportunities, though. Access to formal schooling in Cape Breton was limited compared to the Mainland but groups like the Gaels who lived in rural areas like the Northern Highlands were that much more disadvantaged in school terms.

English Language Schooling and Gaelic Education in Northern Cape Breton

The Inaccessibility of State Schooling

Until the 1920's, there was no regular state schooling in Black Point, Meat Cove and the Lowlands beyond. This had partially to do with the physical isolation of the district.⁷⁷ In 1875, the School Inspector complained of the

Lutheran but who actually taught Church of England doctrine. He also wouldn't teach the children any German unless they were willing to learn English. This kind of deceit and manipulation on the part of the S.P.K. and the colonial government infuriated the German Lutheran settlers at the time

⁷³ All human beings except slaves owned their personal estate according to Locke. This was probably why slaves would be punished if they learned to read and write on their own. Locke believed that human beings establish their claim to their estates and their right to profit from them by virtue of the improvements that they make to them.

⁷⁴ Ivan Illich Deschooling Society New York: Harrow Books, 1970. pp. 22, 54-55. 'Certification', Ivan Illich said, 'is a form of market manipulation.' Schools enclose and delineate certain fields of knowledge that are perceived to be cultivated when they are marked out, surveyed, and then examined and certified.

⁷⁵ See Pierre Bourdieu and J.C. Passeron Reproduction in Education, Society and Culture London: Sage, 1977 .

⁷⁶ See Anthony Giddens The Consequences of Modernity Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1990. and Modernity and Self-Identity Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1991.

⁷⁷ The fact that the area was so isolated meant that the School Inspectors' access was restricted. Yet they were the state agents who were directly responsible for promoting schooling in each local section. It was their job to form sections and to encourage the establishment of schools in sections that were without.

conditions of the roads and explained why he never made it to the north country beyond Ingonish:⁷⁸

All the schools in the country....with the exception of the few schools at Cape North which could not last winter be reached except by one who was prepared, which I was not, to walk sixty miles on snowshoes, and owing to numerous wind falls on the kind of rugged bridle-pathway of twenty miles, with only one house, in all that distance, the mid-way house, between Ingonish and the Cape, through dense forests, rocky, barren land, over numerous brooks with corduroy bridges, out of repair and large streams and swamps which had swollen to the full by recent heavy rains; it was considered at Ingonish, in October, the time I visited the two schools there, impracticable to venture the journey on horseback.

In some Northern sections of the Bay district, school sections weren't established until the very end of the 19th century. But state schooling still continued to be irregular for many years. This had to do with a few related issues. State schooling had little to do with a Gaelic education so the Gaelic speaking settlers, in Northern Cape Breton, were for many years indifferent to English language education.⁷⁹

Also, school funding policies, which continued to make the schools dependent on property assessment. The Free Schools Acts in Nova Scotia were passed in 1864 and 1865, but the schools in the province were still not really free.⁸⁰ A provincial grant based on population supplied some funds for the schools as did a municipal fund. But most of the revenue for the school came from money that was raised from property taxes of the residents in each school section. In 1865, assessment for schooling became compulsory. This meant that each family in a section was compelled to pay taxes based on the assessed value of their property. The revenue from these taxes was then used to establish and maintain the schools. In 1866, a municipal contribution was also established. It was based on a poll tax that was collected from each person in the municipality.

Schools in rural areas were disadvantaged by this system because they had much less money to operate than those in more settled areas. Provincial and

⁷⁸ K.MacKenzie Annual Report of the Common, Academic, and Normal Schools in Nova Scotia 1875. p.71. This was also cited in Fred Williams The History of Ingonish Unpublished Manuscript. Cabot Archives. p.31.

⁷⁹ See Report of School Inspector: Inverness and Victoria Counties in *Annual Report*, Superintendent of Education, 1888. I will discuss this in more detail shortly.

⁸⁰ The 'free' referred to the fact that any school that received public funding must be free to all the pupils who attend it.

municipal grants were lower because there weren't as many people living in each rural section.⁸¹ Tax revenue was lower because it depended on property values. From the perspective of the state society, the land in rural areas was worth less than the land in more urban areas, so assessments were lower. Generally, in the 19th century there was much less money circulating in rural areas and some people didn't pay any taxes at all. In Northern Cape Breton, many people, as noted, lived on holdings that still weren't officially granted, surveyed or assessed. All of this meant that there was less money for the schools.

Representatives from Cape Breton tried to resist making access to schooling dependent upon property. Charles J. Campbell, the Member from Victoria County, introduced an amendment to the Education Act of 1865 which would have had the province assume the entire responsibility of funding the schools. But this was defeated.⁸²

Despite these difficulties, initially the settlers in Northern Cape Breton seemed to support the schools. Five years after the Education Act of 1865 made assessment for schooling compulsory in the province, there were two schools in the Bay district.⁸³ One was located in Bay St. Lawrence area and the other between Black Point and Meat Cove.⁸⁴ In 1871, 71% of the households sent their school-age children to school.⁸⁵ But this interest waned quickly. By 1886, the school located between Black Point and Meat Cove had disappeared and the school in the Bay was rarely open.⁸⁶ The School Inspector reported, in 1888, that

⁸¹ Eventually the municipal money was distributed differently.

⁸² Debates of the House of Assembly. April 11, 1865.

⁸³ Dominion Census 1871

⁸⁴ Ibid. Also Ambrose Church & Co. Maps of Victoria Co and Inverness Co. Halifax: (1883-1887) One of the schools was located between the properties of James Donohue and Robert MacIntosh in Bay St. Lawrence. This school was listed in the census records and also appeared on Ambrose Church's map of the area, which was published in 1887. The other school was listed as being between Angus MacLellan and Allen MacEachern, which meant that it was located between Black Point and Meat Cove.

⁸⁵ Dominion Census 1871. Out of 59 families, 17 had no school-age children between 5 and 16 and 42 did. Out of these 42 families, 71% sent their school-age children to school and 29% didn't. Twenty-Seven percent of these families sent some school age children and not others. This generally seemed to be related to age, not sex. There was only one family where the girls were not sent to school but their brothers were. In some households some school-age children would be sent to school and others wouldn't. I couldn't determine whether the absence of some of the families children from school was due to the children's inclination or the parents.

⁸⁶ Church, Ambrose F. & Co. Maps of Victoria Co and Inverness Co. Halifax: (1883-1887) Church's map of Victoria County was published in 1887. A school building existed in Bay St. Lawrence when the data for this map was collected, most likely, a year or two before it was published. It was listed on Church's map near the present location of the Highland

Bay St. Lawrence was one of five school sections in Victoria County that had no school operating.⁸⁷

In one or two of these localities education appears to be dead and buried-but in some at least of the rest, animation is merely suspended and will probably be renewed whenever their present frigid indifference is thawed out.

Resistance to English Language Schooling

The Gaels in Northern Cape Breton⁸⁸ resisted state schooling in English language terms just as the Mi'kmaqs in Nova Scotia resisted settlement⁸⁹ and also education in European terms.⁹⁰ The medium of instruction in the state schools was English and literacy in English had little to do with the traditions of the Gaelic language culture. In 1871, for instance, the Free Church MacKinnon and

Consolidated school. There was, however, no mention of a school building in the Black Point/Meat Cove area.

⁸⁷ Report of School Inspector: Inverness and Victoria Counties in *Annual Report*, Superintendent of Education, 1888.

⁸⁸ This is not to say that the Gaels in Northern Cape Breton, were the only group in Nova Scotia that was resisting state schooling at this particular time.

⁸⁹ See L.F.S. Upton *Indian Policy in Colonial Nova Scotia 1783-1871 Acadiensis*. In 1842, an Indian Act was passed which provided for an Indian Commissioner who would encourage the settlement and education of the aboriginal people. The first Commissioner was Joe Howe. The act was supposed to induce the native people to 'submit to civilization'. The 2nd Indian Commissioner, Abraham Gessner, reported, in 1847, that he intended to help change the Mi'kmaqs from 'wild pursuits to sober industry'. He hoped, he said, to encourage them to settle on farms and attend school. As early as 1800 the Nova Scotia government attempted to relocate the aboriginal people to small holdings where they were supposed to learn how to farm. Gessner said that there would be 'opportunities for training Indian women in spinning and knitting and the possibility of inducing them to place their children with neighbouring whites to learn our domestic arts.' The government offered aid to those who agreed to move and withheld it from those who didn't. The objectives of the Pictou Indian Civilization Society, a humanitarian organization, were to 'encourage agriculture, discourage vice and promote the means of instruction.' (See *The Colonial Patriot* (Pictou) March 14, 1928.)

⁹⁰ In 1842, James Dawson wrote to the Indian Commissioner Joe Howe and reported that group of native women from Merigonish disapproved 'of any of their children being educated in the White Man's school- because, when so educated it would break off the natural ties of affection and association between them and their Tribe, and mutual dislike and contempt would be the result. Another in 1862 noted that the natives made 'many unreasonable objections' to having their reserves subdivided, wishing rather to have everything in common, even their wigwams.' They wish', he said, 'to be as children of the same family.' See L.F.S. Upton *Indian Policy in Colonial Nova Scotia 1783-1871 Acadiensis* pp.21, 29. Sources: 1. James Dawson to Joseph Howe 25 June 1842 reporting on a visit to Merigonish Island 2. Henry to Fairbanks 8 February 1862 JLA (Journal Legislative Assembly) 1862 Appendix 30 pp. 5-10. 25 February 1863, JLA (1863) Appendix 16. pp.3-4.

Fraser families who were literate in Gaelic were less likely than other settlers in the Bay district to send their children to English language school.⁹¹

This is not to say that these Highland Gaels were uninterested in education. It's just that English schooling had little to do with Gaelic education. The children in these families didn't go to the state school, but, in 1871 as noted, one person in each of the MacKinnon-Fraser households had learned to read Gaelic.⁹² In Free Church Presbyterian families children were taught to read Gaelic so that they could read the Gaelic Bible to the rest of the family, and often the Bible was often the only book in the household.⁹³ Donald and Flora Fraser were one of the settlers who didn't send their children to English language school. Yet their son, Donald D, was one of the most educated men in the district. He learned to read and write Gaelic and later taught himself English.⁹⁴

In the 19th century, these Highland Gaels were indifferent to English language education because the knowledge and traditions of their kin group and community were embedded in the Gaelic language. It was the language that carried the tradition. The spoken word was used to generate the secular culture, while the written word was used to generate the sacred. At the time, literacy was associated primarily with religious rather than economic progress. None of this had anything to do with the state schooling in English language terms.⁹⁵

Society imposes certain experiences on our lives but we do have a certain kind of agency. We chose how we respond to any particular experience and this freedom is ours no matter what limitations that experience imposes.⁹⁶ Settlers in

⁹¹ Ibid. There were six school-age children in the MacKinnon-Fraser Households and only 3 of them (50%) were going to school.

⁹² Op. cit. Dominion Census 1871. Members of these families first learned to read Gaelic before they emigrated north to the Bay district. Most likely they learned to read or write in the Free Church schools that were operating in the mid-19th century in Southern Cape Breton.

⁹³ Laurie Stanley pointed out that with 'Bible literacy' people learned to read but not write. See Laurie Stanley *The Well-Watered Garden: The Presbyterian Church in Cape Breton, 1798-1860*. Sydney: UCCB Press, 1983.

⁹⁴ For many years he operated a telegraph, a post office and a school in his home on the Hill. Interview with S.S. MacKinnon 1986. A.D. MacKinnon, 1987. C. MacKinnon 1987.

⁹⁵ In the Highlands of Scotland, the Gaels were uninterested in the parish schools that were set up to teach the children to read the Bible until the Bible was translated into Gaelic and the medium of instruction changed from English to Gaelic. See James Hunter *The Making of the Crofting Community*. Edinburgh: John Donald Publishers, 1979.

⁹⁶ See E.P. Thompson *The Making of the English Working Class* Hammondsworth: Penguin Books, 1980. p.9. Or Karl Marx *The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte* London: International Publishers, 1963. (original in 1852) p. 13. As Marx put it:

the Bay district responded in different ways to the English language schools in the 19th century. In the village of Bay St. Lawrence the school building itself was maintained but the settlers didn't or couldn't support regular schooling. In Black Point the school building simply disappeared. This probably had to do with the fact that there were a number of English speaking families living in the Bay but the families in Black Point and Meat Cove were all Gaelic.⁹⁷

When the Free Schools Acts were passed in 1864 and 1865 there was no provision made for teaching Gaelic or supporting Gaelic language schools in Cape Breton.⁹⁸ This was true even though Gaelic the language of social interaction in most communities.⁹⁹

Men make their own history, but they do not make it just as they please, they do not make it under circumstances chosen by themselves, but under circumstances directly encountered, given and transmitted from the past.

Victor Frankl, for instance, talked about how people chose to act in the German concentration camps in WW2. Some people chose to share their food and the remnants of their clothes with other people in the camp. They had nothing at all to gain but their humanity. Others hoarded what they could. A few tried to steal from people who were weaker than they were. The strange thing about people's response, he said, was that it was in no way related to the social position that they had held outside of the camps.

⁹⁷ According to the 1871 Dominion Census, 100% of the people in the Black Point/ Meat Cove area were Highland Gaels. Certainly most of them at this time were monolingual in Gaelic. In the Bay district as a whole, 65% of households in the district were Gaelic and that figure increased to 70% by 1881. In 1871, in 80% of the households at least one of the adults in the family spoke the language. In 1881, this increased to 86%. The census listed ethnic origin rather than language but at the time this reflected the language of the household. John Lorne Campbell (1936) conducted a language census in Cape Breton in 1934 and he found that just about everyone over 35 years of age who had a Highland name spoke the Gaelic language. Campbell, J.L. *Scottish Gaelic in Canada* American Speech Vol. XI Columbia University Press (1936) p.128

⁹⁸ There was also no provision made for teaching other minority languages, that is, French, German or Mi'cmaq, even in areas where these languages were spoken. Gaelic, however, was the majority language in Cape Breton. The Education Act of 1841 had allowed for instruction in French, German or Gaelic but not Mi'cmaq.

⁹⁹ See John Lorne Campbell *Scottish Gaelic in Canada* American Speech Vol. XI Columbia University Press (1936) p.128-136 James Colin Kelly *A sociographic study of Gaelic in Cape Breton* Nova Scotia M.A. Thesis: Concordia University, 1980. (microfiche) Elizabeth Mertz *No Burden To Carry* Ph.D. Thesis Duke University, 1982. See also Report of School Inspector: Inverness and Victoria Counties in *Annual Report*, Superintendent of Education, 1870. In some Gaelic areas, young people might have been unqualified for teaching in English language terms and yet they may have been educated in Gaelic terms. With the passage of the Education Act these Gaelic teachers were not be qualified to teach. The concern of the state system with the quality of teaching was justified but at the time teachers who had no knowledge of Gaelic could be licensed to teach. In 1871, the School Inspector noted that in Victoria County.

The Gaelic-speaking population largely predominates and previous to the passing of the present school law, when any one who felt inclined could assume the insignia of a Schoolmaster, this County, like many others, was overrun by a class of teachers, who were but little qualified for the discharge of their duty

Eventually this led to a situation where people were alienated from their own tradition and from their own intellectual production. At the same time, though, they had no relation to the English language tradition, the state schools, or the recognized educational process. Teachers were not even required to be proficient in the native language of the children they were teaching. In 1867, the School Inspector reported that:¹⁰⁰

in the numerous remote and scattered sections where the Gaelic language is almost invariably spoken and the children are utterly unacquainted with English...it is almost indispensable that a teacher should possess a knowledge of Gaelic in order to explain to children the meaning of what they are reading, or otherwise employed on, to enable them to progress with greater expedition.

Anti-Gaelic Ideology and Highland Romanticism

The Council of Public Instruction recognized the problem but there was an active anti-Gaelic ideology in place within it.¹⁰¹ As in Scotland, the Gaelic language was perceived to be an obstacle to progress and education. In 1870, the School Inspector for Victoria County reported:¹⁰²

It may be proper to remark that in many sections the teacher has to labour under many disadvantages, not alone from a lack of appliances...but from a circumstance which is peculiar to this county to a greater extent than in any other part of the Province...the perpetual contest which the teacher has to wage in combating (sic) the peculiarities of idiom and pronunciation consequent on the prevalence of the Gaelic language. This to persons having a limited acquaintance with its effects upon a school may seem a matter of trivial importance, yet perhaps but few realize fully how great an obstacle it is to progress in the acquisition of a thorough English education in the County.

The prejudice of English speakers to Gaelic and the Gaelic language culture at the time was deep-rooted and widespread and so worth looking at. In

¹⁰⁰ Report of School Inspector: Cape Breton County, in *Annual Report*, Superintendent of Education, 1867. Cape Breton County was actually the most Anglicized county at the time.

¹⁰¹ This is not to say that Gaelic was the only minority language that was disparaged.

¹⁰² Report of School Inspector: Inverness and Victoria Counties in *Annual Report*, Superintendent of Education, 1870.

This meant that people who might be literate in Gaelic and highly qualified in Gaelic terms was considered to be of a lower class. They were not supported by the state to teach Gaelic children. The lack of state support for Gaelic literacy contributed to its demise in the Black Point community.

1877, an English speaking tourist from the United States visited Cape Breton and published a description of the Highland Gaels he encountered there.¹⁰³

I have a reasonable amount of respect for a Highlandman in full costume; but for a sandy-haired, freckled, high-cheeked animal, in a round hat and breeches, that cannot utter a word of English, I have no sympathy. One fellow of this complexion, without a hat, trotted beside our coach for several miles, grunting forth his infernal Gaelic...with a hah! to every answer of the driver, that was really painful...But we had scarcely gone by our first Highlandman, when another darted out upon us from a bypath, and again broke the Sabbath of the woods and waters; and then another followed so that the morning ride by the Bras D'or was fringed with Gaelic. Now I have heard many languages in my time, and know how to appreciate the luxurious Greek, the stately Latin, the mellifluous Chinese, the epithetical Slavick (*sic*), the soft Italian, the rich Castillian, the sprightly French, and sonorous German, and good old English, but candor compels me to say, that I do not think much of the Gaelic. It is not pleasing to the ear.

Cozzens (1859) reported that the Highlanders that he met in his travels were 'a transplanted, degenerate, barren patch of high cheek-bones and red hair with nothing cleaving to them of the original stock'.¹⁰⁴ Cozzens had a romantic image of a Gael in 'full costume', outfitted with kilts, bagpipes, and philibegs and likely speaking Scots English. He seemed to be quite angry that the Gaels he met didn't match his image of who they should be.

Trevor-Roper (1984) noted that the English invented a Highland tradition that they packaged and marketed for their own political and economic purposes.¹⁰⁵ Traditional relationships and social patterns were despised and made the object of English ridicule because they had nothing to do with this package. At the very same time that the English were romanticizing a Highland identity they were also imposing policies to undermine the traditional patterns of Highland life.

¹⁰³ Frederick Cozzens *Acadia; or a Month With the Blue Noses*. New York: Derby & Jackson, 1859 reprinted 1877. Cited in: Shirley Elliot *A pretty piece of prejudice*. *Journal of Education* Series 5. 1956 Vol. 20, No. 4. p. 70. Source: See also Shirley Elliot *A nineteenth-century tourist in Cape Breton, part 2*. *Journal of Education*. 1971 Vol. 20. no.4.

¹⁰⁴ Op. cit. Cozzens 1859, reprinted 1877. p. 199. He was talking about the Pictou Gaels that he met here.

¹⁰⁵ *The Invention of Tradition: The Highland Tradition of Scotland* in Eric Hobsbawm & Terrence Ranger's *The Invention of Tradition*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984. pp. 15-41

Most tourists at the time were not as hostile as Cozzens to the Gaels that they encountered in Nova Scotia; but they still romanticized them.¹⁰⁶ They had what I would call a kind of 'national geographic' approach to the Highlands of Cape Breton and the Gaels who lived there.¹⁰⁷ The people were perceived to be primitive but at the same time quaint; the perceived simplicity of their way of life was the object of romantic longing.

Cultural Sentimentality Within the Tradition

These tourists came from outside the Gaelic tradition but there was evidence in the 19th century of the beginnings of a kind of cultural nostalgia within it. This kind of sentimentality, Overton (1984) suggested, has more to do with 'current alienation and a longing for a more satisfying life' than it does with the actual past.¹⁰⁸

For example, John Maclean, a Gaelic poet who lived in Pictou in the early 19th century, wrote a poem in praise of the Gaelic language and the Gaelic language tradition.¹⁰⁹ (See Appendix D) In this poem, he said, that Highlanders were giving up their Gaelic because 'it cost' them dear when they spoke it. They were losing their own language but, he said, they 'did not find better.' Maclean used the *Tourist* as a metaphorical device. His image of the Highlander was given

¹⁰⁶ Charles Warner's book, *Baddeck and That Sort of Thing* James Osgood & Co.: Boston, 1874, was probably the first publication of this type. See also C.H. Farnham *Cape Breton Folks* *Harpers New Monthly Magazine* No. 430. March 1886. Also Viator *A Tour in Northern Cape Breton This Week* Vol. Vi, No. 27 & 28. June 7, 14, 1889. Grant, W.M. *Cape Breton Past and Present* *Canadian Magazine*, Vol. 54 (Sept. 1901) pp. 434-42, Toronto. Benjamin, S.G. *The Atlantic Islands As Resorts of Health and Pleasure* New York: Harper & Brothers, 1878. Mulvey, Thomas. *Something About Cape Breton* *Canadian Magazine*, Vol. 7 (July 1896) pp. 264-66 Toronto. Longley, J.W. *To Cape North* *Canadian Magazine*, Vol. 9 (August 1897), pp. 331-38, Toronto.

¹⁰⁷ Chapman discussed the rise of similar attitudes towards Gaels in Highland Scotland which he said were common to women, Blacks and natives--groups that were considered 'wild', 'primitive' and 'irrational'. See Malcolm Chapman *The Gaelic Vision in Scottish Culture*. Montreal: Mc-Gill-Queen, 1978.

¹⁰⁸ See James Overton *Coming Home: Nostalgia and Tourism in Newfoundland* *Acadiensis* Vol. X 1V #1 Autumn 1984. p. 88. ISER at Memorial University in Newfoundland was in the process of publishing a book by Overton (1996) on this subject. The galley proof contained a rewrite of this article as well as additional work.

¹⁰⁹ See *Oran Don' Chuairtear A Song for the Tourist* by Bard John Maclean in Margaret MacDonell. *The Emigrant Experience*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1982. p. 77. Bard MacLean emigrated to Nova Scotia from the Highlands in 1818. His poem 'The Gloomy Forest' laments the fact that he left Scotland, but later poems praise life in Pictou. He moved to Antigonish around 1830 after his wife had some sort of premonition or second sight experience. He built another home with the help of his grown children.

reality in the form of John the Miller, a local settler, who refused to stop wearing his kilt even in Nova Scotia.¹¹⁰

MacLean created a romantic identity for the Gaels, an idyllic past, an heroic costume, and the language that Adam spoke in the garden. Gaelic, he implied, was the first and true language. He presented the Gaelic tradition as something venerable that needed to be preserved. But a tradition needs to be lived not preserved. It needed to be adapted to New World realities if it was to survive. The kilt itself was a modern adaptation of the traditional tunic and long shirt.¹¹¹

A tradition is cultivated and grounded in the relationships that people have, not in the costumes that they wear. What was important was the way they worked their land or shared their work, not the way they wore their clothes. Nostalgia is a longing for something in the past; it arises when a people begin to lose touch with their own tradition and with the kind of material and social relationships that allow them to maintain and generate it. It does little to promote consciousness of the kinds of social pressures that may actually be deforming these relations. Sentimentality may simply cloud the social process in such a way that dominant relations are hidden and resistance becomes almost impossible.¹¹²

Nostalgia and the Political Will

Most Gaels in Nova Scotia didn't match the romantic image of the Highlander. The intellectuals within the tradition failed to provide an image that the New World Gaels could identify with as their own. In some sense they began to lose their identity because they had no real way of identifying themselves. The Gaels were becoming an invisible minority, and they were invisible even to themselves. As both Marx and E.H. Thompson pointed out, though, people need

¹¹⁰ Specifically the poem was dedicated to a Gaelic language called periodical called *The Tourist of the Glens* which was published in Glasgow, Scotland and sent each month to Nova Scotia. The poem that was to be published in this periodical was also addressed to a metaphorical *Highland Tourist*.

¹¹¹ The traditional tunic, *failuin*, and long shirt, *leine*. See *The Invention of Tradition: The Highland Tradition of Scotland* in Eric Hobsbawm & Terrance Ranger's *The Invention of Tradition*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984. pp. 15-41

¹¹² Malcolm Chapman (1978) noted that in the late 18th and 19th centuries, the romantic vision of the 'Highlander' was also growing up in Scottish imaginations along side of economic policies that were destroying the traditional fabric of Highland life. Malcolm Chapman *The Gaelic Vision in Scottish Culture*. Montreal: Mc-Gill-Queen, 1978.

to be able to recognize themselves and their part in the social process before they can work to change it.

For instance, in 1879, there was an attempt by the Acadian and Gaelic representatives in the House of Assembly to get funding for language instruction in their respective languages.¹¹³ Initially, Acadian representatives requested that the Committee on Public Education give an allotment for French language instruction. John A. Morrison, the Member for Victoria County, then suggested that similar funding be given for teachers in Gaelic speaking areas. The request of the Acadian representatives was denied on the grounds that the Assembly would then have to fund other languages as well. The Acadian representatives seem to have perceived the request by the Gaelic speaking representatives to be a threat to the proposed legislation to fund Acadian-language instruction. Mr. LeBlanc, an Acadian representative, said to Mr. Morrison that there would never be any money for the Gaelic language.

Mr. Morrison then responded in Gaelic with an appeal to the Assembly to fund Gaelic language instruction:¹¹⁴

'S i 'Ghaidhlig a' chainnt a bha aig Adhamh 's a' Gharadh. 'S i a' chainnt a bha aig na baird 's na seanachaidh 's na linntean cian a chaidh seachad, agus feumar a cumail suas anns na sgoiltean; agus ma bhios tasdan air 'fhaotainn air-son cainnt nam Frangach a chumail suas, biodh deich tasdain air-son na Gaidhlig urramaich.

It was the Gaelic that was the first language that was on the earth...It was the Gaelic that was the language Adam had, in the garden, It was the language that the bards had and the elders and it must be kept up in the schools; and if a shilling is to be found for keeping up French, let there be ten shillings for the venerable Gaelic.

Morrison went on to claim that the Gaelic was superior because of its sound when compared to the ugly sounds of English and French. LeBlanc responded in French. They both ended up arguing with each other about the superiority of their respective languages but neither of them questioned the dominance of the English language culture. Extolling the superiority of the Gaelic language culture was as much of a social illusion as any other. The problem was not to prove that Gaelic had a more venerable tradition than any other language

¹¹³ *Debates and Proceedings of the House of Assembly*, 1879. pp.228-229.

¹¹⁴ The speech is published in part and translated in: James MacNeil *Gaelic Lessons for Beginners* Sydney: 1939. p.54

but to recognize that there was no basis for continued English language domination.

Other representatives were amused at the French and Acadian representatives using their native languages in the Assembly and they ridiculed them. One of representatives, for instance, remarked that maybe he should have prepared a speech in German. Politically, as MacKay (1992) noted, Highland romanticism in Nova Scotia has had little to do with the maintenance of a lived Highland tradition in the province and may have even contributed to its demise.¹¹⁵ In the 19th century this kind of cultural sentimentality led to political hostility between various ethnic groups in the province and weakened any real possibility of resistance to English hegemony.¹¹⁶

The rhetoric of these representatives was also much stronger than their political will. Gaelic may have been the language that Adam spoke in the Garden, but the representatives themselves seemed to perceive that it was English that people needed to speak in the Assembly and the world if they wanted to get anything done. It was obvious from the beginning that they accepted the inevitability and even the desirability of an English language education.

The Attorney General clearly stated that LeBlanc and the other representatives recognized and accepted the fact that the purpose of the state schools was an English language education. When he first presented LeBlanc's bill for consideration he noted that the 'request of the petitioners...was with a view, not simply of imparting instruction in French but in English itself...the House would see that in imparting instruction in English to French children it was impossible to do it well without a knowledge of their mother tongue.'¹¹⁷

¹¹⁵ MacKay discussed a period that was somewhat later and also the reasons the Province as a whole would ultimately take on a Highland identity. But the invention of a romantic Highland past began much earlier, as MacKay himself pointed out, and it was thoroughly politicized by Premier Angus MacDonald in the 1930's and 40's. Ian MacKay *Tartanism Triumphant: The Construction of Scottishness in Nova Scotia, 1933-1954*. *Acadiensis*, Vol. XX1, No. 2 Spring 1992. pp. 5-47

¹¹⁶ In 1841, an education bill actually was passed in which English, Gaelic, French or German language schools could be funded by the province. In the original draft of the bill, funding was provided only for English language schools. At this time representatives from other ethnic groups must have gotten together to make sure that their languages were also funded. These languages were added later on an amended sheet and then included in the final version which was passed into law. PANS Duplicate Bills and Amendments 1841 cap. 43. Statutes of Nova Scotia 1841: cap. 43 sec. 14. See also Elizabeth Mertz *No Burden To Carry* Ph.D.. Thesis Duke University, 1982. Mertz's work is on meta-language attitudes, but it led me to look at the House of Assembly language debates.

¹¹⁷ Ibid.

The argument to use the native language of the children to help them learn English made sense. It was the same rationale that prompted the use of Gaelic bibles, in the late eighteenth century, by the members of the SSPCK, the Scottish Society for Propagation of Christian Knowledge, in response to their previously unsuccessful attempts to teach the Highland Gaels to read the Bible in English. It was also the approach that was being used in many of the Presbyterian church schools in Cape Breton.¹¹⁸

At the time, though, the French and Gaelic language cultures were probably still perceived as too much of a threat to English hegemony because such a large percentage of the provincial population remained Gaelic or French. As Bouchard and LaRusic (1981) noted that:¹¹⁹

For dominant society minority cultures can exist either as a threat or as tangible folklore...Such significant cultural forms as landholding patterns, systems of justice, political organization or the language of public life are made to conform to standardized national norms...

At the time, support for either the French and Gaelic languages was refused by the province because as the Attorney General said, many people thought 'that it would be unwise to encourage instruction' in other languages 'because it was desirable that the people should adapt universally not only English customs but the English language.'¹²⁰

¹¹⁸ See *The Presbyterian Witness*, July 11, 1863. Because of the shortage of bi-lingual teachers in general, the teachers in the church schools were often as unfamiliar with their students' language and language culture as in the state schools. Attitudes in these church schools may have been less hostile than in state schools, but they were nevertheless condescending. For instance, Simpson (1953) reported that in the 1840's a Mrs. Munro and her husband taught in Boulardrie in one of the church schools supported by the Edinburgh Ladies' Association. Instead of trying to understand Gaelic herself, she complained of her students' ignorance and the difficulty teaching them. She said their 'Bible lessons cost me much pains and time, from the difficulty of making them understand, they knowing so little English.' See A. Simpson *Alexander Munro and Boulardrie Academy* *Dalhousie Review* 32, 49-58, Winter (1953); See also D. MacLean Sinclair, *Gaelic in Nova Scotia*, in *Dalhousie Review* 30, 252-260, (1950) J.C. Kelly *A sociographic study of Gaelic in Cape Breton* Nova Scotia M.A. Thesis: Concordia University, 1980. (microfiche); Elizabeth Mertz *No Burden To Carry* Ph.D.. Thesis Duke University, 1982; Stanley, Laurie. *The Well-Watered Garden: The Presbyterian Church in Cape Breton, 1798-1860*. Sydney: UCCB Press, 1983.

¹¹⁹ Cited in Bouchard and LaRusic 1981 pp. 37-38. For a discussion of the universality of some of these practices. R. Harre, R (Editor). *Life Sentences- Aspects of the Social Role of Language*. London: John Wily & Sons, 1976. Dell Hymes *Language in Culture and Society*. N.Y.: Harper & Row, 1964. Dell Hymes *Language in Education: Ethnolinguistic Essays* London: Center for Applied Linguistics, 1980.

¹²⁰ *Debates and Proceedings of the House of Assembly*. 1879. pp.228-229.

In the 19th century, it seems, that it was more important to teach children in the province the lesson that English was the only acceptable medium of culture and learning than it was to teach them their lessons. Teachers were reported to have scolded and even physically punished their students if they spoke Gaelic in the classroom or even in the schoolyard.¹²¹ From the state perspective Gaelic was a minority language even in Cape Breton, where most of the people spoke it.¹²²

Education in English Language Terms

The object of state schooling in Nova Scotia in the 19th century was assimilation. From the perspective of representatives of the state system, like the School Inspector, the Gaelic language and oral tradition had more to do with ignorance and superstition than with culture. Traditional Gaelic forms of learning, those that were embedded in the everyday patterns of the community, were not even recognized as knowledge. Education in the state's terms had to do with separating the children from their local culture and their language; and it was essential to the maintenance of the state.

Public education, Adam Smith noted, 'forms in the great mass of people all of the abilities and virtues which the state requires'.¹²³

The state...derives no inconsiderable advantage from their instruction. The more they are instructed the less liable they are to the delusions of enthusiasm and superstition, which among ignorant nations, frequently occasion the most dreadful disorders.

None of this is to say that there wasn't real humanitarian concern expressed in the province for people living in groups that were culturally

¹²¹ See Charles Dunn Highland Settler. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1953. John Edwards Gaelic in Nova Scotia in Geolinguistic Essays. C.H. Williams (ed.) Clevedon, Avon: Multilingual Matters, 1988. C. Kelly A sociographic study of Gaelic in Cape Breton Nova Scotia M.A. Thesis: Concordia University, 1980. (microfiche); Elizabeth Mertz No Burden To Carry Ph.D. Thesis Duke University, 1982. John Shaw (editor) Tales Until Dawn Montreal: McGill-Queens, 1988. John Shaw Observations on the Cape Breton Gaidhealtachd in The Proceedings of the Celtic Congress The Celtic Congress ed. Gordon W. MacLennan. (1986)

¹²² See J.L. Campbell Scottish Gaelic in Canada American Speech Vol. XI Columbia University Press (1936) pp.128-129. See also J.G. MacKinnon 1902 Na Gaidheil an Cep Breatunn' (The Highlanders of Cape Breton) MacTalla, XI, 52-54. Held in Beaton Archives. UCCB Sydney, N.S

¹²³ Adam Smith. An Inquiry Into the Nature and Causes of the Wealth of Nations Encyclopedia Britannica: Toronto, 1952 (Originally published in 1776) p. 343

different.¹²⁴ Humanitarians in the province worked to have the Free Schools Act passed. Theoretically, the institution of public schooling would enable all children in the province to have the same educational opportunities. Patterson (1885), for instance, believed that education would give the settlers the opportunity that they needed 'for improvement'.¹²⁵

The difficulty is that in any stratified society, the dominant notion of 'improvement' has more to do with the ideas and ultimately the interests of the dominant group than it does with the people who are being helped. In modern social formations, a humanitarian ethic serves as the glue that holds the social order together and also the gloss that hides the nature of the actual social process from sight.¹²⁶

For the most part the reports of the English speaking School Inspectors were written from the dominant social perspective which allowed little insight into the nature of the intellectual traditions that were being generated in Gaelic communities like Black Point or Meat Cove. In 1886, the School Inspector reported on the Black Point and Meat Cove areas of the Bay district:¹²⁷

Educationally, this territory is 'a great lone land' without sectional arrangement or school organization of any description...Schools of the most primitive character-schools for even a portion of the year, in which some knowledge of English reading, writing and the fundamental rules of arithmetic could be obtained would be incomparably preferable to the Egyptian darkness which now enshrouds the beauty of the landscape.

¹²⁴ See Patterson 1885 pp. 84-88. The Rev. Stewart (1837) thought that without schooling the Highland settlers lived under a 'dark horizon...amid clouds of darkness'. Patterson said that 'in addition to being poor, the people as a whole were woefully ignorant not being able to read.' Patterson and other commentators at the time seem generally quite certain that the Highland settlers were 'eager' for education and that formal schooling would lead to an improvement in their lives. There was not as much hope expressed for the Aboriginal people. See, for instance Fergusson (Ed.) 1958 (Uniacke's Manuscript 1865)pp. 106. The Rev Uniacke (1865) reported that the natures of the Aboriginal people were 'hopelessly sunk..and the probability of their ever constituting a civilized and industrious race...too little to inspire expectation.' He went on to add that 'Some slight approach, however, is made in some cases to more improved habits, which may have the effect perhaps of rescuing a small remnant from future extinction.'

¹²⁵ Ibid Patterson 1885

¹²⁶ See James Hunter The Making of the Crofting Community. Edinburgh: John Donald Publishers, 1979. For instance, in 1815, Patrick Sellar, chief factor for the Sutherland estate in the Highlands, explained that the Clearances, the first relocations to affect Highland Gaels like the MacKinnons in Black Point, were really benevolent and humane policy that would 'improve' their lives.

¹²⁷ Report of School Inspector: Inverness and Victoria Counties in *Annual Report*, Superintendent of Education, 1886.

The School Inspector wanted to enlighten the Highland Gaels with even the most primitive English education because all he saw was 'Egyptian darkness'. The perspective of the School Inspector, however, was distorted. As Sapir (1949) pointed out:¹²⁸

It is impossible to say what another individual is doing unless we have tacitly accepted the essentially arbitrary modes of interpretation that social tradition is constantly suggesting to us from the moment of our birth. Let anyone who doubts this try the experiment of making a painstaking report of the actions of a group of natives engaged in some activity, say religious to which he has not the cultural key....He will be guilty of all manner of distortion.¹²⁹

People build structures to order and make sense of their experience but then they tend to confuse the forms they've built for reality itself. Kant suggested that people organize the world according to categories like time and space in such a way that their knowledge conforms to their perceptions and understandings. The categories and concepts applied by 'knowing subjects' makes the world intelligible to us but at the same time prevents any kind of knowledge of 'things in themselves', or a reality that is unmediated by human concepts.¹³⁰

¹²⁸ Edward Sapir Selected Writings of Edward Sapir in Language, Culture and Personality (Ed.) David Mendalbaum. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1949.

¹²⁹ Various social scientists have discussed the difficulties of trying to understand or objectively describe an experience if the observer is located 'outside' the experience instead of 'inside' of it. Weber, for instance, noted that *verstehen* or meaningful understanding was impossible unless we understood the subjective meaning that a social act had for the actors involved, that is we need to understand the social process from their particular point of view. See Max Weber The Theory of Social and Economic Organization. New York: The Free Press, 1947. (original German published in 1922 as *Wirtschaft und Gesellschaft*) Alfred Schutz noted that even when a person is located within the same language tradition a so-called objective understanding of the meaning of the social action of another person is impossible without understanding their thoughts and intentions, that is. without understanding the subjective meaning of the experience. See The Phenomenology of the Social World Evanston: Northwestern University Press 1967. Clifford Geertz used the notion of 'thick description'. This was written by someone who understood an actors perspective as opposed to what he called 'thin description' based simply on the writers point of view. See Geertz, Clifford. The Interpretation of Cultures New York: Basic Books, 1973. Kenneth Pike used the word 'emic' for an inside perspective as opposed to an 'etic' or outside perspective. See Marvin Harris *Emics, Etics and the New Ethnography* 1968.

¹³⁰ Emmanuel Kant Critique of Pure Reason (trans. by Norman Smith) New York: St Martins Press, 1965. (pp.22-3,42-3) He also suggested, though, that all human beings share certain a priori concepts which allow them to categorize- these would be something like Plato's 'eidos' in that they are forms or structures that are not dependent on any empirical experience .

People tend to mistake the topography of the map that their mind's eye has learned to read for the territory that actually stretches out all around them. They tend to mistake the names of things for the things themselves¹³¹ and what they know for the truth.¹³² Their knowledge guides them but at the same time it blinds and deafens them to much that is around them. To the Greeks a barbarian was quite literally anyone who didn't speak the Greek language.¹³³ To the English, more than a 1000 years later, the Gaels were barbarians because they didn't speak English. For the most part we see and hear only those things that fit into the patterns of knowledge that we have been taught.¹³⁴

Education In Gaelic Terms

The School Inspector couldn't see it at the time, but there is evidence that when the Cape Breton Highlands were the most isolated from the institutions of the English language culture Gaelic cultural traditions flourished. The fields of knowledge that the Highland settlers were cultivating outside the schoolhouse

¹³¹ Gregory Bateson and M.C. Bateson Angels Fear New York: Bantam Books, 1987. (p.151-161)

¹³² As Pascal said 'truth on this side of the Pyrenees is error on the other'. Blaise Pascal Pascal: The Provincial Letters, Pensees, Scientific Treatises Britannica: Chicago, 1952. p 225. (Pensees Section V) 'On what order shall man found the order of the world which he would govern?..... Shall it be on justice? Man is ignorant of it or we would have seen it set up in all the States on earth and in all times; whereas we saw neither justice nor injustice that does not change its nature with a change in climate....A strange justice that is bounded by a river! Truth on this side of the Pyrenees is error on the other...'

¹³³ Aristotle, for instance, noted the Greeks never considered another Greek a slave. They simply confined 'the term to barbarians' He disagreed, suggesting that virtue was more important than nationality in terms of legitimate authority. Aristotle. (Translated by Richard McKeon) The Collected Works. New York: Random House, 1962. The Politics Bk.1: Chapter 6. p.1134. See also Margaret Mead Our Educational Emphases In Primitive Perspective American Journal of Sociology, vol. 48, 1942-3, pp. 633-9 Mead pointed out that people in the small societies that she studied divided humankind 'into two groups—the human beings, i.e. themselves, and the other people.'

¹³⁴ Colin Turnbull The Forest People New York: Simon and Schuster, 1962. p.252. Colin Turnbull talked about taking a trip to the mountains with his Pygmy friend Kenge, who has lived all his life in the thick forest. When Kenge and Turnbull looked down from the mountain to the valley below they saw a herd of buffalo. 'What insects are those?' said Kenge: At first I hardly understood : then I realized that in the forest the range of vision is so limited that there is no great need to make an automatic allowance of distance when judging size. Out here in the plains, however, Kenge was looking for the first time over apparently unending miles of familiar grasslands, with not a tree worth the name to give him any basis for comparison. The same thing happened later on when I pointed out a boat in the middle of the lake. It was a large fishing boat with a number of people in it but Kenge at first refused to believe this. He thought it was a floating piece of wood.

door were actually much richer and more fertile than the rough and rudimentary forms of knowledge that the English schools offered. Shaw (1988) noted that:¹³⁵

The New World Gaels...for the first time in at least four generations, had the economic means and freedom from outside pressures and constraints to develop in directions compatible with their cultural potential. The evidence from the few published collections of regional materials, along with a large number of field recordings, indicates that...an affirmative deepening and broadening of the unlettered folk tradition occurred in Cape Breton. Songs of the highest quality by numerous bards were produced...(and) entered naturally into the song-repertoire...the stock of historical legends transmitted from Scotland was supplemented by accounts of new experiences...perceived and recounted in a purely Gaelic style...and the instrumental folk tradition, most notable the fiddle flourished to a degree certainly unmatched elsewhere in Scottish Gaeldom.

Northern Cape Breton was on the periphery of both the English and Celtic worlds, but for most of the 19th century it was its own center.

The Gaelic tradition in Cape Breton was primarily an oral one. Unlike a written tradition, which can exist independently from the people who produce it, an oral tradition must be lived in order to survive. The songs, the stories and the fiddle music of the Highland Gaels was maintained and generated in the relations of everyday life.¹³⁶

As soon as it would come dark we'd be finished work we'd come back in the house to eat...and then the storytelling. Fishermen's stories, fantastic stories, ghost stories...The older people would tell the younger people....they had all their stories from the ones in Scotland. The old country. My grandfather was five years old when he came and his father was still living so he passed on the stories to him.¹³⁷

¹³⁵ John Shaw *Observations on the Cape Breton Gaidhealtachd* in The Proceedings of the Celtic Congress The Celtic Congress ed. Gordon W. MacLennan. (1986) p. 78 In a study of the Gaelic song tradition in Cape Breton Shaw (1988) also noted that the song tradition in Cape Breton was flourishing but that in Scotland at the same time, Gaelic poetry was suffering from an artificiality and technical degeneration that seemed to be related to Anglicization. Campbell (1948) noted this same process in the Cape Breton *Gaidhealtachd* in the early 20th century.

¹³⁶ The maintenance of all of these traditions in a Free Church family was quite unusual. It leads me to believe that the MacKinnons were Catholic when they emigrated and that they converted rather late. Their lack of involvement, with the church as an institution also allowed them the freedom to socially construct their own world.

¹³⁷ Interview with Angus Fraser 1986. Some of his family stories are in the Cape Bretons Magazine.

Sometimes there was partying and music. Not the kind of partying that they have now. We'd build a bridge; we'd dance on it. We had the greatest time right on the wharf. Every weekend we'd dance right on it.¹³⁸ I've seen old Mossy turn around and take two shingles and make a fiddle out of them.¹³⁹ There was all kinds of music then fiddle, bagpipes.¹⁴⁰ Pretty near every house there was a violin in it. They use to have them hanging on a wall with a red ribbon on them.¹⁴¹

There were milking songs and butter making songs, rowing songs and wauking songs.¹⁴² There were fiddle tunes with names like *Peggy's Jig*, *That's How I Spent the Winter*, *The Cock of the North*, or *Swallow's Tail Jig*. These commemorate everyday experience, but that everyday becomes special through the music. It was the same with the poems or songs. Their strength was in their concrete imagery and clear eyed use of details. The emigrants were deposited on the shores 'like stones being dumped out of nets.' A man who was unhappy with a local move wrote: 'Alas for the wheel that moved me with such an unfortunate turn, and put me here now.'¹⁴³

The Gaelic tradition was cultivated in the material and social relations of everyday life, but this doesn't mean that it was prosaic or intellectually inferior, although some people have argued that it was. Campbell and MacLean (1974), for instance, reported that the majority of the Highland settlers came from 'the lower strata of Highland society' who had little or no intellectual tradition.¹⁴⁴

The clan bards and poets, along with the pipers and fiddlers, had a certain cultural role in the history of our ancestors, but it would be amiss to interpret such roles as being intellectually oriented...while they filled certain cultural needs, it cannot be argued that they laid the roots of any intellectual development in eastern Nova Scotia.

¹³⁸ Ibid.

¹³⁹ Interview with A. D. MacKinnon, born 1928.

¹⁴⁰ Interview with S.S. MacKinnon, born in 1906.

¹⁴¹ Interview with S.L. MacKinnon, born 1924.

¹⁴² Charles Dunn *Highland Settler*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1953.

¹⁴³ Margaret MacDonell *The Emigrant Experience*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1982.

¹⁴⁴ D.Campbell and R.A. MacLean *Beyond the Atlantic Roar* Carleton Library: Ottawa, 1974. p.120. This seems similar to Rev. Richard Uniacke's description in 1865. 'The chief settlers in this country at present are poorer Scotch mostly from the Islands of Scotland....They are not remarkably intelligent..' Bruce Fergusson (Editor) *Uniackes Sketches of Cape Breton* (Uniacke's Manuscript 1865) Halifax: Public Archives of Nova Scotia, 1958. pp.64, 68.

The myth and story tradition of the Gaels was certainly different from the modern scientific tradition of Bacon and Newton but this doesn't invalidate it. The wave theory of light, the Oedipus myth of the Greeks and the Oiscean myth of the Gaels are all stories of one kind or another to explain and order human experience.¹⁴⁵ They may arise from different approaches to experience; they may be structured differently; they may be useful in different ways; but neither is innately superior to the other. Levi Strauss, (1966) pointed out that:¹⁴⁶

It is important not to make the mistake of thinking that these are two stages or phases in the evolution of knowledge. Both approaches are equally valid...Mythical thought...builds up structures by fitting together events, or rather the remains of events, while science, 'in operation' simply by virtue of coming into being, creates its means and results in the form of events, thanks to the structures which it is constantly elaborating and which are its hypotheses and theories.

The Gaelic education that the Black Point children received was completely embedded in their lives but it was rigorous nevertheless. Shaw noted that 'a Gaelic education was informal but cultivated none the less...taking years to acquire information orally in great quantities'¹⁴⁷:

In Black Point, as in all Gaelic communities, there was an active tradition of songmaking and storytelling...many of these were in a very, very high standard in Gaelic. Again it's not a lettered tradition in the sense that it's not written down or taken from books. Very often with songmakers and storytellers what you're dealing with is a different kind of mental training. It's a Gaelic style of education...What you had was the cultivation of different capabilities within these children which stayed with them for the

¹⁴⁵ See Thomas S. Kuhn The Structure of Scientific Revolutions. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1970. The wave theory of light, for instance, explains the nature of light as a wave. It works in certain applications. But there is another theory that tells a different story about the nature of light. It works equally well as the wave theory only in other applications. According to the photon theory, light travels in small discrete particles called photons.

¹⁴⁶ Levi-Strauss, Claude The Savage Mind London: Weidenfeld and Nicholson, 1966. pp. 3, 22. 'Every civilization', he said, 'tends to overestimate the objective orientation of its thought.' He continued:

Physics and chemistry are already striving to become qualitative again, that is, to account also for secondary qualities which when they have been explained will in their turn become means of explanation. And biology may perhaps be marking time waiting for this before it can explain life. Mythical thought for its part is imprisoned in the events and experiences which it never tires of ordering and re-ordering in its search to find them a meaning. But it also acts as liberator by its protest against the idea that anything can be meaningless with which science at first resigned itself to as a compromise.

¹⁴⁷ Interview with Dr. John Shaw. 1989.

rest of their lives. In a sense they carried their libraries in their heads. Black Point was much the same as any other Gaelic community and among the Protestant communities it distinguished itself....

The myth and story tradition of the Highland Gaels was particularly complex and sophisticated. (Delargy 1945, Campbell 1950, MacKinnon 1974, Shaw 1986, 1987).¹⁴⁸ When English policies began to suppress the literary tradition of the Highland scholars and bards much of the knowledge that was contained in their manuscripts was incorporated into the oral folk tradition of the common people.¹⁴⁹

For a thousand years the native literary manuscript tradition had run its course side by side with, although not entirely independent of, the oral tradition of the peasant...by force of circumstance the two streams were joined...(in) an oral tradition (*seanchas*) and an oral literature unrivaled in western Europe..

MacKinnon (1974) suggested that the literary art that ultimately emerged from this oral tradition was stronger than the written tradition it replaced, developing, he said, far 'beyond the stereotyped classic production of the bardic schools.'¹⁵⁰ The English weren't aware of the extent to which Gaelic tradition had gone underground.¹⁵¹ It was, Shaw (1986) said, the common people, not the clan chiefs, who for many years successfully resisted English hegemony in the Scottish Highlands by their faithful cultivation of a particular way of life and the knowledge system that supported it. Because this tradition was generated informally and because it was dependent on the spoken rather than the written word, it was entirely invisible and inaudible to the English.

The songs, the stories and the fiddle music of the Gaelic language culture made the everyday world vibrate with resonances that most English speaking people were unable to hear. There is, for instance, a special importance in Gaelic

¹⁴⁸ See J.H. Delargy *The Gaelic Story-Teller* The proceedings of the British Academy Vol. XXX1: London, 1945; John Lorne Campbell *Gaelic in Scottish Education and Life* Edinburgh: W.A. Johnston, 1950; and Shaw 1986.

¹⁴⁹ See J.H. Delargy *The Gaelic Story-Teller* The proceedings of the British Academy Vol. XXX1: London, 1945. pp. 3-4.

¹⁵⁰ Kenneth MacKinnon. *The Lion's Tongue*. Inbhirnis: Club Leabhar, 1974. p.39

¹⁵¹ Op.cit. Delargy (1945)

tradition given to particular places and their names. Danielou called this a 'holy geography'.¹⁵²

Il existe des lieux ou les mondes visibles et invisibles sont proches l'un at l'autre....Tout etre attentif au mystere du monde peut percevoir le caractere insolite ces lieux ou l'on sent presences invisibles. Ce sont des sortes de portes par lesquelles on peut un peu plus aisement passer d'un monde dans un autre, des vois par lesquelles il est possible au voyant de basculer soudain dans un autre monde, et pour tous de se sentir plus proches de ce que l'on appelle le surnaturel, le monde mysterieux des dieux et des esprits. Toutes les religions reconnaissent ces lieux ou le miracle devient possible. Rien d'apparent ne designe parfois ces regions plus proches du ciel, mais leur caractere magique a ete ressenti par les hommes depuis les ages les plus lointains. Leur place est definie dans une science particuliere, la geographie sacree.

The Highland Gaels took this reverence for place with them to Cape Breton and they used place names and place name stories to establish their own cultural geography. In the Bay district, every mountain, every marsh, every rock of any size or tree of any character had a Gaelic name and an attached story that the people in the community knew. Children learned to fish and to navigate by the stories associated with distinctive rocks or certain features of the land that they used to establish their position. Some of this has been translated into English--Raggedy Rock, Sailor Brook, Lumber Cove, Shag Roost, the Hairy Marsh--but much of this place lore has been lost in the shift to an English language culture. There was also a corresponding science of plants and their medicinal uses. None of this plant lore seems to be available in English because Gaelic speakers know only the Gaelic names of the plants and never learned them in English. Desmond Fennell wrote about the shift to English on the west coast of Ireland:¹⁵³

Something alienating happens when the spoken language changes to English for then a whole network of local place names dissolves in a collective amnesia...Since I got to know the land and sea names in and around Maolinis, I have often thought of this. Every large rock on sea or land, every cove and field, every rise or turn on the road has a name. Consequently, as one looks out across a scene, it is not a mere scene but a dense web of names. By imposing meaning in this manner, on a section of

¹⁵² Cited in Proinsias MacCana *Placenames and Mythology in Irish Tradition* in The Proceedings of the Celtic Congress The Celtic Congress ed. Gordon W. MacLennon. Ottawa: University of Ottawa, 1986.

¹⁵³ Desmond Fennell *The Last Years of the Gaeltacht* No date

the earth's surface, they make it mentally manageable and transform it into a place where they can feel at home...I know from visiting places which have lost Gaelic recently...that most of this toponomic network here in Maonis will get lost in the transition to English. *Crompan na gCapall* will be 'that cove over there', *Carraig an iarainn*, 'that rock', *Ard na gCadhan* 'that hump there on the road beyond'. Meaning and homeliness will vanish largely from the environment. There will be a sort of silence as things and places cease to answer.

Relocation of the Mind

In Northern Cape Breton, development in mainstream English language terms has brought with it a disintegration of Gaelic ways of knowing. At the turn of the century there were about 80,000 Gaelic speakers in Cape Breton, but the 'Gaelic population has been halved approximately every decade with estimates today of native speakers as low as 500 to 1000.' All of these are over 65.¹⁵⁴ In 1871, all of the households in the Black Point and Meat Cove communities were Gaelic speaking. As noted, the large majority of people in the Bay district spoke the language. In 1996, a hundred years later, no one in the district speaks the language except for a few of the older people in the MacKinnon-Fraser kin-group. When they die the *Gaidhealtachd* in Northern Cape Breton will die with them.

If culture has to do with the way a particular group of people perceive, articulate and cultivate their social and material relations, then the language they chose to speak or need to speak in the day to day relationships of their lives is central to its maintenance and regeneration. Language, Whorf (1956) pointed out both reflects and shapes the way people think about the world.¹⁵⁵ The

¹⁵⁴ The proceedings of a conference in Sydney, Nova Scotia, in 1989, published as Gaelic in Nova Scotia : Community Initiatives for the Gaelic Language . Census Data supported this estimate. See Appendix E.

¹⁵⁵ Benjamin Lee Whorf . (Ed.) John B. Carroll. Language Thought & Reality N.Y.: Wiley, 1956. pp. 57-64. See also Edward Sapir Selected Writings of Edward Sapir in Language, Culture and Personality (Ed.) David Mendalbaum. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1949. Dell Hymes Language in Culture and Society, N.Y.: Harper & Row, 1964. Dell Hymes Language in Education: Ethnolinguistic Essays London: Center for Applied Linguistics, 1980. Language not only reflects a culture it also maintains it. Whorf pointed out that the Hopi have a different sense of time passing and also different categories in their language to reflect time. They have no tenses past, present and future in their grammar and no conception of these in their thought. At the same time the language is, he said, 'capable of accounting for and describing correctly, in a pragmatic or operational sense, all observable phenomena of the universe.' The language that a people speak communicates their metaphysics.

Anglicization of the Gaelic children in the state schools was basically a relocation of their minds from their native language and local knowledge to more dominant forms that were produced in centers far removed from their lives and experience.

Some scholars have suggested that the Highland Gaels in Nova Scotia actively supported the English language schools in the 19th century. They suggest that the English language bias of the provincial educational system simply reflected the attitudes of the Gaelic speaking settlers. John Lorne Campbell (1936) said that the reason no provision was made in the 1864 Education Act for the teaching of Gaelic was because the Highland Gaels carried with them from Scotland 'the idea that education was coincident with a knowledge of English'.¹⁵⁶ This thesis has been used by many authors to explain the demise of Gaelic and the Gaelic language culture in Nova Scotia.¹⁵⁷ Campbell and MacLean (1974), for instance, suggested that in the nineteenth century the Highland Gaels were uninterested in maintaining their language. They suggested that the settlers themselves discouraged the use of the Gaelic language and encouraged their children to speak English instead so that they could assimilate into the larger society.

This thesis doesn't account for the persistence of the Gaelic language culture in the Highlands of Cape Breton throughout the nineteenth century, despite a hundred years of official opposition. But it does make some sense in terms of the mainland experience, where the opposition was immediate and constant. The Gaelic language was under pressure much earlier in the mainland than in Cape Breton, where people were isolated for so many years from the institutions and the language bias of the state society. In mainland Nova Scotia, Gaelic speakers were always in the minority, and, from the beginning of

Just as it is possible to have any number of geometries other than the Euclidian which give a perfect account of space configurations, so it is possible to have descriptions of the universe, all equally valid, that do not contain our familiar contrasts of time and space. The relativity viewpoint of modern physics is one such view, conceived in mathematical terms and the Hopi Weltanschauung is another and quite different one, nonmathematical and linguistic.

Neither he, nor Sapir, suggested a simple one to one correspondence between lexicon or grammar and the categories of thought. Languages can be translated and understood but there is always something lost in the translation.

¹⁵⁶ John Lorne Campbell *Scottish Gaelic in Canada* American Speech Vol. XI Columbia University Press (1936) p.128-136. Elizabeth Mertz No Burden To Carry Ph.D. Thesis Duke University, 1982.

¹⁵⁷ See Campbell & MacLean Beyond the Atlantic Roar. Toronto: McClelland & Stewart, 1974. James Colin Kelly *A sociographic study of Gaelic in Cape Breton* Nova Scotia M.A. Thesis: Concordia University, 1980. (microfiche) Also Charles Dunn Highland Settler. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1953.

settlement, they were in close contact with the English speakers and anti-Gaelic language attitudes. They needed to learn English because many of the exchanges and relationships of daily life required a knowledge of that language. English was always recognized on the mainland as the official language of public life. It quickly became the language of social interaction in church, in school, at the store and in a short time, in the home.

The situation was different in Cape Breton where, in many places, Gaelic was still the majority language even at the turn of the century. In 1899, for instance, T.S. McInnis, the Member from Victoria County, introduced a motion to make Gaelic an official language in Canada, estimating that in Cape Breton 'of the 100,000 of the population...at least three-fourths speak the Gaelic language.'¹⁵⁸ A few years later an article in *MacTalla*, a Gaelic newspaper published in Sydney, noted:¹⁵⁹

That it may be seen how truly Highland Cape Breton is, mention may be made of the number of places where Gaelic is preached and used in connection with religious services...The Presbyterians have thirty nine places of worship in the island, and Gaelic is preached in all of these except six. At the time of writing, they have thirty-five appointed ministers, twenty-nine of whom can preach in Gaelic. The Catholics have thirty seven parishes and all but six have Gaelic. There are forty-one priests at work, of whom thirty-one are Gaelic speakers. If we go on to members of Parliament we see that four out of the five members we send to the Canadian Parliament are Gaelic speakers, and five out of the eight who go to the Nova Scotia Parliament...Nor should it be forgotten that at Sydney, the principal town of the island the only Gaelic paper in the world is printed. (Excerpt from the Gaelic newspaper *MacTalla*, 1902. Translated by J.L. Campbell)

Resistance in MacKinnon-Fraser Kin Group to English Language Culture

The Highland Gaels in the MacKinnon-Fraser kin group resisted integration into the larger English language culture longer than other Highland families in the Bay district. Not all of them responded in the same way to development in mainstream terms, but as a group they tended to try to conserve

¹⁵⁸ L.Vitale Cox *Gaelic and the Schools in Cape Breton* Nova Scotia Historical Review Vol. 14, No. 2 (1994). p.20. This was 35 years after institution of English schooling. Gaelic is dying in Cape Breton but it is still spoken by the older members of the Black Point community.

¹⁵⁹ J.G. MacKinnon 1902 *Na Gaidheil an Cep Breatunn'* (The Highlanders of Cape Breton) *MacTalla*, X1, 52-54. Held in Beaton Archives. UCCB Sydney, N.S

rather than change their way of life. They tried to maintain or adapt their intellectual traditions and also the kinds of social and material relationships that tied their local community together despite increasing economic and social pressure exerted by the larger society.

For instance, between 1885 and 1890, access to the Bay St. Lawrence district improved to the point where even the School Inspector was able to make his regular visits.¹⁶⁰ At this time many people from other family groups in the district started to emigrate out of it.¹⁶¹ Few families from the MacKinnon Fraser kin group however, left Northern Cape Breton for wage work in the city before 1910.¹⁶²

In fact, in 1889, just at the time that many people were emigrating south, Alexander MacKinnon and his second wife, Lizee Fraser, decided to move even further north to the Lowlands beyond Meat Cove.¹⁶³ This area was completely untouched by the civil institutions of the dominant English language culture: the schools, the roads, the churches.

Alexander MacKinnon had just remarried and this may have contributed to his move, but it doesn't really explain it.¹⁶⁴ He was middle-aged and well established in Black Point. Moving to the Lowlands meant that he and his family had to start all over, clearing land, clearing fields, cutting logs and building a house. But he was an extremely clever and cultivated man in Gaelic terms who would have developed the skills he needed to make almost everything needed to sustain himself and his household.

It seems to me that he emigrated to the only northern wilderness left in Cape Breton as his parents emigrated north from the relatively settled and accessible district of Lake Ainslie. There were a few other Gaels living in the Lowlands, so there was an opportunity there to continue cultivating their

¹⁶⁰ See Chapter 3. The Inspector was required to visit all the schools in his district annually.

¹⁶¹ See Chapter 3 for a more complete discussion of out migration patterns in the district and also in the differing responses within the MacKinnon Fraser family group.

¹⁶² *Ibid.*

¹⁶³ Registry of Deeds Office, Baddeck Courthouse. This may have been just after his first wife, Catherine MacDonald, died, and he married Elizabeth Fraser, known as Big Lizee Fraser. According to the records of the North Highlands Pastoral Charge in Cape North, Alexander's last child with Catherine MacDonald, his first wife, was born in 1886. His first child with Big Lizee Fraser was born in 1891.

¹⁶⁴ He could have moved to Pleasant Bay, for instance, which was much more accessible at this time than Bay St. Lawrence. In Pleasant Bay at this time, for instance, there was an English language school and a Presbyterian church and the Free Church families were actively involved with these institutions.

traditional way of life. It must have been difficult, though, because the community was much smaller.

From the School Inspector's perspective, in 1891, two years after the MacKinnon family moved, the Lowlands beyond Meat Cove were completely uncivilized.¹⁶⁵

The Meat Cove Lowlands is a veritable 'No Man's Land' in which the majesty of the law is completely ignored and in which the young and rising generation naturally grow up under the most unfavorable conditions...Is it not possible to devise some remedy to relieve exigencies of this character? Should not a special appropriation from the County Treasury be made to assist indigent sections.... should not the Inspector have power to grant local permissive licenses in exceptional cases—the syllabus of Examination to embrace merely English Reading, Writing and a fundamental knowledge of Arithmetic?.

The Gaels in the Lowlands were living outside of the laws of the larger society but there is no evidence to indicate that in their own terms they were either uneducated¹⁶⁶ or unlawful.¹⁶⁷ Without the civil institutions of the state society, though, they were 'uncivilized' in mainstream terms no matter how they treated each other or what they knew. The School Inspector continued in the same report to discuss conditions in other sections that were more settled.¹⁶⁸

in the other sections of the district as a rule the school-house is in keeping with the residences of the ratepayers, and any evidence of taste and

¹⁶⁵ Report of School Inspector: Inverness and Victoria Counties in *Annual Report*, Superintendent of Education, 1891.

¹⁶⁶ Alexander MacKinnon was educating his children in terms of the oral Gaelic culture and desire to continue generating it may have been a large part of his decision to move to the Lowlands. His children and grandchildren also tended to maintain the traditional language culture longer than most people in the district. Rory and Duncun as mentioned were Bagpipers. Duncun's daughter, Marcella, and her daughter sing Gaelic songs. Most of his sons played the fiddle step-danced. John Angus, Alexander's grandson, played the fiddle. His son Hector, continues the tradition. Angus Dan, as noted, continues the storytelling tradition.

¹⁶⁷ For instance, people from the family reported that until recent years no one in the kin group ever had to lock their doors and they could walk out as they wished, men and women alike, without fear of random violence. They stayed together, once they were coupled off, and they were assured of being taken care of in their families, no matter how old or sick they were. Church records indicated that when the Presbyterian minister from the Cape North Church made his annual circuit to the area, the people in the kin group used the opportunity to have their children baptized and their marriages formalized. Informally, the families also seem to have maintained strict religious customs that prohibited them from doing any kind of work or even play on Sunday. They couldn't pick berries, feed the animals, or play the fiddle or the pipes.

¹⁶⁸ Report of School Inspector: Inverness and Victoria Counties in *Annual Report*, Superintendent of Education, 1891.

refinement witnessed in the school room are morally certain to be reflected upon the section as a whole.

From the School Inspector's perspective, the rustic way of life that Alexander MacKinnon and his family cultivated was not just primitive and lacking in refinement, but quite outside of the realm of moral certainty. Material wealth and worldly success, however, had very little to do with a person's development, moral or otherwise, from the religious and cultural perspective of the MacKinnon-Fraser kin group.¹⁶⁹ In fact, the Evangelical spirit of these Free Church families was actually quite opposed to the Protestant ethic and the rise of capitalism that was associated with the state system and the established Presbyterian church.¹⁷⁰

Education as Training

Schooling from the School Inspector's perspective seemed to be less about educating the Gaelic children than changing their tastes and their habits. Actually, this seems to have the emphasis of public schooling at the time. George Patterson (1885), for instance, noted that the Gaelic settlers in the Cape Breton Highlands needed to be educated so that the next generation would be 'trained' to develop habits that would allow them to be 'sober and industrious' citizens.¹⁷¹ Teaching the Gaelic children to be industrious and materialistic was essential in a society that measured progress by the development of its industry. Teaching them to defer to the refined material tastes of the class-based English language culture was essential for its continued dominance.

Public schools were necessary because of the division of labour that was inherent in the factory system, but the institution of state schooling was necessary to promote and reproduce that system. Perhaps that is why teaching

¹⁶⁹ Interviews with members of the Black Point community.

¹⁷⁰ See James Hunter *The Making of the Crofting Community*. Edinburgh: John Donald Publishers, 1979. See also Max Weber *The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism*. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1930, 1958 (original German published in 1904-5) In fact, this may have been one of the reasons that the Gaels in Northern Cape Breton were generally so indifferent to state schooling. Most of the families in the Highlands were Catholic, and Catholic communities were noted for their devotion to the Gaelic language and language culture. These attitudes were generally uncommon in Protestant communities. The Free Church Evangelicals, like those in Black Point, were an exception.

¹⁷¹ George Patterson, G. G. *History of Victoria County 1885* (New edition edited by W. James MacDonald) republished Sydney: College of Cape Breton Press, 1978 p.88.

the Gaelic children to accept the virtue of industry and sobriety seems to have been more important than giving them the opportunity to discover the virtue of Homer, Plato, Aristotle, the Bible, or their own Gaelic poets, storytellers, and historians. The state could have supported Gaelic literacy and the cultivation of the intellectual traditions of the local Gaelic culture, which were actually based in the classical tradition of Western Europe. Its schools could have promoted an education in local Gaelic terms that all of the children would have related to and some might even have wanted to explore.

Public schooling, though, has never had much to do with the cultivation of the classical tradition of Western Europe or with giving most children in the social order full access to its intellectual grounds. This is not to say that the humanitarians and liberals of the day weren't working to provide an education in the state schools for all of the children in the province. But it was only a very rudimentary education that they worked for.

As Adam Smith (1776) noted, 'the common people need not in any civilized society, be so well instructed as people of rank and fortune.'¹⁷² The education provided by the state should be basic, he said, encompassing only 'the most essential parts of education...to read, write and account' and it 'can be acquired at so early a period of life, that the greater part of those who are to be bred to the lowest occupations have time to acquire them before they can be employed in those occupations. The public can facilitate, can encourage, and can even impose upon the whole body of the people the necessity of acquiring those most essential parts of education.'¹⁷³

The educational system of Nova Scotia purported to be free and available to all children, but there was a class bias built into the system because the schools in wealthy areas of the province had better facilities, more books and better teachers.¹⁷⁴ Children in these areas had full access to secondary school, even in the 19th century, when in many Northern districts elementary schools hadn't yet been built.

Again, this is not to say the problems of providing schooling in rural areas weren't recognized. Municipal funding, for instance, was used in the late 19th and

¹⁷² Adam Smith. An Inquiry Into the Nature and Causes of the Wealth of Nations
Encyclopedia Britannica: Toronto, 1952 (Originally published in 1776) p. 342

¹⁷³ Ibid.

¹⁷⁴ Until 1942, when funding policies changed, educational funding continued to favor the interests of the wealthy, that is, those people whose property values were high and who lived in moderately densely populated areas.

early 20th centuries to provide extra money for what were considered 'indigent' sections. But it provided only a very small percentage of the total money that was needed for the schools. Policy didn't seem to support the growth of an educational system that provided full educational access to all of the children in the province. Nor did the public schools have much to do with sustaining their intellectual, emotional, or even physical development.

Even when schools were built in Northern Cape Breton sections the physical conditions in them were so poor that teachers didn't want to work in them. Nor was there much money available to pay salaries or buy supplies. The School Inspector in 1907 commented on the situation in Northern Victoria County:¹⁷⁵

It adds to the difficulty of keeping schools open in such sections that the localities are isolated, the schoolhouses cold and poorly equipped and often distant from suitable boarding places. The greater number of our young teachers are girls who are used to a reasonable degree of comfort at their homes. They will not consent to teach for a pittance under such depressing circumstances and privations in backland sections. And why should they? when the West is calling them to more hopeful prospects...While conditions continue a number of closed schools is inevitable.

By the turn of the century, a school section was formed that included the community of Black Point and a school was built about a mile and a half from Black Point in the English speaking communities of Wreck Cove/Capstick. It was seldom open, though, because property assessments in the section were too low to support the school. The School Inspector in 1907 reported on the lack of schooling in Northern Victoria:¹⁷⁶

These sections sparsely settled comprise on an average eight to fourteen ratepayers with from ten to fifteen children of school age. The property assessable for taxation would probably amount to a valuation of about \$3,500 for the average section. To keep a school in operation for a year on the most limited scale would necessitate a tax from the ratepayers of \$120-\$150, a sum utterly beyond the means of these sections

¹⁷⁵ Ibid.

¹⁷⁶ See Report of School Inspector: Inverness and Victoria Counties in *Annual Report*, Superintendent of Education. 1907.

In 1910, the School Inspector recommended that the Wreck Cove/ Black Point section receive some sort of special aid noting that 'its indigence and claims for support are quite evident to any one who visits that locality.'¹⁷⁷ But schooling in Black Point or Meat Cove continued to be irregular for many years.¹⁷⁸

State Schooling Established

Finally in 1920, more than 50 years after the Free Schools Act instituted a system of public education in the province, an elementary school in the Black Point and Meat Cove area was open on a regular basis. In 1918, the Municipal funds that were allocated by the District Board of School Commissioners in each district was increased and during the 1920's and 1930's these schools received what was called 'aid to poor sections' or aid to special poor' sections.¹⁷⁹

There was, however, still difficulty getting good teachers. Cape Breton began to produce its own local supply, but these teachers rarely went to the Normal College in Truro or even finished grade 12.¹⁸⁰ Few children from the area had either the desire or the money to be able to leave their communities to go to school.

Getting a formal education in Cape Breton quite literally meant giving up the Gaelic language community.¹⁸¹ Children fully educated and certified in the larger society's terms were out of place in their local community. There was, in fact, hardly any place for them-- except perhaps as a minister, a priest, or a nun. And Cape Breton was probably one of the few places that was entirely able to supply itself with clergy.¹⁸²

¹⁷⁷ Report of School Inspector: Inverness and Victoria Counties in *Annual Report*, Superintendent of Education. 1910. (PANS and Cabot Archives)

¹⁷⁸ See generally the Report of School Inspector: Inverness and Victoria Counties in *Annual Report*, Superintendent of Education. 1900-1920.

¹⁷⁹ Records and Proceedings of the District Board of School Commissioners 1912-1942. (Beaton Institute UCCB Library) The Education Act of 1918 fixed the Poll tax at \$2.00 a head instead of a \$1.00, and this money was then used to finance indigent sections.

¹⁸⁰ In the 1920's, teachers who were 17 years of age and who had finished grade 9 could be licensed to teach with class D licenses.

¹⁸¹ Margaret Mead *Our Educational Emphases In Primitive Perspective* American Journal of Sociology, vol. 48, 1942-3, pp. 633-9

¹⁸² Often young nuns would work in the Northern districts as teachers. Around 1920, Sister Mary of Good Council, a young nun from Cape Breton who belonged to the convent of St. Martha in Antigonish, came to Bay St. Lawrence to work in the school there. It was her first post as a school teacher and she was only about 18 at the time but they hadn't been able to get anyone else and the priest in the community had informed the convent. She came late in the fall and alot of snow had fallen in the district. She said that she was able to travel as far as

In the 1920's, compulsory attendance laws were established throughout most of the province because municipal funding depended on how many days the children in each section went to school.¹⁸³ Even in rural districts, children were compelled to go for at least a few years. S.L. MacKinnon, for instance, was born in 1918, and he said that all the children in Black Point had to go to school when he was a boy. Going to school, he said, was the worst thing about being a child and he would think up all kinds of excuses not to go. He left school in Grade 4, he said. Like Angus Dan MacKinnon, he didn't think at the time that school was going to do him any good.¹⁸⁴ Many people in the MacKinnon-Fraser kin group who went to school at this time felt that English language schooling was irrelevant in terms of their personal experience. But in the 1920's, their parent sent them anyway. People within the kin group were beginning to support the idea of English Language schooling for their children.

The Shift to the English Language Culture

When and why did the Gaels in the MacKinnon-Fraser kin group stop generating their language culture? In 1990, I explored this question with members of the kin group who had lived in and around the Black Point community before 1970. Initially, I constructed a Gaelic language survey, which I was going to use as a tool to find out specific information and also to initiate an informal conversation. (See Appendix F) I wanted to find out: 1. when people in the MacKinnon-Fraser kin group stopped using the Gaelic language in their day to day exchanges in the family and community and 2. why they stopped teaching it to their children and started teaching them English.

Aspy Bay by horse and sleigh, but after that the snow got too deep for even the horse to travel. A young man was helping her make the journey and he said 'Sister, we're going to have to walk. I'll go first and break the trail and you follow along in my footsteps.' She said that they started on the way but that his steps were much bigger than hers and she had an awful hard time keeping up, but she didn't want to say anything. She said that she would always remember that young man turning around and telling her 'Sister, you're a real corker',¹⁸³ The first compulsory attendance act was passed in 1883. It stated that any section could make schooling compulsory by a two-thirds vote of the ratepayers. The age limits were seven to twelve and a fine of \$2.00 could be levied. By 1915, attendance was compulsory in all towns in the province but not in rural sections. At this time in rural sections, ratepayers could pass a compulsory attendance law by a simple majority vote.

¹⁸⁴ In the 1930's, 1940's and 1950's the boys tended to leave earlier because they went to work with their fathers. Girls remained in school later and often advanced as far as they could. See the School Registers for the Wreck Cove school. Holdings in the Highland Consolidated School in Bay St. Lawrence.

I asked people within the kin group about their own language attitudes and also about their perception of the language attitudes of people in the larger society; I assumed that these attitudes and perceptions would affect the language people chose to speak and the language they chose to teach their children. I was dealing only with the Gaelic language, not the language culture, but I assumed that there is a very close connection between the two, although certainly not an identity.¹⁸⁵ Initially, I surveyed 33 people, or 20% of the pre-relocation population. These people represented different branches and different generational levels of the family.¹⁸⁶

A survey of this type is useful to gather specific information but it is limited because it imposes a framework on the people who are being questioned. The kind of questions that are asked and even the way they are asked can shape the answers or responses that are given to them so I supplemented this survey with 17 in-depth interviews which were composed of a structured section and an open ended interview. I then supplemented this data, in turn, with informal dialogues that I had with members of the kin-group about my research findings in home visits from 1990 to 1991.¹⁸⁷

¹⁸⁵ The shift to English affected the transmission of the intellectual traditions of the MacKinnon Fraser kin group. But not entirely. Some of the people in this kin group worked to adapt the English language to their own needs. They spoke English with a Gaelic sense of rhythm and style. They told English versions of their stories and songs to their children.

¹⁸⁶ See Appendix F. This sample was 20% of the population. The total population of the Black Point community was 165, according to the data in the Department of Welfare study. (1969) The sample was not randomly selected. I interviewed more people who were adults at the time of the relocation than children because in order to get a picture of language use in the community I needed to question representatives of different generational levels of the family.

¹⁸⁷ I found that my research was like a loop. I shared my research findings about the community with the people in the community. Their perspective enabled me to understand the data from their point of view. They also questioned anything that they didn't agree with in terms of either data or theory. Their ideas also informed any future work. A good example of this kind of research loop had to do with the discovery that these families were Free Church and a different denomination than the other Protestants in the community. The Department of Welfare study said that the people in the community were nominally Protestant. Some of the 'local leaders' in the larger local community said that the people in Black Point had 'no religion.' I asked C. MacKinnon why the people didn't go to the Presbyterian church in the Bay. She described to me her family's very strict religious customs. She also mentioned that she remembered some of the older people in the community going to the church in Cape North, but never to the church in the Bay. I knew that the Church in Cape North was originally a Free Church Mission. When C. told me about the religious traditions in the community, it was like a light going on in my head. I had just read Jim Hunter's The Making of a Crofting Community and, when C. described the tradition of informal home worship in community, it was like a light going on, especially since many members of the kin group still have an evangelical tradition that they maintain. I then went to the archives to check out the census data for the religious listing of this kin group and the other kin groups in the

J.L. Campbell (1936) noted that in the mid-1930's Gaelic was still the language of social interaction in many Cape Breton communities; the language was still being transmitted to the children.¹⁸⁸ By the 1940's, however, most parents had stopped teaching their children Gaelic.¹⁸⁹ The sociolinguistic problem, as MacKinnon (1977) pointed out, was the fact that there seemed to be 'little change in power relationships, cultural arrangements, values or populations.'¹⁹⁰

Mertz (1982) suggested that what did change was the language attitudes of the native Gaelic speakers on the Island. In a study of the Cape Breton Gaelic communities of Mabou and the North Shore, she found that Gaelic speaking parents stopped teaching their children Gaelic by the late 1930's.¹⁹¹ She reported that mainstream institutions like the school cultivated negative attitudes towards the Gaelic language but economic conditions during the depression created a situation in which people were under economic duress. They began to believe that it was in their children's best interest to teach them English so that they could succeed in terms of the larger society. They began to believe that English was associated with progress and economic success.

The findings in the Black Point community, that is within the MacKinnon-Fraser kin group, were consistent with Mertz's (1982) data, although my interpretation of it is a bit different. Until the 1930's, the people in the community used Gaelic as the primary language of social interaction within their kinship group. In the 1940's, however, effective transmission of the language had all but ceased.¹⁹² By the 1950's, Gaelic was not generally spoken within the kinship group, except by older people. Even at that time, however, younger people in the kin-group reported that they learned simple phrases from the elders in the community.

community, and there it was. The MacKinnon Frasers were the only Free Church families in the whole district.

¹⁸⁸ Campbell, J.L. *Scottish Gaelic in Canada* American Speech Vol. XI Columbia University Press (1936) p.128-136. p.128.

¹⁸⁹ Elizabeth. Mertz *No Burden To Carry* Ph.D.. Thesis Duke University, 1982.

¹⁹⁰ Kenneth MacKinnon Language Education and Social Processes in a Gaelic Community London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1977. p.10.

¹⁹¹ Elizabeth. Mertz *No Burden To Carry* Ph.D.. Thesis Duke University, 1982.

¹⁹² Members of the MacKinnon-Fraser kin group, however, tended to maintain their language and accent longer than other families in the larger local community. Most of the Gaels in the Bay district seem generally to have stopped transmitting Gaelic to the next generation by the late 1920's or early 1930's.

Table 15--Language Shift from Gaelic to English in the MacKinnon-Fraser Kin Group (1900-1960)

Language Shift from Gaelic to English (1900-1960)

1900-1920

MacKinnon-Fraser community monolingual in Gaelic
No regular English language schooling.

1920-1930

Gaelic the primary language of social interaction within the family.
Many people in the Black Point community becoming bilingual in Gaelic and English.
Youth learning English at work outside community, then returning home.
Children learning English in state schools that were opened more regularly.
Older adults learning English from work and from the young people.
Older women the last monolingual Gaelic speakers in Black Point.¹⁹³
Elementary levels of English language schooling available.

1930-1940

English starting to replace Gaelic as the language of social interaction in family.
Young people in the community completely bilingual in English and Gaelic.
Children learning to speak English from older siblings before they go to school.
Low levels of English language schooling.

1940-1950

Children learning English as their first language.
Children learning some Gaelic from older people in the community.
English spoken with Gaelic accent, rhythm and style.
Low levels of English language schooling.

1950-Early 1960's

Children learning English as their first language.
Children speak English with little or no Gaelic accent.
Children or young adults learn some Gaelic phrases from elders
Low levels of English language schooling.

¹⁹³ Women didn't have as much contact with the larger English speaking society as did men. Annie MacKinnon Fraser (B. 1863), Donald D's wife, was the last monolingual Gaelic speaker in the community.

Table 16--Language Attitudes of MacKinnon-Fraser Family

Language attitudes in the Black Point community (People born 1900-60)

People were given the choice to either agree, disagree or be uncertain.

I interviewed people born in 1960 and earlier:

Everyone agreed that :¹⁹⁴

Gaelic is a beautiful language.

English is a beautiful language.

You are considered to belong to a higher class if you speak English.¹⁹⁵

Speaking Gaelic or having a Gaelic accent is a disadvantage when you try to get a job.¹⁹⁶

Gaelic is not valued by people in the modern world.

Gaelic is of value.

Gaelic should be taught in school.

Learning Gaelic should be a person's choice.

English should be taught in school.

Everyone needs to learn English.

English should be taught in all countries.¹⁹⁷

English is better than Gaelic for studying science and scientific subjects.

They like to hear Gaelic spoken.

People should work to keep the Gaelic language up.

Gaelic is worth learning.

They would like to read the language.

They still have chances to use it in the community.

Maintaining Gaelic would help Cape Breton develop.

They owed it to their ancestors to keep the language alive.

More radio and TV time should be given to Gaelic

Everyone but two women, a mother and daughter, agreed that:

Gaelic offers no practical advantages in life.

The oldest Gaelic speakers born between 1900-1920 agreed but everyone else disagreed with the following statement except the

Only poor people spoke Gaelic.

The youngest people, who were all non-speakers, disagreed.

The oldest people, who were all Gaelic speakers, disagreed.

People who were Gaelic speakers born 1920-30 agreed¹⁹⁸

You can't be a real Cape Bretoner without speaking Gaelic.

You can't be a real Black Pointer without speaking Gaelic.

Language attitudes within the community were conflicting. People from the MacKinnon-Fraser kin group maintained an emotional attachment to the Gaelic language but they associated Gaelic with the past rather than the present, that is, with tradition rather than progress. They associated English with being modern and economically successful in the larger society. They wanted to speak

¹⁹⁴ People agreed on a number of other issues but these all revolve around the issue of whether or not Gaelic has value and what kind of value.

¹⁹⁵ A few Gaelic speakers commented during the interview that 'people when they get the English think that they know more.'

¹⁹⁶ One Gaelic speaker commented that Gaelic would help a person get a job in Gaelic places but not in Canada.

¹⁹⁷ No one, however, thought that Gaelic should be taught in all countries. They thought it should be taught only where Gaels were living.

¹⁹⁸ It was basically the generation that was born between 1905-1920 that began to encourage their small children to learn English in the 1930's. But people born between 1920-1930 continued the process. None of the children of the people who expressed this attitude speak Gaelic fluently, although their parents do.

and write Gaelic, but they believed that the Gaelic language or a Gaelic accent was a disadvantage in terms of getting a job in the larger society.

All of the people who were interviewed tacitly accepted that the English language was dominant. They agreed that both English and Gaelic should be taught in school, but they thought that English should be a compulsory subject and Gaelic optional. They believed that everyone all over the world should learn the English language and that English was better than Gaelic for science and for studying scientific subjects. They believed that the Gaelic language had value in itself, but not in terms of the modern world because it was not valued by people in the larger society. They believed that people who spoke English were considered to be a 'higher class of people'. All of the people in the kin group that were interviewed, no matter what their age, reported that people in the larger society had made fun of them for speaking Gaelic or for speaking English with a Gaelic accent.

Personal Experience: Ridicule in the Factory and School

S. S. MacKinnon was born in 1906 in Black Point. He reported that he never went to English language school because there was no school in the community when he was growing up. When he was a boy, he said, people in the area mostly spoke Gaelic. He spoke only Gaelic until he was 15, but then he had to go to work in Cheticamp where he got a job working for a paper company. He could speak no English, but when he started to speak Gaelic the people there laughed at him. He believed that most people in the community stopped speaking Gaelic because they had 'too much pride' to speak it. He also believed that Gaelic was a language that only poor people spoke.

A. MacKinnon was born in 1928 and he spoke only Gaelic until he went to school in the mid-1930's. This was where he learned English. He wasn't scolded or punished in school for speaking Gaelic but everyone in the school used English.¹⁹⁹ He reported that people sometimes made fun of him for speaking

¹⁹⁹ No one in Black Point reported being punished for using Gaelic in the classroom as they were in some communities, and it seems to have been used in the classroom by the older students and teacher to explain something to a younger child who couldn't yet understand English. English was the medium of instruction and the children were expected to learn it. This is not to say that the medium of instruction always replaces the language of the home as French immersion programs points out, but it tends to if the language of the school is also dominant and worth more than the native language. Even though French is spoken in French immersion classrooms, English is still valued by everyone in the school system.

Gaelic. He said that some people 'think they know more when they get the English but they're just assholes'.

E. MacKinnon who was born in 1942 said that people had made fun of her because of her accent. She said that people looked down on her. Younger members of the community who were born in the 1960's, just before the relocation, reported that they were ridiculed by the teachers and students in school. A few said that they felt that they were treated as if they were 'second class'. One woman reported that her daughter was ridiculed by one of the teachers in school for her accent.²⁰⁰

Ridicule seems to have been a great teacher. Young Gaels were ashamed to speak their language because they were laughed at.²⁰¹

The progeny of worthy Gaels who
In their pride denigrate it.

*Gum biodh clann nan Gaidheal coire
Le'n cuid prois a' deanamh tir' oirr'*

Those self-important youth
Who do not see fit through excessive pride
To exercise their tongues in it.
With their bit of poor English
They see themselves as classy.

*Spailpearan dhe'n oigrish
Leis na fiu tre mheud am popise
Teang' am beoil a ghlussad innt'
Bho'n aha beagan do dhroch Bheurl' ac'
'Nam beachd fhein 's daoine-uaisle th'annt'.*

In the late thirties, the first generation of children in the MacKinnon Fraser kin group, who learned English and not Gaelic as their first language, were born. The people who spoke to them in English, their mothers and fathers, brothers and sisters, were native speakers who had been compelled to learn English at work and in school. They were the first generation that had been laughed at for

²⁰⁰ M.J. . MacKinnon reported that her daughter came home and told her that the teachers picked on students from the Bay. After she gave an oral report the teacher said to her 'Oh I see you still talk with that twang'. She felt extremely humiliated and didn't want to go back to school.

²⁰¹ First verse: *Mac Talla* 12/12/02; Second verse: Malcolm Gillis-bard, in *Smeorach* 14: Field Recordings. Both cited in John Shaw *The Gaelic Song-Tradition of Cape Breton Island* Unpublished manuscript.

speaking Gaelic in school and at work and the first generation who were also dependent upon the people who ridiculed them. They were subjected to the anti-Gaelic language attitudes of the state society and yet they were becoming dependent on the institutions of that society to survive. They thought it was in their children's best interests to teach them English.

The Persistence of the Gaelic Language culture and the Public School System.

Gilbert Foster, in a book called Language and Poverty (1989), claimed that the educational system in Nova Scotia has been largely responsible for the 'persistence of Scottish Gaelic' in Cape Breton. He said that provincial policies supported the Gaelic language in the public school system and that the schools were instrumental in maintaining 'Scottish Gaelic....as a viable language culture' in Cape Breton.²⁰² I found no evidence in the 19th century or the early 20th century to indicate that the educational policies in Northern Cape Breton has supported either the Gaelic language or the Gaelic language culture.²⁰³ Educational policies that were supposed to support the language often were implemented in such a way that they had little effect.

In the first few decades of the 20th century, for instance, Gaelic intellectuals based in Industrial Cape Breton attempted to get Gaelic language instruction included in the curriculum of the state schools. In 1920, M.R. MacLeod from Sydney submitted a petition, signed by many Gaelic speaking residents, that asked the provincial government in Halifax to support a program of

²⁰² Gilbert Foster Language and Poverty. St. John's: ISER, 1987.

²⁰³ See James Colin Kelly *A sociographic study of Gaelic in Cape Breton* Nova Scotia M.A. Thesis: Concordia University, 1980. (microfiche) Mertz (1982)
In 1950, when effective transmission of the language had ceased, the provincial Department of Education finally set up a Gaelic Services Branch within the Adult Education Division. Colonel McLeod was hired as Gaelic Advisor. Teachers were trained and classes were established in four public elementary schools in Inverness County. The creation of the Gaelic Services Branch was supposed to have supported the Gaelic tradition but it may have been established to support MacLeod who was politically well connected. When he left to take a university position, the Gaelic Services Branch vanished. In the 1970's, the public school system included Gaelic as an optional subject in its secondary school program. For a few years there was an attempt to teach a few Gaelic classes at the Mabou consolidated highschool. Mertz (1982) reported that a few of the teachers were native speakers from Scotland. They felt, however, that the program was too limited for the students to become proficient in Gaelic. Their was, they said, little opportunity in classes of this type to provide the students with more than a 'smattering' of the language.

Gaelic in the schools.²⁰⁴ This led, in 1921, to the Gaelic language's inclusion in the Provincial elementary school curriculum as an optional subject, providing a qualified Gaelic teacher could be found.

There were, however, no qualified Gaelic teachers and no language programs to teach any; so this was simply a 'Catch-22' situation. In 1939, a six-week course was finally implemented at Dalhousie University as part of the Provincial Summer School for teachers. Six weeks, however, was not enough time to become fluent enough to teach the language. It did, however, help the instructors teach their Gaelic pupils English.

Actually the simple inclusion of Gaelic as a 'subject' in the common schools may not have been an effective way to maintain it. The Irish experience indicates that even more extensive language programs imposed by the state aren't necessarily effective. Lambert (1985) noted, for instance, that, in Ireland, Gaelic Irish was made the medium of instruction in the state schools because the language was in danger of extinction. But, she said, in the community of Rannafast, the spoken Gaelic of children who were native speakers was reported to have suffered after they were forced to learn standardized Irish Gaelic in the schools. The native speakers in the community complained that the teachers in the schools were non-native speakers and their use of language was not generated from within the lived tradition nor did it have any relation to it.²⁰⁵

As evidence of the process of deterioration in the spoken language among the young in Rannafast, the older people point to the changes that occur when a child initially fluent in Irish is exposed to school. They assert that in most instances there is a gradual, but significant, atrophy in quality of the spoken discourse particularly phrasing and wording. When instruction occurs totally in Irish by a non-native speaker (who is highly trained but unfamiliar with or insensitive to proper ways of speaking Irish, deterioration of the child's speech is extremely rapid. As further support for the untoward effects of formal schooling, they cite the unusual speaking and writing ability of individuals from previous generations who were 'self-taught' men, often in English and Irish. *Emphasis in the original*

²⁰⁴ Assembly Petitions 1920 in PANS RG 5, Series P, Vol. 79, Doc.# 35 No one from the MacKinnon-Fraser kin group signed this petition.

²⁰⁵ Lambert, Kathleen *The Spoken Web: An ethnography of Storytelling in Rannafast, Ireland*. Ph. D. Thesis: Boston University, 1985. p. 114.

When a language is detached from the lived language culture of the people speaking it, it begins to die. It may be preserved but only because it is excised with the skillful working of an embalmers knife.

Appropriation of the Highland Identity

Sometimes the very people who appeared to be working to enact policies to preserve the Highland tradition were the very ones who ended up appropriating it for their own use, separating it from the very people who could have actually kept it alive. Ian MacKay (1992) reported that Premier Angus MacDonald, known for his support of the Highland tradition, actually exploited a romanticized version of the Gaelic culture, that served his own interests and also those of the provincial economy.²⁰⁶ McKay (1992) suggested that MacDonald invented a Gaelic identity for himself and for the province but actually did little to promote Gaelic education in Gaelic terms.²⁰⁷ In terms of political policy and economic practice, he believed in the ideology of progress.²⁰⁸

McKay (1992) noted that originally the Gaelic College of Arts and Crafts, opened with provincial support in 1938, had more to do with promoting the provincial economy than with maintaining the traditions of the local Gaelic community. Most of the institution's funding came, in fact, from the Provincial Department of Tourism.

²⁰⁶ Ian MacKay *Tartanism Triumphant: The Construction of Scottishness in Nova Scotia, 1933-1954*. *Acadiensis*, Vol XX1, No. 2 Spring 1992. pp 5-47. Angus MacDonald's father was a Gael and his mother was French. The Premier could speak only a few words of the language.

²⁰⁷ When he took office in 1933 the Gaelic language culture was still being generated in the Highlands. He could have implemented policies that allowed the Gaelic people to educate their own children in their own terms. Basic Gaelic literacy could have been achieved by using traditional Gaelic songs and stories taught by young Gaels who were part of the tradition. Euclid could have been taught in Gaelic and used to supplement the local geometry that people used to build their houses and navigate their boats. The Gaelic College could have been set up as a Gaelic alternative to Dalhousie or St. Mary's like the French University of St. Ann's. He could have allowed the Gaels to shape an educational system that would have served their needs and interests, rather than those of the state system.

²⁰⁸ Around this time even native Gaelic speakers began to have more of a romantic than lived relation to their language and language culture. See the Minutes of the Victoria County Council. Even in the 1940's, when the Canadian government passed a war measure forbidding Gaelic to be communicated over the telegraph lines, members of the Cape Breton Gaelic community were publicly outraged. Privately in their homes, though, most Cape Breton Gaels had already stopped teaching their children the language. Speeches were made in the County Council and letters drafted to the government to protest this policy.

Mertz (1982) noted that, even in the 1980's, the college had little to do with the traditional way of life of most Gaels in Cape Breton. She reported that, at first, residents from St. Anns, resented the Gaelic College and the new Scottish identity, that, at the time, seemed to be imposed on them by people outside their community.²⁰⁹

Gaelic was conceived as part of an 'ethnic package' which also included bagpipe bands, highland dancing, and kilts...Gaelic...was part of a politicized 'Scottish' identity. For local residents, parts of the package were often quite alien. Highland dancing, bagpipe bands and kilts were novelties to the rural Gaelic speaking communities surrounding the Gaelic College. In a curious way, the Gaelic College was importing a new view of 'Scottishness' and of Gaelic to the area.

Mainstream institutions often seem to take what I've come to think of as a 'Scotch on the Rocks' approach to the Gaelic language culture since CBC-radio gave their Gaelic language show this name in the late 1970's.²¹⁰

In its first years, most of the directors of the Gaelic College were educated Gaels who neither understand nor spoke the Gaelic language. Like Premier MacDonald, these men were educated in the intellectual traditions of the larger society but not in the Gaelic language culture. This manufactured tradition of Scottishness was commercially useful and also emotionally sustaining, but, at the time, it had little to do with the identity or the interests of the Gaels who were still living in the Northern Highlands.²¹¹

This is not to say that state policy doesn't support the idea that cultural variation is enriching; but only it seems at the point when the lived tradition poses no threat to the state society or its institutions. When the Gaelic College opened in 1938, most Gaelic people in Cape Breton had already stopped teaching their children their native language. The Peruvian historian, Luis Alberto Sanchez:²¹²

²⁰⁹ Op. Cit. Mertz 1982

²¹⁰ CBC had a Gaelic show that was hosted by Rosemary Hutchinson, a native Gaelic speaker from one of the western isles in Scotland. CBC forced her to resign and they hired Brian Sutcliffe, who couldn't really speak Gaelic although he did know a few words and phrases.

²¹¹ The process in the Highlands of Scotland seems to have been similar. Hugh Trevor Roper (1983) noted that most of the 'cultural badges' of the Highland Scots were inventions that were developed, he said, 'not to preserve the traditional way of life, but to ease its transformation: to bring them out of the heather and into the factory.' These invented traditions, in turn, were for the most part promoted by the dominant group in Highland society, the group that was the most Anglicized.

²¹² Cited in Bouchard and La Rusic 1981.

commented that most cities and towns never failed to erect prominent statues to commemorate the contribution of the Indian to national life. But...this is done at that moment in history when there is not the slightest possibility of confusing the image of the Indian on the monument with the people of Indian ancestry presiding over its unveiling.

Underdevelopment and the State Schools

State educational policies never supported the intellectual traditions of the Gaelic language culture but they didn't support English language traditions either. The public school system in Northern Cape Breton taught only rudimentary English language skills until relatively recently. Even in the 1970's, more than a hundred years after the Free Schools Acts of 1864 and 1865, children in Northern Cape Breton still had to leave the area if they wanted to finish highschool.²¹³ An educator, who writes textbooks and designs curriculum, lived in the Bay district in the 1950's and 1960's. I asked him if he thought the people in the Northern area of the district had an interest in public schooling. He commented:²¹⁴

There was this one little school that had a missionary type teacher staying there; and when the children got to the 6th grade they had to go down to Mabou or Baddeck, 75 or 80 miles away, separated from their family to get to the 8th grade. So naturally they wouldn't last very long, removed from their families and so on. What kind of interest could anyone have. You had the one little school house and the only teacher there had very little education himself. So you virtually had no education in the school...put it that way.

The Gaels in Northern Cape Breton have never had full access to the educational system, yet their failure to achieve in terms of the state system has always been perceived to be a personal rather than a societal failure. This had to do with the fact that the school maintained an ideology, as Boudrieu (1979)

²¹³ In the 1970's Cabot Highschool was built in Neils Harbour serving all of the Northern communities from Ingonish to Meat Cove.

²¹⁴ Interview with educator.

pointed out, of 'equality...opportunity and meritocratic achievement'. The notion of achievement, however, was:²¹⁵

defined in terms of the dominant... paradigm The subordinated classes in generating an acceptance of the system's legitimacy, reinforced their disadvantage by inhibiting their demands for access to the higher reaches of education by defining it as 'not for the likes of us'. At every rung of the educational ladder they tended to eliminate themselves.

They eliminated themselves because they were taught in school that the English language culture was superior to their own. Scientific theories were recognized as true, but Gaelic stories or myths were considered simple minded fairy tales.²¹⁶ School fostered a belief in the superiority of an instrumental rationality and of a technology that could be used to dominate the natural world for human profit and gain. Gaelic children were taught that their language tradition and the kind of social and material relations that characterized it didn't indicate cultivation, but the lack of it. In school, these children learned to be ashamed of who they were.

Educational policies and practices in the schools made little difference in the 19th century, when the Highland Gaels in Northern Cape Breton were still able to cultivate their own way of life. But in the twentieth century, the Gaels living there were unable to sustain their own language culture. People became more and more dependent on the social and economic institutions of the state society although they were disadvantaged in terms of its institutions from the beginning.²¹⁷ These threads are woven together to create the pattern of social and economic underdevelopment.

²¹⁵ Pierre Boudrieu The Inheritors: French Students and their Relation to Culture Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1979. p.72.

²¹⁶ The school also taught loyalty to the nation state and allegiance to the king or queen. A very ethnocentric belief system was cultivated in the classroom. The children were taught that the democratic parliamentary system was the best political system in the world and they were taught to believe in England and the monarchy. Hobsbawn talked about the use of education in colonial countries to cultivate a sense of belonging to the new nation states by invention of national traditions, holidays, celebrations, a common past and a future that created a sense of unity and nationalism.

²¹⁷ See Chapter Three. Their language culture was dependent on the Gaelic language and also on their ability to support themselves in the local community.

State Schooling and Dependency

The school system may not have been solely responsible for the fact that the Gaels in Northern Cape Breton stopped generating their language culture but it was certainly involved on a few different levels. After the First World War, when economic conditions in Northern Cape Breton forced many people to become more dependent on wage work outside the area young people from the MacKinnon-Fraser kin group were forced to leave the district to go to work outside of it.²¹⁸

These young people had had no access to English language schooling so they had little power, in Weber's sense.²¹⁹ No matter how much they knew in Gaelic terms, without degrees and certification in mainstream terms, they were qualified for only the most menial and economically unrewarding work. They were also ridiculed in the workplace because, as Gaelic speakers, educated in the a different language tradition they were perceived of as being 'ignorant'. It was this ridicule and the knowledge of their social and economic vulnerability that began to move people further and further away from themselves, that is, from wanting to identify themselves with who they were, that is their native language and language traditions. Old Gaelic songs and tunes and stories were not something that young people felt that they wanted to learn or to have anything to do with. It seemed that the radio and the magazines had much more to teach them.

People were led to believe that they might make something of themselves if they by left their communities for wage work, but in reality they were learning

²¹⁸ See Chapter 3.

²¹⁹ See Max Weber The Theory of Social and Economic Organization. New York: The Free Press, 1947. (original German published in 1922 as *Wirtschaft und Gesellschaft*) pp. 153-157 Weber distinguished between various modes of domination: 1. Power (*macht*), Weber said, is quite general: 'the probability that one actor within a social relationship will be in a position to carry out his own will despite resistance, regardless of the basis on which this probability rests.' 2. As a group and also individually, domination was inherent in their relations with the larger society. *Herrschaft* is 'the probability that a command with a given specific content will be obeyed by a given group of persons' or in a given society. Weber also discussed various other ways that one group or person in the social order impose their will on others. 'Discipline', he said is the probability that by virtue of habituation a command will receive prompt and automatic obedience in stereotyped forms, on the part of a given group of persons.' *Legitime Herrschaft*, 'authority', is the power that 'corporate group' legitimately exercises over its members by virtue of their membership. See also pp. 324-386 Weber also described various types of legitimate authority: traditional, charismatic and rational-legal. He also distinguished between domination 'by virtue of authority' and economic domination that constrains and constricts people's choices even though they may formally be free to make decisions and pursue their own ends.

to make themselves over in order to meet the needs of the market and the people who controlled it. Giving up their own language and learning English was simply part of the discipline of development in mainstream terms.

The state system promised social and economic equality, but the more involved the Gaels became in the relations of the state society, the more alienated they were, in either Marx's or Rousseau's sense, from their own material and intellectual production.²²⁰ Without access to schooling, the Gaels in Northern Cape Breton had no intellectual property rights in the larger society. In a social formation that was organized around property, this meant that they were always destined to be in a subservient position.

In modern social formations, people are led to believe that the ties that bind people together in a traditional subsistence economy will hinder their freedom and mobility. They give up family, community language, tradition for their jobs. Perhaps that is why sometimes it seems that we exist for the economy rather than the economy existing for us.

The economic has become for many people the *teleos*, the perfection and purpose of their lives. Money is certainly not the only currency that has worth in the exchange relations of the mainstream. We exchange courtesies and pleasantries. We defer and we demand. But money has become the most valuable and it usually determines who we must defer to and what we can demand. In a market society traditional social distinctions are levelled but the market has a discipline all its own.²²¹

Children [are] stripped of all social influences but those of the market place...All sense of place or function weakened...The characteristics of region and clan, neighborhood or kindred attenuated...The individual is denuded of everything but appetites, desires and tastes wrenched from any context of human obligation and commitment. It is a process of mutilation, and once this has been achieved we are offered the consolation of reconstituting the abbreviated humanity out of the things and the goods around us and the fantasies and vapours they emit

In the modern process of initiation children are forced to undergo a mutilation of the mind, a spiritual circumcision. This is a new rite of passage that

²²⁰ Marx discussed how workers become alienated from their own work, that is, alienated labour. Rousseau discussed how slaves were alienated from themselves because they were someone else's property.

²²¹ Jeremy Seabrook (1978) Cited in Herman Daly and J. B. Cobb. For the Common Good Boston: Beacon Press, 1989.p. 163

separates people from themselves. For it is only through language and the associated patterns of relations that people can really express and articulate who they are.

A Discipline of Family and Relationship

This is not to say that the Gael's traditional kin ship formation didn't have its own techniques or modes of discipline. The community was organized around the traditional authority, in Weber's sense, of certain members of the kin group.²²² The Health Nurse discussed the social fabric of the Black Point community in the thirty year period in the 1940's, 50's and 60's.²²³

The young people married and settled right around, and, you know, like they would refer to P. and D. as chiefs.²²⁴ I remember when I first started to go around with the polio vaccine, I mean, I knew well enough to go and see D. and P. first. Because if I didn't, I wouldn't be able to give it to the kids, because they were the bosses, you know they had the authority...the older people...I mean they had that old system, where they still had, although their sons and daughters married, they still kept, sort of control....

This control, however, had nothing to do with the legal authority of the modern state or the bureaucratic structures that legitimate it. This was not a discipline of rules and regulations but a discipline of relationship. It didn't have much to do with charisma either, although the power of a particular elder's personality could be dominating. I interviewed a teacher in the Bay district who described how an elder in a small Highland community in the Northern end of the district maintained control:²²⁵

I remember one time...a tourist had some things stolen from her car...(this did not happen in Black Point but in a small Gaelic community nearby) Her husband had just died, too. The grandfather got wind of it and just the notion that he believed that one of his extended had stolen something from her. He was just outraged, and he went out and sat on the steps like a

²²² Op cit. Gerth and Mills (1946) Weber (1947).

²²³ Interview with the Health Nurse 1986. She worked in the Black Point community from the 1940's -1960's. She spoke some Gaelic herself and had a close and friendly relationship with many families.

²²⁴ I have never heard the term 'chief' term used by people in the family but I have heard other people describe the family as a 'tribe'.

²²⁵ This community was organized around a different kingroup. But they share, in common, the clan based social structure of the Gaelic language culture.

stone and he said he was never going to leave the step until everything that was taken was returned. And he just sat there and there was a scramble because he was quite elderly...At the end, everything that had been taken was returned including some chocolate Exlax and a handkerchief...And it was never exactly clear which one of the kids had taken it but the thing that impressed me was the sense of morality and right that this grandfather had and what a center to hold onto for the community.

The grandfather exercised authority not by physical punishment or threats but by the power of his position and by his relation to the members of his family. In the context of his kin group, punishment or revenge would make no sense because the perpetrators or perpetrator was 'one of his own'. In some sense the children, new branches on a very old tree, were really being taught what it meant to be part of the family. The children were forced to bow to their grandfather's will because as the root of the family, the elders were literally the source of regeneration, nourishment and life. They carried the tradition. In this context the impact of the grandfather's passive resistance, the act of removing himself from the life of the family, was far more extreme a measure than any punishment would have been.

In fact, people reported that they felt that discipline based on honoring kin relationships and making amends when a wrong was committed was actually far more serious than a spanking. E. MacKinnon reported that as a young child she once took a 'copper' from one of her cousins, N. When E's mother found out she made her go up to N.'s house and return it to N.'s mother. E. said, this was far worse than a spanking would have been, She remembered that she was so embarrassed that she just threw the 'copper' on the floor of the house and ran out. She said that she wasn't physically or verbally abused in any way but she felt much worse than if she had been.

Children were seldom beaten in the kin group.²²⁶ S. MacKinnon said she remembered getting spanked only twice when she was young. These spankings

²²⁶ People in the kin group did not seem to believe that hitting or hurting another person would in any way help that person's moral development. This was certainly not the case, however, in the Catholic Gaelic families in the local community. This difference in disciplinary practice was most likely a result of the fact that the people in the MacKinnon Fraser kin group had little relation to the Church or to an any formal institutionalized religious discipline until fairly recently. For instance, in the early 20th century, young women in the Catholic community who got pregnant with a child out of wedlock were forced to crawl on their hands and knees down the main aisle of the church to do public penance for their sin. P.B., who was Catholic and born around 1925, reported that because she was born out of wedlock she was sometimes hidden when company came. Her family, she said, was ashamed

had to do with 'protecting her from harm'--not going down to the shore or in the woods alone. People reported, however, that more often as children they were threatened with getting a beating. F. MacKinnon said her father or mother would tell her to go get a switch but then when she brought it back they would just put it up. E. MacKinnon also said that her parents would tell her to cut a switch but when she brought the switch back they would tell her that it wasn't good enough and they would tell her to go cut another one. She would go get another one but that one wouldn't be good enough either. She would do this a few times thinking all the time of what she had done. In the end, though, she said, her father and mother would only laugh. I asked her if there was any humiliation involved in her parents' laughter. She said that it was just the opposite. Their laughter relieved the tension.

The Health Nurse commented on the particular kind of control parents in the community had.²²⁷

The one thing that has always impressed me was the way they brought up their children....the control. Now, I mean, you could sense the closeness between the mother and the father and the children. I mean it was right there; you could sense it, even when you went into the home to visit, and they always spoke so softly to the children. You know.....there was a certain sense of dignity...This was the one thing about the Black point people....they had dignity, you know, self-discipline.

The traditional community was characterized by a discipline that was quite different than our own. Authority and control were not imposed by an outside agency. They were established within the community in the relationships to other people and to oneself. There were few symbols of deference to authority required, like the tipping of a hat or the lowering of the eyes but as P. Fraser noted that all her father or mother had to do was 'give me a certain look and I knew'.

Adolescent rebellion, as we practice it, was all but unknown in the kin group because there was really nothing to rebel against. Young people

of her. In the MacKinnon-Fraser kin group, illegitimacy was not common²²⁶, but there was no punishment involved. The Department of Welfare study noted that young girls who got pregnant out of wed-lock were fully supported and included in the kin-ship group as were their children. Note:By illegitimate I mean children who were born out of the sexual encounters of parents who were not living together. In the 20th century many couples were not married in the church but stayed together in common law relationships.

²²⁷ Interview with the Public Health Nurse 1986

recognized the traditional authority of the elders as legitimate because they also recognized themselves as part of the same tradition.

This does not mean that there was no domination involved. Women in the traditional community were dominated by men, younger people by older ones and children by their parents. F. MacKinnon told me that she always asked her husband's leave before she went somewhere but her husband just went wherever and whenever he pleased. It was the elder males, the father and grandfather who were recognized as having the right to make most decisions.

When I first came to the district, the authority of the elder males seemed to me to be quite oppressive to younger adults in the family who could never quite establish their independence until the old man or old woman in the family died. For instance, M. MacKinnon and her 22 year old daughter, S. MacKinnon, were all dressed up and ready to go to church. S. asked her father, an elder who was bedridden, if she could take the truck to go. He said no because he thought it might rain later on. S. simply accepted her father's authority and so did his wife. There was not a word of protest or argument in either look or act or speech, although it was really not bad on the roads at all. In most of the families that I have visited the elders maintain their authority even when they are bedridden.

At first I found it extremely difficult to understand how people could allow themselves to submit to the authority of the family as vested in their elders. I could not wait to leave home so I could start making my own way in the world. I could not not wait for the time when I would not have to answer to my parents. Even now it surprises me that grown men and women continue to defer to their parents. For instance, when I asked P. MacKinnon, for instance, who is 26, whether I could quote him in this work he told me that it was all right with him as long as it was all right with his dad.

I found that my concepts of individual freedom and equality of treatment under a rule of law really had very little to do with the patterns of traditional life. I found, for instance, that justice was never 'blind' in the traditional community. For instance, people in a particular kin group would fight to protect or defend one of their own even if it was clear that the person was at fault in terms of starting the fight or committing a grievance that would normally be condemned within the kingroup. In fact, because the laws of the family or kin group have little to do with legal structures of the larger society people often settled their differences personally. This led to a directness in encounters but also sometimes to awful fights and feuds that could go on for years between certain family groups.

There were different kinds of constraints in the traditional community than in the larger society but there were also different freedoms and possibilities. The issue of 'equality', for instance, that seems so problematical in modern life, did not seem to pose any problem within the kin group.²²⁸ I found it extremely difficult to understand that a father or a mother might openly have a special relationship to a particular child in the family. It seemed incomprehensible to me that the other children in the family simply accepted that there might be individual favorites within the family. All of the children in R. MacKinnon's family agreed that she was her father's special favorite. None of the children reported that they resented this and R. has an extremely close relationships with her 11 brothers and sisters. What I did not understand at first was that R.'s position also entailed certain responsibilities. R. didn't marry, and she stayed home with her father and mother and took special care of them.

Two of the teachers in the school in the Bay talked about the Black Point children.²²⁹

Teacher One -- One evening I was in C's room. She had kept one of the youngsters back in the room to finish work, and the rest of the children would not leave the school until he got out of the room. They were that closely knit...

Teacher Two -- The other children would not go until...I released that little one to go, too.

There were reciprocal responsibilities and duties inherent in the relationships individuals within the family had with each other. These tied the people in the kin group together. People deferred to age; but the elders did not have unlimited power. They were also bound by the responsibilities of their position in the family to sustain, support, and educate those who were the younger members of the family. Younger members deferred to their elders

²²⁸ I never heard anyone struggling, as is common in modern society, with the argument: I know you deserve to do that, but if I allow you to do it then I will have to allow everyone to do it.

²²⁹ Interview with teachers at Highland Consolidated. Another teacher who was visiting one of the families in the 1960's remembered watching a few of the teenage girls doing their homework:

I was in there visiting and they were supposed to be doing their homework. One of the girls had a composition to write...but she had forgotten her notebook in school. It was not a very large house, but they were a very lively bunch...a very cheerful bunch. The whole family got involved in the content of the composition and then when the kid went to school the next morning she was going to write it down in her notebook at school.....sort of the fruits of the evening before. It ended up as a communal activity.

because they needed to learn from them but children were allowed to participate as soon as they were able in the material and social relations of the family because the maintenance of the tradition depended on them.

The family and community was really invested in the old, in the young and also in the women-- groups that tend to be marginalized in mainstream society because they have very little earning power. In Highland society they occupied places that were honored and respected, although these places were not necessarily equal in a modern sense of being the same. They weren't, however, considered inferior as they often are in the modern social process.²³⁰

For instance, men's and women's roles were gendered, but not necessarily sexist. The place women occupied and the work they did was highly respected. Bachelors did not hesitate to make jam and gather berries or bake cookies and bread, as well as haul wood.²³¹ Women were usually identified by their own names in the community genealogy or in the church records that represented the family history.²³² Their identities didn't merge into their husband's as they did, for instance, on the records of the mainstream society like the census records.

Women did not seem to be 'feminized' or objectified as sexual objects in the same way as they are in the mainstream. Their bodies seem to have been more their own.²³³ C. MacKinnon, for instance, did not feel compelled to shave her underarms nor wear a girdle, tight skirts, flimsy blouses, or pointy shoes.²³⁴ Nor do

²³⁰ For instance, in English law, if someone sues for loss of life, the value of a person's life is calculated by how much money he or she would be able to make. So, a child, an old person, and a woman usually are worth less than a male adult, a lawyer worth more than a fisher.

²³¹ For many years, Fred MacDonald from Sugar Loaf looked after his parents and then maintained the household. He baked oatmeal cookies, made strawberry jam, hauled out firewood with his horse, etc. M. MacKinnon reported that when her mother was sick her father would completely take over the household and would even bake. Men's work did not seem to be perceived as being innately superior or more economically productive. Women also would do 'men's work' when necessary without being considered unfeminine.

²³² See for instance North Highlands Pastoral Charge- Cape North

Book 1 - Aspy Bay/Ingonish Circuit 1874-88

Book 2 - Aspy Bay/Ingonish Circuit 1889-1920

Book 3 - Aspy Bay Circuit: Baptisms 1891-1901; 1918-1922, Marriages 1892-1922.

Book 4 - Presbyterian & Methodist Baptisms April 1875-July 1924

²³³ One of the women I interviewed, for instance, reported that, when her children were young, she kept them in bed with her at night because she nursed them until they were toddlers. When I asked her about her husband and sexual relations she laughed and said that he just had to learn to accept it and wait. Nursing was probably used as a method of birth control.

²³⁴ A popular song in the larger local community, in the late 19th and early 20th century, Frozen Charlotte was about a young girl who dressed up for a dance in the flimsy clothes that were fashionable in the mainstream then. She has to ride on a horse and sled to get to the dance with her young beau and it is very, very cold. She ends up freezing to death because of her vanity.

most of her daughters. Women also seem to retain control over any property that they come into a marriage with. In fact, women often controlled the finances in the family because they often had more schooling and education in mainstream terms.

Pointing out the fact that women were highly respected and had a certain space for themselves within the traditional community is not the same as saying women were free from domination. This was noted earlier. It's just that the sexist practices of modern social formations only appear to liberate people from oppression. In reality, they may lead to new and perhaps more abusive forms of control.

The rules and regulations of the state system and its bureaucratic structures are produced outside, not within, the context of people's relationships and experience. These teach the children to respect the 'majesty of the law', but not how to make moral judgments. In the traditional community children were taught to defer to their elders but one day they would become elders themselves. The kind of self-discipline and judgment that were needed to take the position of elder without becoming corrupted by the power required the cultivation of a certain kind of selflessness. It seems to me that the elders' authority really came from the weight of the tradition that was vested in them. People did not really defer to the elders as individuals but to the family tradition itself. It was really this tradition that not only shaped everyone's lives but in turn was changed and shaped by everyone living in the community.

The discipline inherent in this tradition was articulated and communicated in a body of knowledge, songs, stories, and skills, that was associated with each kin group. Stories were especially important. These were used to entertain, but they were also used to instruct. They shaped the way that people behaved. For instance, E. MacKinnon said that she would never wander alone into the woods at night because of the ghost stories that she heard as a child.

The stories also provided a metaphorical framework that gave people a basis for making certain kinds of moral judgments. For instance, in the traditional Highland stories, the very old, the women, or the youth often are the only ones able to figure out the solution to whatever problem the story posed. In these stories, poverty or age or gender had nothing to do with either wisdom, skill, or power. In one Gaelic story, a king tested one of his subjects by asking him the question, 'What is the most plentiful thing in the world? The man was extremely troubled because he didn't know the answer, nor could he figure it out. When he

went home, he told his daughter his problem and she assured him that he had nothing to worry about because the answer was easy:²³⁵

'Couldn't you tell him', said she, 'that there was nothing in the world as plentiful as sides.'

'And do yourself think,' said he, 'that sides are the most plentiful things?'

'Oh don't you know, dear father', said she, 'that indeed they are? It does not matter at all how plentiful anything is in the world; there are at least two sides to it and there are many things which have more than two side. There might be, for example, an inside and an outside and a top side and a bottom side and on some things a far side and a near side. You can name sides as being more plentiful than anything else.'

Stories, like this were multi-layered and they were accessible to all members of the family, regardless of their ages or ability.²³⁶

Like, we could hear from our bedroom, and the first thing we would do at night was 'Okay, he says, it's time for your prayers.' So you'd say all these prayers, and then he would start with the stories...it was more like parables. It would teach you a lesson to be kind to your neighbors or some of the stories. Like...once there were three brothers and they all went off together and the one brother was kind, but the others weren't....and then what happened to them...like, if you are mean to people it'll fall back on you...but that was in Black Point and I was very young.

Understanding arose in the spaces between people. In the traditional formation, people were not usually subjected to punishments designed to train them to adhere to certain rules because discipline really had more to do more to do with relationship than with rules. This did not make it any less constraining, but it in some way it was less oppressive to the will.

Conclusion: Development as Domestication

The Gaelic people in the Northern Highlands of Cape Breton struggled within their kin groups to maintain the kind of material and social relationships that generated their language tradition. They didn't actively work together with

²³⁵ Op. cit. Shaw 1987

²³⁶ Interview with M. MacKinnon.

people in other kin groups to resist English hegemony or the domination of the state institutions.

Their resistance tended to be passive for the most part. Ultimately, they deferred to the state authority. They sent their children to school and they began to teach them to speak English, not Gaelic. They were deeply attached to their language and language culture but they were afraid to teach Gaelic to their children because they thought it might hinder them and hold them back.

The more the Gaels tried to position themselves in terms of the larger society, though, the more ground of their own they lost. They had been the center of a Gaelic world that was largely of their making but they ended up on the outer margins of an English state society in which they were powerless.²³⁷ Like Oedipus, the Gaels struggled to escape a fate that, out of their own fears, they only ended up weaving for themselves and their children.

Part of the problem was that their own tradition did not prepare them to resist the kind of pressure that the dominant society put on them. The best minds and hearts in the traditional formation were the quietest. They had no leaders to guide them, and even if some came forward people weren't trained to respect those who put themselves at the front of the group. Traditional divisions based on kinship and religion kept people apart even though they shared the same language culture. Gaels didn't tend to see the commonalty of their interests with other people who were outside their own kinship group. The dominant social process was difficult for Gaels within the tradition to penetrate or to resist fully because it was so different from their own.

This is not to say that there was no dialogical process at work in the Gaelic community. It's just that the organizing principle, or *logos*, was very different than the dialogic process in the western critical tradition. It had more to do with metaphor and myth than critical thought. This is not to say that the Highland tradition was inferior, but, like any intellectual system, it was limited. There seemed to be little recognition within the tradition, however, of its limitations. The ethnocentricity that led to romanticizing Gaelic as the language of Adam probably made it much more difficult to understand the nature of their vulnerability.

²³⁷ There was also no training in the kinship group or the community for leadership. People were taught to defer to their elders and to the other people in the kinship group. Putting oneself ahead of someone else was considered to be extremely rude. The most skilled musicians or carpenters pushed their skill and knowledge the least.

Intellectuals within the tradition who were trained in the larger society's terms seemed to develop a sentimental relation to the Highland identity. They re-invented the tradition, exploiting it for their own economic, social, or political purposes--although at the time they may have perceived that these purposes were for the good of the community.

This is not to say that all Highland intellectuals were cultural 'sell outs'. It was difficult, however, for them not to be. If the Gaels, especially the young people, hadn't been under so much pressure from the institutions of the state society, like the schools, they might have been able to establish their own forms of 'critical and emancipatory knowledge'.²³⁸ But the pressure was constant and they were always on the defensive.

When the Gaelic language culture came under pressure many Gaels, especially the intellectuals and those who were in positions of power in the larger society, valued the outward forms, the husk of the tradition but rejected the inner kernel, the germ that would generate it and keep it alive. A tradition can only be fertile when it is grounded, though. The Highland tradition was cultivated in the everyday patterns and relationships within the local communities. Attachment to a costume, a language, or a dance pattern simply because it is old and venerable may serve to preserve the fragments of a culture but not its heart.

In school, children learned to defer to the rational-legal authority of the state rather than the traditional authority of family and clan. They learned to defer to an expert knowledge that was dissociated from their own experience. Local and traditional forms of knowledge that were embedded in the family and community had no currency in the school where folk practices were considered to be superstitions and the theories of modern science were considered to be true.²³⁹

²³⁸ I'm borrowing a term that Habermas used. It seems to me that Socrates dialogues are a model for the critical and emancipatory form that Habermas suggested. Habermas distinguished between three forms of knowledge. 1. empirical-analytical, concerned with establishing causal relations and grounded in an interest in controlling nature. 2. hermenutic inquiry, based on meaningful understanding and the need for mutual communication and 3. critical and emancipatory, a form of knowledge that transcends the limits of the other two and leads to a situation in which all people involved have an equal opportunity to participate, without restriction or without being dominated by one group and its ideological distortions. Jurgen Habermas (Edited by Steven Seidman) Jurgen Habermas on Society and Politics. Boston: Beacon Press, 1989.

²³⁹ They were trained to develop different and opposing allegiances than the ones that were traditional to their Highland and family history. Some Highland families in the Bay district started to revere the queen and the monarchy and to place pictures of the royal family or the queen in an honored place in the house

Theorists like Rousseau tried to envision a social order that was more enlightened; one in which everyone, even the poor, were educated and liberated. But people can't be forced to be free. The humanitarian effort that imposed enlightenment on other groups of people who were perceived to live in darkness was an integral part of the 19th century ideology of progress and scientific improvement. Karl Marx, as well as Adam Smith, believed in an education that combined compulsory schooling with factory discipline.²⁴⁰

Public schooling was a new discipline that initiated people living in the social order into its rituals and myths. In school people learned not only to know their places but to create them for themselves.²⁴¹ In some sense people learned, in

²⁴⁰ See Karl Marx (edited by Friedrich Engels) Capital Chicago: Great Books of the Western World, 1952 (original 1867) pp.238-250. See also Adam Smith An Inquiry Into the Nature and Causes of the Wealth of Nations Encyclopedia Britannica: Toronto, 1952 (Originally published in 1776)pp. 340-343. Marx, as well as Smith, believed that the factory model of production was superior to any other; neither of them questioned the right of human beings to dominate and control the earth and living creatures on it for human gain. They both believed that the earth and the earth's resources needed to be exploited in order to be productive and that human 'consciousness' needed to be shaped in order to be enlightened. In capitalist formations the state and its institutions are largely controlled by an economic elite and in communist formations by a bureaucratic and intellectual elite. In both compulsory state schooling in appears to be neutral but it is based on the assumptions of an instrumental rationality that are inherently ideological and which lead to the domination and exploitation of the natural and human communities by the state for the production of wealth. The Chukchi children in Siberia were resettled and sent to state schools, just as the Mi'kmaq children were resettled and sent to state schools in Nova Scotia. The Highland Gaels were resettled and sent to state schools in the Highlands of Scotland and the Black Point children were resettled and sent to state schools in Northern Cape Breton. The resettlement and education of the Chukai people was part of a development program set up 'for their salvation' and 'inclusion within the sphere of soviet authority' by the state authorities. The program was supposed to assist them and improve their lives, but these improvements were designed and imposed by the people in authority on other people whose lives were supposed to be improved. See John Bodley Victims of Progress. California: Cummins Publishing Company, 1975. Their ideas about compulsory schooling were not entirely the same, however. Smith, believed that combining work and school was only for the 'common people'. Marx, however, believed that it was the best model for all children. Marx believed that work in the factory was beneficial to children and was also an educational experience—it would establish working class consciousness. Smith did not believe that work in the factory was beneficial to a child at all, but he thought that for common people elementary schooling with an emphasis on practical and technical knowledge could be combined with work in the factory or mill. Smith was generally much more realistic than Marx as to the harmful effects of the factory system on the quality of the common people's lives. See, for instance, his discussion on education. (Smith (1772) pp. 340, 341).

²⁴¹ See 'E.P. Thompson The Making of the English Working Class Hammondsworth: Penguin Books,1980. p. 393. Also Michel Foucault Discipline and Punishment New York: Pantheon Books, 1977.

public school, to become their 'own slave drivers.'²⁴² They were however, denied the opportunity to learn about themselves or their own traditions and history.

Yet, learning, Plato said in the Meno, is about re-collecting.²⁴³ Remembering. Putting together our presents and our futures from our past. We can't learn if we can't recollect, if we aren't allowed to own or remember. It is the only way we can make sense of the present and also have some sort of agency in shaping our future.

The modern school is about forgetting who you are and becoming who you are supposed to be. In The Book of Laughter and Forgetting, Milan Kundera said that 'when a big power wants to deprive a smaller one of its national identity, of its self-consciousness, it uses the method of organized forgetting.' Without our pasts, our traditions, we lose ourselves. Learning becomes extremely difficult and abusive.

When one group forces another language, another system of thought, on another group they perpetrate a kind of 'symbolic violence', to use Bourdieu and Passeron's phrase. (1977) Before the advent of modern schooling, the process of education for the most groups of people in the world was primarily about maintaining or continuing tradition rather than breaking with it. The modern school, however, tends, as Mead (1942) put it, towards dis-continuities and turning 'the child of the peasant into a clerk, of the farmer into a lawyer, of the Italian immigrant into an American, of the illiterate into the literate.'²⁴⁴ Modern schooling, Margaret Mead said, puts an increasing emphasis on change, rather than upon growth:²⁴⁵

Changing people's habits, people's ideas, people's languages, people's beliefs, people's emotional allegiances, involves a sort of deliberate violence to other people's developed personalities.

²⁴² I will discuss this more fully in Chapter 3. See Max Weber in The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1930, 1958 (original German published in 1904-5) p. 160.

²⁴³ Plato. (Translated by Benjamin Jowitt) The Collected Works of Plato London: Modern Philosophical Library, 1962. pp.349-382.

²⁴⁴ Mead, Margaret. *Our Educational Emphasis in Primitive Perspective* American Journal of Sociology, vol. 48, 1942-3 p. 636

²⁴⁵ Op.cit. Mead (1942) p. 638.

This nature of this violence is such that people hardly realize that it is happening. De Toqueville (1840) described the process. He said that the power of a democratic state:²⁴⁶

is absolute minute, regular, provident and mild. It would be like the authority of a parent if, like that authority, its object was to prepare men for manhood; but it seeks, on the contrary, to keep them in perpetual childhood: it is well content that the people should rejoice, provided they think of nothing but rejoicing. For their happiness such a government willingly labors, but it chooses to be the sole agent and the only arbiter of that happiness; it provides for their security, foresees and supplies their necessities, facilitates their pleasures, manages their principal concerns, directs their industry, regulates the descent of property, and subdivides their inheritances: what remains but to spare them all the care of thinking and all the trouble of living?

Thus it every day renders the exercise of the free agency of man less useful and less frequent; it circumscribes the will within a narrow range and gradually robs a man of all the uses of himself. The principle of equality has prepared men for these things; it has predisposed men to endure them and often to look on them as benefits.

After having thus successively taken each member of the community in its powerful grasp and fashioned him at will, the supreme power then extends its arm over the whole community. It covers the surface of society with a network of small complicated rules, minute and uniform, through which the most original minds and the most energetic characters cannot penetrate, to rise above the crowd. The will of man is not shattered, but softened, bent, and guided; men are seldom forced by it to act, but they are constantly restrained from acting. Such a power does not destroy, but it prevents existence; it does not tyrannize, but it compresses, enervates extinguishes, and stupefies a people, till each nation is reduced to nothing better than a flock of timid and industrious animals, of which the government is the shepherd.

Public schooling was instituted in Northern Cape Breton to prepare the Gaels who were still generating their traditional language culture to accept the legitimacy and the authority of the state society. The democratic process in the larger society appeared to be neutral, as did process of education in the state schools. But this was an illusion. The practice of schooling involves manipulation. It is a discipline that is dangerous because it appears to be something other than

²⁴⁶ Alexis De Tocqueville Democracy in America New York: Alfred A., Knopf, 1953. Vol. 2 (originally 1840)pp.318-319.

what it is. Rousseau didn't invent the modern institution of school, nor did he live in a time when it had been born, but his thinking generated it:²⁴⁷

Let him (the pupil) always think he is master while you are really master. There is no subjection so complete as that which preserves the forms of freedom; it is thus that the will itself is taken captive.

²⁴⁷ Jean-Jacques Rousseau, Emile London: Everyman's Library, 1974. (original in French in 1762) p. 84.

Chapter 3: The Coming of the Road

Prologue

A few years ago I submitted an article to the *Journal of Ethnic Studies* about the negative effect state schooling had on Gaelic education in Cape Breton. My work was a response to the book by Gilbert Foster I mentioned earlier. Gilbert maintained that Gaelic has persisted in Nova Scotia because provincial educational policies promoted the Gaelic language and also the Gaelic language culture. My research, however, indicated that Gaelic had persisted despite state policies, not because of them. The article was not about Black Point, or the relocation, but I did mention them. I also noted the fact that, in 1871, there was a relatively high rate of Gaelic literacy in the community but, in 1970, almost 100 years after the implementation of public schooling, English literacy was reported to be a problem.

After a month or so I received a note from the journal that the article was accepted for publication with minor revisions. They also included the notes of the two academics who had reviewed it. I found their editorial comments helpful, but I found the remarks of one of the academic readers about the community of Black Point disturbing. He said:

On Page 12, the writer deals with a subject that is still hotly debated— the Nova Scotia government's attempts to remove the Black Point people to Baddeck (an attempt that failed in the long run). The reasons were largely economic, not an attempt to destroy a 'culture' which many people regarded as being impossibly primitive and violent.

He concluded by saying that the relocation of the people in Black Point had little to do with the subject of Gaelic education in Cape Breton.

I found the comments of this social scientist disturbing on a number of levels. On the simplest level, his facts were wrong. The government never attempted to 'remove the Black Point people to Baddeck'. Four of the 18 families living in Black Point were moved to Baddeck. The rest moved to Bay St. Lawrence. Also, from the government's point of view, the relocation project was quite successful.¹ Their attempt to remove the people did not fail in either the

¹ Interview with George Mathews, the Director of the Division of Social Services, the government agency responsible for the relocation.

long or the short run. The Black Point community was closed and all the people moved.

But it is easy to get the facts wrong because there never has been any research published. The only source of public information about the community or the relocation has been a few newspaper reports, some magazine articles, and two T.V. documentaries. Black Point and Meat Cove have very big reputations for two very small communities. I wondered why the reader didn't question the fact that many people considered the community's 'culture' to be 'impossibly primitive'? How could social scientists make judgments about the community and engage in any kind of debate about the community culture when they knew so little about the people living in the community? This is not to say that I believe in 'expert' knowledge or that I believe that scientific research is the only way to know anything. But I do think that it might be more honest than the kind of 'good' story that a CBC journalist constructs and tells in 30 minutes with enough time out for a few messages from the sponsor.

Most people tend to believe in 'expert opinion', or as much of it that they are able to read about in the newspapers or see on T.V. It surprises me that experts would believe it as well, though I suppose I shouldn't be surprised. When ordinary people presume to speculate about the behavior of other people and make judgments about the groups they belong to, we call it gossip and usually we dismiss it. But when social scientists and other experts presume to speculate in the same way, we call it theory and we believe in it as fact. Sometimes it is even used to justify social policies like the relocation itself.²

None of this is to say that there isn't some truth to what this social scientist said. There is just enough to sound reasonable, but not quite enough to make sense. The assertion that primarily 'economic' motives inform Canada's development policy is in itself problematical, because it seems to be leading to the deformation of the social process and the destruction of the natural environment. Economic improvement may be the objective of most social policy in Canada, but cultural extinction is the by-product so often that multi-cultural rhetoric of the state system needs to be questioned. Whatever the conscious intention of state policy in Northern Cape Breton, the reality was English hegemony. Conscious

² Social scientists opinions can cause great harm as the scholars working in the School of Education at Dalhousie found out after they were the subjects of a research study on Higher Education in Nova Scotia. Subsequently, they were subjected to policy that will end with the demise of the school including their Ph.D. program, the only one in the entire region.

rationality, as Freud pointed out, often has little to do with unconscious intention. The 'rationalization' of our social world may in the end prove to be quite irrational.³

As Mills (1930) said, there is a power structure hidden beneath all those layers of intention that supports the interests and the perspective of only certain groups of people in the society.⁴ It is the people in institutions like the Department of Social Welfare and the provincial system of education that carry out these intentions, whether they are conscious of them or not.

The people in Black Point have their own perspective and their own story; both of which have meaning. This meaning is particular to the context of their lives. I believe that there is no way to fully understand what happened in the community without listening to the stories that the people tell about their lives and without participating in their reality so that their interpretation becomes clear. It seems to me that the only way to make sense of how other people make sense of the world is to interact with them on their own ground and in their own terms.⁵

I found it strange that no one at the Journal of Ethnic Studies seemed to notice the bias inherent in the assumptions of their reader, an expert in the field of 'ethnic' studies who recognized historically that the Gaelic people were oppressed, but who didn't recognize the possibility that this particular group of Gaelic people might also have been.

It seems to me that the question here is not whether the community was or wasn't economically 'viable' or the people and their culture 'impossibly primitive and violent', but why they began to be perceived and continued to be perceived that way by members of the establishment. As Mills pointed out many years ago, sociologists often have an ideology that they themselves aren't aware of that supports the power structure as it is. It is part of the glue, in fact, that holds it all together. They become tools, often unwittingly, of the establishment.⁶

³ See Jurgen Habermas Jurgen Habermas on Society and Politics. 1989.pp. 239.

Weber's 'rationalization' is not only a long-term process of the transformation of social structures but simultaneously 'rationalization' in Freud's sense: the true motive the perpetuation of objectively obsolete domination is concealed through the invocation of purposive-rational imperatives. This...is possible because the rationality of science and technology is immanently one of control.

⁴ C. Wright Mills Power Politics and People New York: Ballantine Books, 1930

⁵ This interaction can be direct and physical or indirect, through oral or written accounts.

⁶ Although the article would have been acceptable to this particular journal had I made specified revisions, I was too angry at the time to engage in a dialogue about the kind of revisions that were expected. I published it some where else.

The Coming of the Road

The removal of the people in Black Point from their community was the final stage of a development process that began at the very end of the 19th century, when the very first wave of progress in mainstream terms hit Northern Cape Breton. Progress promised freedom from a traditional subsistence way of life, the convenience of indoor plumbing, packaged foods, radio's and refinement.⁷ But it also was a process of social erosion and environmental depletion.

In the last chapter, I explored how the development of the public school system in Northern Cape Breton had a negative effect on Gaelic ways of knowing. Progress in the state's terms repressed the local mind and imagination and also imposed dominant forms. This was one strand in the development of a basic relationship of domination that also involved the suppression of the local will and the imposition of social and economic structures that served the interests of people living outside the area. These structures have been especially oppressive to the people who resisted them most. For these people, development in the Bay district has actually meant having less opportunity to sustain themselves and to shape their lives within their local communities. Some people in the area may have profited economically by 'progress' and the inclusion into the larger market economy. But most people, rich or poor, feel they have lost something in the process. As E. Brown put it:⁸

Along the line we lost something
and we don't know what it is
or what we are looking for
but now it's gone.

⁷ The belief in progress and the utopia that it could bring in the late 19th and early 20th centuries was still very similar to Bacon's 16th century point of view. C.E. Ayres The Theory of Economic Progress : A study of the fundamentals of economic development and cultural change. New York: Schocken Books, 1962 (originally 1944) pp. xxiv-xxv. Cited in Wolfgang Sachs The Development Dictionary London: Zed Books 1992. pp. 194,195.

Industrial society is the most successful way of life that mankind has ever known. Not only do our people eat better, sleep better, live in more comfortable dwellings, get around more and in far greater comfort, and...live longer than men have ever done before. In addition to listening to radio and watching television, they read more books, see more pictures and hear more music than any previous generation or any other people has. At the height of the technological revolution we are now living in a golden age of scientific enlightenment and artistic achievement. For all who achieve economic development, profound cultural change is inevitable. But the rewards are considerable.

⁸ Interview with E. Brown.

In this chapter, I will continue the story of the MacKinnon-Frasers and the people in Northern Cape Breton. This story is like a multi-layered cloth, woven of many threads. Each of these need to be laid out and looked at, before a patterns can emerge. With it, some clarity might come so that we can come closer to understanding of why the people in Black Point were displaced and why people still are being displaced in the name of progress?⁹

The First Wave of Development: Penetration

The first wave of development hit Northern Cape Breton between 1885 and 1890. It brought new systems of organization, transportation, and communication; these penetrated the Northern Highlands and broke through an isolation that had separated people from the mainstream, but also protected them. By 1890, all the holdings in the area were surveyed and enclosed,¹⁰ many school sections were organized,¹¹ and the roads were improved to the point that a daily mail route was established by horse and buggy over Smoky across Ingonish Ferry and north to Bay St. Lawrence.¹²

⁹ I know that I am not going to answer these questions in simple sentence form, because the answers, if they can be called that, are multidimensional. See E.P. Thompson *Time, Work-Discipline, and Industrial Capitalism Past and Present* No. 38 1967. p.80.

The stress of the transition falls upon the whole culture: resistance to change and assent to change arise from the whole culture. And this culture includes the systems of power property-relations, religious institutions etc., inattention to which merely flattens phenomena and trivializes analysis. Above all, the transition is not to 'industrialism' *tout court* but to industrial capitalism or (in the twentieth century) to alternative systems whose features are still indistinct. What we are examining here are not only changes in manufacturing technique which demand a greater synchronization of labour....in *any* society; but also these changes as they were lived through in the society of nascent industrial capitalism.

¹⁰ See Chapter 1.

¹¹ See Chapter 2. School Sections were organized but the schools weren't always open.

¹² Rev. Angus Johnson (1971) reported that in 1874 the priest in the area, Father Felix, commented that because of a carriage road over Smoky Mountain 'being now completed I can proceed by wagon to any part of Cape Breton'. See Rev. Angus A. Johnston. *A History of the Catholic Church in Eastern Nova Scotia*. Antigonish: St. F. of X, 1971. p. 171. The priest must have meant Southern Cape Breton. All other sources indicated that the carriage road to Bay St. Lawrence was not built until 1890 and until that time the area was virtually cut off from the rest of Nova Scotia See, for instance, the School Inspector's reports. See also Fred Willaims *A History of Ingonish* Unpublished Manuscript Cabot Archives. p. 31. Williams cited an 1875 account in M. Sweetser, ed. Tickner's *Maritime Provinces* Boston: 1875. p. 160. Sweetser noted that the road in 1875 ended at Ingonish and only a trail crossed 'the mountains NNW to Aspy Bay and beyond.' The 1890 date for the carriage road would also make sense in terms of the implementation of regular mail service, because it was only after the carriage road was completed that daily mail service could be implemented. Until 1840

No one questioned the rationality of technological progress because it was equated with improvement. As Marcuse (1970) said, no one questions the process because it seems to 'enlarge the comforts of life and increase...productivity.'¹³ In fact, people in the mainstream consider that there is something wrong with people who live without these comforts or the organization of mainstream systems of law, of schools, of transportation, of business. In some sense, from the beginning, development was imposed on people in the local area for 'their own good.'¹⁴ As one travel writer commented:¹⁵

We had not seen the extreme end of Cape Breton...a place actually beyond the reach of the tax-collector, partly because the route is too long and difficult, and partly because the untutored folk are too tall and difficult for him to overcome.

People in Northern Cape Breton were perceived to be living outside of the law, 'beyond the reach of the tax inspector', because they were isolated and because they were untutored.¹⁶ They were 'too tall' and also 'too difficult' to subdue, that is, from the writer's perspective they were living by a set of standards

there was no mail service at all north of St. Ann's. Then, on May 11, 1852, a mail contract between Cape North and the Bay was reported in the Cape Breton News. Beaton Institute Archives. Microfilm -Newspapers 1862-1922. Reel 11. Jim and Pat Lotz reported that before a regular route was established in 1890 'once a week George MacNeil of Cape North carried the mail on his back from Ingonish to Bay St. Lawrence and back. See Jim and Pat Lotz Cape Breton Island Douglas, David & Charles: Vancouver, 1974. p. 83.

¹³ Herbert Marcuse One-Dimensional Man Boston: Beacon Press, 1964. p.158

¹⁴ There were, for instance, no petitions on record from people in the Bay St. Lawrence district requesting improved services or even improved access to the state society and its institutions until the end of the very end of the 19th century when the area was already opened up. See Assembly Petitions. Journals of Assembly Nova Scotia RG 5 Series P 1816-1927. There was a petition in 1842, signed by 33 settlers but no MacKinnons or Frasers, requesting for aid because mice had destroyed the winters supplies. There was another in 1886, not signed by anyone from the MacKinnon-Fraser kin group, requesting that the government fund the construction of a bridge at Salmon River that wouldn't wash out. This bridge improved communications within the local area because it connected the communities of Capstick, Black Point and Meat Cove. After the area was basically opened in the 1890's there were a series of petitions starting in 1898 asking for improved steamship service. The first petition in 1898 was not signed by anyone in the Bay district except for a MacLellan. The petitioners lived in Ingonish and Neils Harbour, Northside and Englishtown. Petitions in the early 1900's followed and these were signed by people in the MacKinnon- Fraser kin group.

¹⁵ C.H. Farnham Cape Breton Folks Harpers New Monthly Magazine No. 430. March 1886 p.614.

¹⁶ Note the similarities in this excerpt to the School Inspectors perspective. See Chapter two.

that was outside the bounds of normal society.¹⁷ The new lines of communication and transportation that were being developed would not only bring the area into alignment with the larger society, but would serve to keep the people living there in line.

New structures like a road system or a school system change the surface of the land and also the surface of people's minds. For they imply and impose a distinct set of meanings that have a power of their own. Mostly, we don't notice these meanings because we take 'progress' for granted. We tend to accept the terms and conditions of the development process without question, because, like 'water for chocolate' or for fish, they are an invisible part of the everyday 'taken for granted' reality.

But progress in Northern Cape Breton wasn't just traveling down a new system of roads or learning when the mail or coastal steamer would arrive. Nor was it using a mowing machine for making hay and a gasoline operated engine for fishing and bucking up firewood. Each of these developments expressed and articulated a whole new system of relationships that implied a new kind of control of the natural and social world. The people and the land were both subjected to a 'rationality' that was ideological, in the sense that Karl Manneheim (1936) used the word.¹⁸ Marcuse suggested (1968) that:¹⁹

¹⁷ This is not to say that the district was really completely isolated. See for instance, Fred Willaims A History of Ingonish Unpublished Manuscript Cabot Archives. p. 32-3. In 1856, in fact, cable links were laid through Meat Cove that linked Newfoundland and Cape Breton with the mainland. Ten years later, in 1866, when a Trans Atlantic Cable was laid down between Newfoundland and Britain, the Meat Cove telegraph office was connected to the rest of the world. At this time, though, all of the households in the Meat Cove and Black Point area were Gaelic speaking and did it not seem to change the essential fabric of people's lives in the area. But it connected them to the mainstream and to the lives of the telegraph operators who had to live in the community. These men would be English speaking and they would have been educated in English terms. In 1858, when one of the telegraph operators contracted dipheria, the first doctor to visit the area traveled by dog sled from Baddeck. Dr. MacKeen, who made the sick call, had been a pupil of Alexander Graham Bell. Mrs. Bell later wrote a play about Dr. MacKeen's journey to Meat Cove called 'Just an Incident'. It seems to me that the visit of the doctor was important, especially because the patient survived the illness. The community at the time, though, had their own complex tradition of herbal medicine and remedies that were probably, at the time, just as effective in treating dipheria as 'modern' medicine because antibiotics and the wonder drugs hadn't yet come into use. Towards the end of the 19th century, when English became more common, local telegraph operators were trained. In the 1881 census, for instance, there is a listing in the Bay district returns for a local born telegraph operator, Alexander B. MacDonald, age 20, who lived in the Bay. Around the turn of the century, Donald D. Fraser, Simon and Flora Fraser's son, operated the telegraph in the Meat Cove/Black Point area.

¹⁸ Karl Manneheim Ideology and Utopia (trans. Louis Wirth and Edward Shils) London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1936. p.36

The concept 'ideology' reflects the one discovery which emerged from political conflict, namely, that ruling groups can in their thinking become so intensely interest

Not only the application of technology but technology itself is domination (of Nature and men)—methodical, scientifically calculated, calculating control. Specific purposes and interests of domination are not fostered upon technology 'subsequently' and from the outside; they enter the very construction of the technical apparatus. Technology is always a historical-social project: in it is projected what a society and its ruling interests intend to do with men and things.

Progress was defined by the group of people in the social order whose interests it served. From the beginning, progress in Northern Cape Breton had more to do with developing those interests in the area than with determining what the people in the local area wanted or believed they needed. Tourists wanted roads and services so they could take advantage of the area and of its 'unspoiled beauty'.²⁰ Government officials wanted to survey the land and straighten out titles so they could exploit the new tax revenue generated.²¹

bound to a situation that they are simply no longer able to see certain facts which would undermine their sense of domination. There is implicit in the word 'ideology' the insight that in certain situations the collective unconscious of certain groups obscures the real condition of society both to itself and to others and thereby stabilizes it.

¹⁹ Herbert Marcuse *Industrialization and Capitalism in the Work of Max Weber in Negations: Essays in Critical Theory* (trans. Jeremy Shapiro) Boston, 1968, p. 223.

²⁰ At this particular time, the more settled centers of the country were industrializing. For the first time people seemed to long for a wilderness experience, the beginning of eco-tourism. Tourists seemed wanted to take in any remaining 'unspoiled' areas, to purvey and consume them for their own pleasure. Northern Cape Breton was promoted as a tourist destination, but writers complained about the lack of access and services that would allow travelers to exploit the area. In 1874, Charles Warner's book Baddeck and That Sort of Thing promoted Cape Breton as a tourist destination for the very first time. See Charles Warner Baddeck and That Sort of Thing James Osgood & Co.: Boston, 1874. Numerous articles and books followed. The media publication of tourists experiences turned public attention and interest to the area and also to how it might be more fully exploited. See also: C.H. Farnham *Cape Breton Folks* Harpers New Monthly Magazine No. 430. March 1886. Also Viator *A Tour in Northern Cape Breton* This Week Vol. Vi, No. 27 & 28. June 7, 14, 1889. Grant, W.M. *Cape Breton Past and Present* Canadian Magazine, Vol. 54 (Sept. 1901) pp. 434-42, Toronto. Benjamin, S.G. The Atlantic Islands As Resorts of Health and Pleasure New York: Harper & Brothers, 1878. Mulvey, Thomas. *Something About Cape Breton* Canadian Magazine, Vol. 7 (July 1896) pp. 264-66 Toronto. Longley, J.W. *To Cape North* Canadian Magazine, Vol. 9 (August 1897), pp. 331-38, Toronto.

²¹ At this time, the state society was becoming more centralized, and more bureaucratic systems of rules were being instituted to standardize and regulate various aspects of people's lives that had to do with how they were schooled and whether and where they were allowed to spit. Representatives of the state society, like the School Inspector, the Crown Surveyor, or the Tax Collector were required by law to enclose all areas and groups of people within the boundaries of the state's authority and rule. At the time, the larger society was also in the process of industrializing and the human and natural resources were needed for production and also for consumption. That is they were a new market for manufactured goods.

Business people wanted access to the area so they could exploit the new markets and the cheap labor that it could provide.²² Humanitarians wanted roads and services, schools and services, so the people living there could learn the skills and disciplines that would make them more productive.²³

Development: The Restructuring of Relations

Progress taught people to defer to the larger state system and the will of the people who controlled it. It taught them a basic relation of domination and it cultivated a mentality of submission. For instance, in 1888, a coastal steamer service began operating between Halifax and Newfoundland because there suddenly was enough demand and interest from people in the mainstream to support it.²⁴ One of the first steamers on the run was *The Harlow* which passed by Meat Cove once every fortnight. M.W. Morley (1905) commented:²⁵

The *Harlow* carries a siren which once was the cause of great consternation along this lonely coast, for the boat and her siren came without warning; and the people one night were terrified by a wild and awful yell as of some frightful demon rushing in front of the sea. They are said to have fled inland and remained in the forest trembling through the night, until daylight gave them the courage to creep forth and question the source of the frightful noise.

This story may be true, for no doubt a totally unexpected and unexplained noise would frighten anyone. There is something, however, in the way it is told that turns the people in the area into 'other'. The account objectifies them and also subjects them to a kind of ridicule. The School Inspector's pity, though, was not too different from this traveler's laughter.²⁶ The attitudes of both had to do with

²² See Stephan J. Hornsby Nineteenth-Century Cape Breton McGill-Queens' University Press: Montreal, 1992

²³ See Chapter 2. Specifically the *School Inspector's Reports*.

²⁴ See R.H. MacDonald Transportation in Northern Cape Breton Parks Canada Manuscript Report # 363. p.18-19 In 1902 a regular freight and passenger service sailed from Sydney to Ingonish and Neils Harbour also in the ice free months from May to December. But it stopped in Meat Cove only every other week. After 1908, a twice weekly service to Bay St. Lawrence began, but service to Meat Cove was entirely eliminated. *The Aspy* was the most famous of the coastal boats and she sailed this route until 1964.

²⁵ Morley, M.W. Down North and Up Along New York: Dodd, Mead & Company, 1905. p.252.

²⁶ It reminds me of small boys who take great pleasure in watching ants frantically scurry around when they poke their anthill with a stick.

exclusion and with the construction of a boundary between the people who lived inside the area and those who lived outside of it.²⁷

The Gaels would not have been able to read what travelers like Mr. Morley (1905) wrote about them, but their relation with the coastal steamer service taught them their position and their place.²⁸ When the steamer began to discharge and pick up passengers and freight at Meat Cove, it never docked in the area. The communities in the district and the people living in them were peripheral to the steamer's main purpose. A traveler in 1889 commented:²⁹

Newfoundland being the goal of the *Harlow's* ambition she simply contented herself with a shriek of warning at one or two ports of call, and standing well off in the roadstead, awaited the coming of the little boats which were to bear away such passengers as necessity compelled to land in them.

At this point the boats couldn't land because there were no docking facilities in the area. But this in itself had to do with the fact that no funds were allocated by the government to build them or to develop the kind of infrastructure that would have supported them. This is not to say that I mourn the lack of industry in the area, but to point out that from the beginning only a certain level or kind of growth was supported in the area. The centers of power, that is the centers of social, material, and intellectual production were located outside of the local community, so, from the beginning, relations with the local area were distorted.³⁰ From the beginning, these relations seem to have had more to do with dominance than with dialogue.

The word relationship is related to ratio and rationale; it has to do with measuring, but also understanding. With development, there was a change in the

²⁷ Foucault (1984) talked about what he called 'dividing practices', which I will look at more closely in the next chapter. In the modern social process, he said, people are 'objectified by a process of division' within themselves and also from others'. See Michel Foucault (Edited by Paul Rabinow) *The Foucault Reader* New York: Pantheon Books, 1984. p. 8 (From Foucault's *The Order of Things*)

²⁸ A century later, the Innu in the North who live near airbases have no control over the low flying jets and the terrible noise that disturbs their lives and, they say, the lives of the creatures that they depend on. This delivers a message that they, also, cannot fail to understand.

²⁹ Viator. *A tour in Northern Cape Breton. This Week* Vol. VI, No. 27-28 June 7-14 1889. Cited in R.H. MacDonald *Transportation in Northern Cape Breton* Parks Canada Manuscript Report # 363.

³⁰ See Immanuel Wallerstein *The Origins of the Modern World System*. N.Y. Academic Press, 1974. Knowledge and goods were produced in the city in the factories and universities of the central Canada, the United States, or Britain. Wallerstein pointed out the capitalist system was a world system that ultimately was larger than any one nation state.

nature of social relationships and the way people judged and understood them. The most basic social relationships, like space and time were re-defined and re-organized by the new roads and bridges and coastal steamers. Literally and figuratively, the local area began to take on a different shape, to be transformed. How many miles was it to Sydney or Halifax? How many chains and links of road frontage did a person own? How many were they required to own?

The Media are the Message

The new media that were imposed on the area, the roads, the schools, the coastal steamers, the mail service, the English language, all carried within them, as MacLuhen pointed out, messages that people learned to read; though, often this occurred on an unconscious level.³¹ The media we use, whether a book, a word, or a dollar, are not just tools to carry information. They are really extensions of the human beings that control them and change the nature of their relationships to each other and to the world. Changes in media are never neutral. They change the way people think and act and feel. It seems to me that this is why the means that we use to do something can never be successfully separated from the ends that are produced.

The new forms of media—roads, coastal steamers, schools, money, language and postal service— that connected the local area to the mainstream systems served as conduits that allowed the flow of messengers and also of messages. One of the clearest of these messages was that people in the local area were marginal. They were located outside the bounds of proper society, so they didn't count for very much in this new world that literally and figuratively was passing them by every fortnight with just a shriek of a siren.

With progress, came a new system of counting, a system of exchange that had much more to do with accounts payable or receivable than it did with human beings or the context of their lives.³² In fact, human nature, itself, was being re-

³¹ Marshall McLuhan Understanding Media New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1965.

³² See Max Weber The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1930, 1958 (original German published in 1904-5) p. 21, 22

The modern rational organization of the capitalistic enterprise would not have been possible without two other important factors in its development: the separation of business from the household, which completely dominates modern economic life, and closely connected with it, rational book keeping...However, all these peculiarities of Western capitalism have derived their significance in the last analysis only from their association with the capitalistic organization of labour.

constructed, a subjected nature that was dominated by time, by work, and by money.³³ 'The transition', Thompson (1967) noted, 'to mature industrial society entailed...a new human nature'. 'How far', he asked, 'is this related to changes in the inward notation of time?'

The Disembedding of Time and Space from Place.

Giddens (1990) also talked about the particular way in which time and space are disembedded in modern social formations, that is, 'lifted out' of the local contexts of social relations and interactions and restructured. They become emptied of any contextual meaning.³⁴ Clock time, for instance, is mechanical; it is based on uniform measurements whose standard has nothing to do with any local context. In pre-modern societies, Giddens (1990) said, time was bound up with place. In Northern Cape Breton, people experienced time's passing in terms of the movement of the sun in the sky, the lengthening of shadows on the grass, or the changing color of the leaves on the trees.

The experience of space itself was also bound with place. People lived their lives in the places where they were born. The place where they lived was the context and the center of any experience they had. They might not always have had as much time or space as they needed to get their wood in before a storm or to find a good, flat piece of land to grow their potatoes, but they could exercise a certain amount of agency in dealing with the limitations of nature. This was impossible, though, when dealing with the impositions of a social order that had so little to do with the local fabric of family and community.

It was this fabric, in fact, that began to be pulled apart with development. The unraveling of old patterns was as much a part of the process of development as was the training of people to weave new ones. There was a discipline involved in meeting the schedules and the timetables that controlled the operation of the steamer, the mail, the school, the factory, or even the church.³⁵ A timetable is like a

³³ E.P. Thompson *Time, Work-Discipline, and Industrial Capitalism* Past and Present No. 38 1967. pp. 57.

³⁴ Anthony. Giddens. *The Consequences of Modernity* Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1990. p. 21

³⁵ See E.P. Thompson *Time, Work-Discipline, and Industrial Capitalism* Past and Present No. 38, 1967. pp.56-97 Also P. Bourdieu *The attitude of the Algerian peasant toward time in Mediterranean Countrymen* edited by J. Pitt-Rivers, Paris: 1963. pp. 55-72. See also Edward Hall in *The Dance of Life* New York: Anchor Press, 1984 he discussed how 'time is a core system of cultural, social and personal life' and that 'each culture has its own time frames

space-time map in which a certain relationship between time and space is established and standardized. Like a map, it locates certain places in relation to others in terms of a standard, uniform measure; this measure, however, is external to the experience of place itself.

Weber (1947) would say that time and space were becoming rationalized within this new framework.³⁶ But this was an instrumental rationality that was specific to the modern social formation.³⁷ People save time. They spend it.³⁸ They accumulate, consume, and exploit it as efficiently as possible. They even believe that some people have the right to appropriate other people's time or spaces for themselves. In a world in which time and space can be divided, enclosed, and individually controlled, there is rarely enough time and hardly ever enough space, a least for most people. Yet most of us believe that our conception of time and space is somehow more real than the conceptions of those who are perceived to be living in 'backward cultures' or undeveloped societies.

in which the patterns are unique.' Different people speak different languages of time and in order to understand and communicate with them we have to learn their language of time just as certainly as we have to learn their spoken language. p. 3

³⁶ See Max Weber The Theory of Social and Economic Organization. New York: The Free Press, 1947. (original German published in 1922 as *Wirtschaft und Gesellschaft*) Also Gerth and Mills From Max Weber New York: Oxford University Press, 1946.

³⁷ See Jurgen Habermas (Edited by Steven Seidman) Jurgen Habermas on Society and Politics. Boston: Beacon Press, 1989 pp.. 237 Habermas commented on Weber's use of the concept rationality:

Max Weber introduced the concept of 'rationality' in order to define the form of capitalist economic activity, bourgeois private law, and bureaucratic authority. Rationalization means, first of all, the extension of the areas of society subject to the criteria of rational decision. Second, social labour is industrialized with the result that criteria of instrumental action also penetrate into other areas of life (urbanization of the mode of life, technification of transport and communication). Both trends exemplify the type of purposive-rational action, which refers to either the organization or means of choice between alternatives. Planning can be regarded as purposive-rational action of the second order. It aims at the establishment, improvement, or expansion of systems of purposive-rational action themselves. The progressive 'rationalization' of society is linked to the institutionalization of scientific and technical development. To the extent that technology and science permeate social institutions and thus transform them, old legitimations are destroyed. The secularization and 'disenchantment' of action-orienting worldviews, of cultural tradition as a whole, is the obverse of the growing 'rationality' of social action.

³⁸ Time, Thompson (1967) said, was a new form of capital, a currency that was not passed but spent. (p. 61)

Cultural Arbitraries: Science and Social Standards

People in any society, though, are taught to believe in the value of social measurements like time, space or wealth and to accept whatever standard these measurements are based on, no matter whether that standard is gold, cowry shells, or even the U.S. dollar. The illusion of scientific objectivity in our particular social order, has, I think, to do with the fact that there is usually a uniform and external standard on which measurements are based. But the values of these standards are neither intrinsic nor objective. They are culturally arbitrary. Mechanical time that is measured by a watch and based on an external standard is really no more 'objective' or rational than traditional time that is embedded in the context of people's personal experience and their relation to natural events like the sun's movement.

Merton (1936) pointed to the fact that principals of modern science were ideological from the beginning, and Kuhn (1970) to the way in which the scientific 'truths' reflect the prevailing social truths or paradigms as he calls them.³⁹ Marcuse (1964) noted that scientific rationality allows us to 'rationalize' and justify the domination and control of nature and other human beings, because domination and control are inherent in its method and in the social structures that support and are supported by it:⁴⁰

The principles of modern science were *a priori* structured in such a way that they could serve as conceptual instruments for a universe of self-propelling, productive control...The scientific method which led to the ever-more-effective domination of nature thus came to provide the pure concepts as well as the instrumentality's for the ever-more effective domination of man by man through the domination of nature...Today domination perpetrates and extends itself not only through technology but as technology, and the latter provides the great legitimation of the expanding political power, which absorbs all sphere of culture...(U)nfreedom appears neither as irrational nor as political, but rather as submission to the technical apparatus which enlarges the comforts of life and increases the productivity of labor. Technological rationality thus protects rather than cancels the legitimacy of domination.

³⁹ Robert K. Merton Science Technology and Society in Seventeenth Century England New York: Howard Fertig, 1970. Thomas S. Kuhn The Structure of Scientific Revolutions. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1970.

⁴⁰ Herbert Marcuse One-Dimensional Man Boston: Beacon Press, 1964. p.158

The technical improvements like the steamer seemed to be advances that promised people more control over the natural world. Weren't steamers better than schooners because they offered people more control? But this was true only for some people. The steamers, like the railway, changed the nature of relations so people in small ports like Meat Cove actually had less control over their lives as markets centralized.⁴¹

Whether people in Northern Cape Breton were conscious of it or not, the new systems of transportation and communication were training people to read their new coordinates in a system that had them located very far outside the spatial nexus of power. They were learning that some spaces were more central and also more privileged than others. Some places were at the beginning and some places were at the very end. Some places were important enough to stop at and others were simply passed by. Some places like Meat Cove merited a few minutes and others a few days.

In a democracy, people seem to justify personal social privilege by the equality of their measures, and this is true whether they are talking about deeds, diploma's or decimals. But there is no real equality in measures of this kind because greater value is put on certain social spaces, on certain people's time, and on certain systems of knowledge. No matter how uniform its measure, the imposition of any kind of social standard on groups who have a limited access to whatever is considered to be of value has more to do with power than progress.⁴²

The Second Wave: Out-Migration

It is not surprising that, in 1891, soon after the steamer service and the carriage road opened the Northern Highlands to progress, the population in all of the districts there began to show a sharp decline. This is a pattern that had begun 10 years earlier in Gaelic communities in southern Victoria County, which were less isolated and penetrated by mainstream media that much earlier.⁴³ The boats,

⁴¹ See Harold Innis The Cod Fisheries University of Toronto Press: Toronto, 1954. p. 426. The steamship and the railway continued to effect far-reaching changes in the fishery, particularly because of the decline of the wooden sailing vessel. Its gradual disappearance in the carrying trade involved its disappearance from the fishery and the decay of the small ports. The fleets of Arichat and Cheticamp fell away.

⁴² It seems to me that, if there really is such a thing as progress, it has to do with human liberation not economic or technological development.

⁴³ As mentioned earlier, the very Northern regions of Cape Breton still offered opportunities for settlement and subsistence in farming and fishing until relatively late compared to other

bridges, and roads seemed to carry alot more people out of an area than they brought in. From 1891 to 1921, the population of the Bay district declined. There was a 23% decrease in population in the decade from 1891- 1901 and a 12% decrease in the next.

Table 15--Population in Districts: Victoria County 1871-1941⁴⁴

<u>Area</u>	<u>1871</u>	<u>1881</u>	<u>1891</u>	<u>1901</u>	<u>1911</u>	<u>1921</u>	<u>1931</u>	<u>1941</u>
Total	11,346	12,470	12,432	10,571	9,910	8,904	7,926	8,028
Baddeck	1,137	1,147	1,285	1,235	1,060	960	888	949
Bay St. Lawrence	419	515	618	479	421	373	379	403
Cape North	602	863	1,051	938	946	872	824	954
English town	524	585	515	359	372	278	242	218
Ingonish	744	1,088	1,266	954	966	1,039	1,043	1,145
North River	929	768	613	536	534	587	427	434
Nell's Harbour	237	352	429	373	395	391	425	424

Table 16--Population Change in Bay District 1871-1941⁴⁵

<u>Year</u>	<u>No. + or -</u>	<u>% Total + or -</u>
1871-81	+ 96	+ 23%
1881-91	+ 103	+ 20%
1891-1901	- 39	- 23%
1901-11	- 58	- 12%
1911-21	- 48	- 11%
1921-31	+ 6	+ 2%
1931-41	+24	+ 6%

areas in Cape Breton. But, by 1871, emigration into the community had slowed down. The increase in population between 1871-81 must have been largely but not entirely from natural increase within the community because only a few new family names appear in the census data. See Dominion Census 1871, 1881.

⁴⁴ Dominion Census 1941.

⁴⁵ Ibid.

Hornsby (1992) suggested that the out-migration in late 19th Century Cape Breton was a function of limited land resources.⁴⁶

By the late nineteenth century, the Highland culture recreated in Cape Breton had run out of room. For the younger generations, there was little alternative to emigration, and that almost always meant assimilation into the larger English speaking world.

Hornsby's thesis seems to be refuted by the migration pattern of the kinship groups in the Bay district. The family groups that emigrated out of the Bay district were those with the most access to productive land in the district. For instance, the McRaes, McIntoshes, McPhersons, Kavanaughs, MacDougalls, Powers, Stranges, and MacDougalds all left the district.⁴⁷ These families farm and fishery production was historically the highest in the district.⁴⁸ Out-migration at this particular time may have had less to do with the failure of local land resources to sustain these families than with the fact that the people in them were becoming dissatisfied with a simple subsistence way of life. Evidence in other parts of Victoria County seems to support this idea.

Table 17--Agricultural Productivity Victoria County 1881-1891⁴⁹

<u>Agricultural Results</u>	<u>1881</u>	<u>1891</u>
Improved Acres	57,305	71,632
Potatoes (Bu.)	188,875	150,168
Wheat (Bu.)	8,782	1,154
Other Grains (Bu.)	100,930	59,466
Hay (Tons)	19,436	20,724
Horses	1,589	1,647
Cattle	12,727	12,467
Swine	2,075	1,814

⁴⁶ Op. cit. Hornsby (1992) p. 151. Campbell and MacLean (1974) also suggested that 'the basic cause of rural de-population was economic'. See D. Campbell & R. MacLean Beyond the Atlantic Roar. Toronto: McClelland & Stewart, 1974

⁴⁷ Dominion Census. The McRaes, MacIntoshes, and McPhersons were part of the Protestant minority in the district. None of them, however, were Free-Church..They had their own little church in the Bay. The other families were Catholics.

⁴⁸ See Dominion Census 1861, 1871 and 1881. See also Chapter One. These kin groups tended to have the most contact with mainstream media because they were among the most prosperous in the area. This may partially account for their high level of out-migration.

⁴⁹ Cited in Campbell and MacLean (1974) p.117. Source: Census of Canada for the years indicated.

These data indicate that from 1881 to 1891 there was farm land in Victoria County, but that people weren't farming. Starting in 1881, the total improved acreage on farms in Victoria County was actually increasing, not decreasing. The yields of all farm products, however, except hay and horses, had dropped significantly.⁵⁰ The demographic data indicated that, at this same period, the people who were needed to farm were leaving the County. It seems that the problem of out-migration in rural Nova Scotia at the end of the 19th century may have had less to do with pressure on the land resources than with the dreams of the young people for a different life. As one commentator at the time put it:⁵¹

With us, farming is still in its infancy and land of little value, or there would not be so many thousands of acres of rich soil lying waste at our very doors, while our young men prefer chasing gilded shadows in foreign lands, enriching strangers abroad, when they ought to be nobler and better employed improving their native soil, thereby laying the foundation of their own independence and comfort.

Reports and photos of the Bay district at the end of the 19th century indicated that people were relatively prosperous in the area at this time.⁵² During the years of the heaviest out-migration, from 1890-1910, there was a general sense of affluence and abundance in the district. The log houses and the tree stumps of the first period of settlement had given way to an easier and more comfortable way of life.⁵³ For instance, the housing in the Northern end of the Bay district between Black Point and Meat Cove seems to have been better in the first few

⁵⁰ The slight increase in the production of horses and hay may have to do with the fact that horses were the primary source of transportation at this time and hay was needed to feed them. Out-migration from Victoria County increased significantly in the decade from 1881 to 1891, a full 10 years before the same pattern was established in the districts in Northern Cape Breton. The 10 year difference in demographic patterns is probably related to the fact that the districts in Northern Cape Breton were opened to mainstream media about 10 years later than those in the Southern areas of the island.

⁵¹ Cited in D. Campbell & R. MacLean *Beyond the Atlantic Roar*. Toronto: McClelland & Stewart, 1974.p.117. Source: Journals of the House of Assembly, Appendix 8, p.112. 1881.

⁵² Cabot Archives. Photographs of Meat Cove and Bay St. Lawrence circa 1900.

⁵³ Census of 1881. Interviews with local residents. By 1881, people had the time to specialize in certain trades and to pursue them. Quite a few trades people, for instance, were listed in the census data of the district in 1881, but they were not listed in 1861 or 1871. There was a locally born telegraph operator at this time and also a teacher, a cooper, a mason, two weavers, a clerk and a carpenter. Some of these were members of the MacKinnon-Fraser kin group or related kin groups. For instance, Fharquar Fraser, Archibald MacKinnon's brother-in-law, was the local carpenter and he helped build many of the houses in the area, as well as the local Catholic Church.

decades of the 20th century than it was 50 years later.⁵⁴ In fact many people in the district had two houses.⁵⁵ S.L. MacKinnon described his grandfather Archibald's houses: 'My grandfather's first house, the house in the backlands, was really big. Then they had a smaller house by the water, handy for fishing inside, handy the water for fishing.'⁵⁶ During the wave of out-migration from 1890-1910, people in the district seem to have been more than able to satisfy their basic and vital needs.⁵⁷

Until the end of the 19th century, people in Northern Cape Breton had lived almost entirely within the sphere of family and community; the flow of their daily lives was hardly disrupted by mainstream currents of thought. People used their own form of currency in local exchange relations which had little to do with the flow of capital. This local currency, however, was worth nothing in the larger

⁵⁴ Cabot Archives. Photographs of Meat Cove circa 1900. (See also: Map Black Point Area: circa 1900) In 1915, when Nicholas Power's family emigrated out of Black Point his land was bought by Peter MacKinnon, one of Archibald MacKinnon's sons. The Power's house that Peter bought was originally built by Fharquar Fraser. In the first few decades of the twentieth century there were four well-built farmhouses in Black Point. Simon MacKinnon's, Peter MacKinnon's and Huey MacEachern's were located on the coast and Archibald's large house was located in the backlands. Towards Meat Cove from the Hill lived Stephan MacKinnon, Alexander MacKinnon's son from his first marriage to Catherine MacDonald, at what is now known as Stephen's Hill. Further on lived Paulie MacEachern, who was a son of the MacEachern family in Black Point. As noted previously, Archibald and Alexander MacKinnon's sister is reported to have married into this family sometime before 1860, before the MacKinnons emigrated to the Bay district from Lake Ainslie. Living on 'the hill' were Donald Simon Fraser and Simon George MacLellan's father, Donald MacLellan. Simon George lived there, as well, before he moved with his family to Meat Cove. See enclosed Map circa 1900. These houses were well-built and typical of farmhouses in other parts of the district. The most impressive was Donald Simon Fraser's. He was married to Archibald's daughter, Ann. S.L. MacKinnon noted that their house was very large and comfortable, with stained glass in the hall windows. Donald Simon never went to public school. He was reported to have been literate in both Gaelic and English. He operated the post office and telegraph from his house and sometimes a school for the children.

⁵⁵ A. Fraser reported that his family 'had two homes, a big farm in the backlands and a small home at the Lowland cove for fishing purposes, a lot of the fishermen were there during the summer. Every spring of the year we'd go down there to the coast to fish then move to the backlands to farm.' The house by the shore was away from the flies and near fishing and the other in the backlands was protected from winter storms and near firewood and hunting.

⁵⁶ Interview with S. L. MacKinnon. S.L. MacKinnon said that his uncle Donald, Archibald's son, lived in this house before he went to Sydney Mines. This house was originally built by Alexander MacKinnon around 1880 10 years before he moved to Lowland Cove. This house was still in very good shape at the time of relocation 100 years later. Simon MacKinnon, Donald's brother, ended up living in this house for many years.

⁵⁷ See: Vandana Shiva *Staying Alive: Women, Ecology and Survival in India* New Dehli: Kali For Women, 1988. Vandana Shiva (1988) Shiva presented evidence to show that, before development, people in India were able to sustain themselves better and fill all of their basic needs. There seem to be many parallels between the effects of development in the small communities in Northern Cape Breton and in small communities in India and Africa.

society. It couldn't be counted. It couldn't buy passage on the steamer or any of the manufactured goods that the steamer carried.

In terms of the state society, people in the Bay district had very little to give that had any value so they had little power in any of their exchanges with members of that society. People began to be perceived as being poor, not necessarily because they were, but because their access to mainstream forms of capital, in monetary, linguistic or cultural terms, was extremely limited. Vandana Shiva (1988) noted:⁵⁸

Culturally perceived poverty need not be real material poverty: subsistence economies which satisfy basic needs through self-provisioning are not poor in the sense of being deprived. Yet the ideology of development declares them so because they do not participate overwhelmingly in the market economy, and they do not consume commodities produced for and distributed through the market *even though they might be satisfying those needs through self-provisioning mechanisms*. People are perceived as poor if they eat millets...rather than commercially produced and distributed processed foods sold by global agribusiness. They are perceived as poor if they live in self-built housing made from natural materials like bamboo and mud rather than in cement houses. They are seen as poor if they wear handmade garments of natural fibre rather than synthetics. Subsistence as culturally perceived poverty does not necessarily imply a low physical quality of life.

Poverty may be culturally perceived, but it is very real to children who are treated by the 'important people', the school teacher, the merchant and the priest, as if they are poor because they eat salt herring and potatoes.⁵⁹ As both Goffman (1963) and Franz Fanon (1967) pointed out, in different contexts, people tend to internalize the judgments of the people who have power over them.⁶⁰

Development didn't have to do with just external structures, with roads and buildings and schools. It had to do with the internalization of these structures. Re-constructing people's ideas about who they were was as much a part of the development process as constructing roads and railways.

In fact, unless people were trained to feel as if they needed to get a job there would be no one to build the roads, the railways, or the mines. Teaching people in areas like Northern Cape Breton to believe that they were poor and

⁵⁸ Vandana Shiva *Staying Alive: Women, Ecology and Survival in India* New Delhi: Kali For Women, 1988. p.12

⁵⁹ Op. Cit. Donovan (1971) Holding in Cabot Archives

⁶⁰ See Frantz Fanon *Black Skin White Masks* New York: Grove Press, 1967 and Erving Goffman *Stigma* Englewood, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, 1963.

also that they needed to work for wages was essential, because as Weber (1930) suggested 'people only work because and as long as they are poor'.⁶¹ People must be taught that:

Labour (is)...an absolute end in itself, a calling. But such an attitude is by no means a product of nature. It cannot be evoked by low wages or high ones alone, but can only be the product of a long and arduous process of education...The establishment of capitalistic industries has...often not been possible without large migratory movements from areas of older culture.

Part of the process of development had to do with training people in the local area to want leave it. People in Northern Cape Breton were learning that they needed to have a job in this new world where refinement and culture could be bought along with white bread and packaged goods from the store. Development, Esteva (1992) suggested, was a 'mainstream construction that had less to do with who people might want to be than a judgment of *'what they were not'*. To escape from that judgment, 'they needed to be enslaved to others' experiences and dreams.'⁶²

Work in the Coal Mines

It is not surprising that the first wave of migration out of the district, around 1890, was tied to the demand for cheap, unskilled labour in the mines.⁶³ Production in the coal fields in Sydney Mines and other areas was increasing and the General Mining Association in Sydney Mines, a company dominated the coal industry in Cape Breton for many years, was hiring. So were a number of new independent mines that had also opened. The skilled miners were beginning to

⁶¹ Max Weber The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1930, 1958 (original German published in 1904-5) p. 61, pp. 62, 199. See also p. 53.

Weber noted in the transition to a market economy:

Man is dominated by the making of money, by acquisition as the ultimate purpose of his life. Economic acquisition is no longer subordinated to man as the means for the satisfaction of his material needs.

⁶² Gustavo Esteva *Development* in Wolfgang Sachs The Development Dictionary London: Zed Books 1992. p. 10

⁶³ Interviews with A. Capstick, S.L. MacKinnon, S.S. MacKinnon, J. MacNeil, A.D. MacKinnon.

organize and demand higher wages, so the mine owners began to hire unskilled men from rural areas because they could get them to work for less.⁶⁴

The companies built rows and rows of houses around the mines for the miners and their families. It was in one of these houses that Donald Archie MacKinnon, one of Archibald's sons, raised his family after he left Black Point in 1890.⁶⁵ One of the neighborhoods in Industrial Cape Breton eventually was known as 'Little Black Point', because of all of the people who were related to families originally from that community. This, however, had less to do with the number of families that moved than with the fact that each family was so large that after a few generations most people in an particular neighborhood were either directly descended or related by marriage to members of the kin group.

Many people from the Bay district emigrated to Industrial Cape Breton. But just as many or more left the island entirely. Brookes (1974) reported that typically people from Cape Breton migrated to the Boston area and to western Canada.⁶⁶ For the most part, it was the young people who left. The women tended to get work as domestics and the men got jobs as unskilled labourers. They went to Gloucester to work on the boats⁶⁷, to Boston to work on the underground, to Maine to work in the woods, and to Western Canada to work on the harvest.⁶⁸

As noted in the Department of Welfare study (1970), the people in the MacKinnon-Fraser kin group rarely moved to the 'Boston States', as they were

⁶⁴ See Stephan Hornsby (1992)

⁶⁵ According to the Registry of Deeds, Baddeck Courthouse, Donald Archie bought his uncle Alexander's land in Black Point in 1889 when he moved to the Lowlands. But the next year, in 1890, he deeded the land to his father, Archibald.

⁶⁶ Alan A. Brookes. *Out-Migration from the Maritime Provinces, 1860-1900* *Acadiensis* Vol. V, No.2, 1976: 26-55. See also Hornsby (1992) p.191. In general, as Brooks (1976) noted, 'the most common Canadian destination for Cape Breton emigrants was another part of the Maritimes.' Many young people would work first in another part of the Cape Breton, but ultimately they would move outside of the region.

⁶⁷ Jimmy Isaac Burton, for instance, and others in his family worked in Gloucester on the fishing schooners, but returned. One older resident of the district noted that 'Gloucester was the Burton boys' second home.'

⁶⁸ Interview with A. Capstick. L. LaRussic. See also Brooks (1976) and Hornsby (1992). In the early 1890's, emigration agents from Manitoba were actively recruiting on the Island, trying to get people to go out west to work in the harvest there, and in 1892, the CPR (Canadian Pacific Railway) began its 'Harvest Specials' fares on trains that ran from Halifax out to the Prairies. J. LaRussic noted that some people from the Bay traveled even further. A few moved out to California. Joe Rory MacNeil went to Alaska to pan gold. He also noted that the young men would often return home after the season was over and they had saved a bit of money. They would leave the district as soon as the money was spent. After a few years some left for good.

called locally, or to any of the other places outside of Cape Breton that were popular with most emigrants.⁶⁹ In the 30 years from 1891 to 1920, out-migration of the young people in some kin groups was so heavy that the family names that I mentioned earlier disappeared entirely.⁷⁰ At the same time that other kinship groups living in the Bay district were shrinking fast the MacKinnon-Fraser kinship group was growing steadily.

There were few kin groups in the district who resisted the market mentality so long and so completely as did the MacKinnon-Frasers. But there were many other individuals who were also firmly attached to the soil and sea, that is, to the grounds of their traditional culture. Actually, the district as a whole was comparatively slow in developing the kind of disciplines that the market required. Weber (1930) noted that:⁷¹

A man does not 'by nature' wish to earn more and more money, but simply to live as he is accustomed to live and to earn as much as is necessary for that purpose. Wherever modern capitalism has begun its work of increasing the productivity of human labour by increasing its intensity, it has encountered the immensely stubborn resistance of this leading trait of pre-capitalistic labour.

⁶⁹ Department of Public Welfare (Study by Helen Ralston) *Black Point-Meat Cove Relocation Project- Evaluation Study* Manuscript published by Dep't of Public Welfare: Halifax, 1970. Interviews with Sandy Simon MacKinnon. Angus Dan MacKinnon. Simon L. MacKinnon. P. MacKinnon. Informants reported that MacKinnon or Protestant Fraser offspring rarely emigrated to Boston, for instance. A Christie Helen Fraser who was 'Little Hell' MacKinnon's half sister did move to Boston but she had been adopted as an infant by a Fraser family from Pleasant Bay and so she was socialized differently than other people in her kin group. But again the exception really proves the rule. A Brooks' pattern was simply not descriptive of the emigration patterns in the MacKinnon Fraser kin group. A few people emigrated to Sydney Mines or New Waterford and these have been indicated on the genealogy charts. For instance, informants reported that people in the family tended to stay as close to their homes as they could, even if they had to leave them to find work. They usually ended up working either in Sydney Mines or New Waterford but most who left ultimately returned home to settle and raise their families. For instance, Simon MacKinnon left with his brother Donald, in 1889, to work in Sydney Mines, but he returned to Black Point soon after. Informant's reported that the MacKinnon-Frasers left the area later than other family groups; that is, most people in the kin group left in the second decade of the 20th century. And relatively few young women in the family left to work.

⁷⁰ The McRaes, McIntoshes, McPhersons, Kavanaughs, MacDougalls, Powers, Stranges and MacDougalls all disappeared.

⁷¹ Max Weber *The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism*. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1930, 1958 (original German published in 1904-5) p. 60. See also p. 71, 72. But it is just that which seems to the pre-capitalistic man so incomprehensible and mysterious, so unworthy and contemptible. That anyone should be able to make it the sole purpose of his life-work, to sink into the grave weighed down with a great material load of money and goods, seems to him explicable only as the product of a perverse instinct...

The Lobster Fishery and Factory

People who stayed in the area may have been resisting the market mentality, but they weren't able to avoid the market economy. The traditional economy had revolved around providing subsistence through a combination of farming and fishing. Gradually, though, people in the district became more dependent on the fishery to provide the surplus that they needed in their exchanges with the merchant.⁷² This had to do with the fact that the land in the district was relatively rough and rocky; it wasn't as plentiful in terms of agricultural produce as the sea was in terms of the fishery.

Innis (1954) suggested that, at the end of the 19th century, changes in the world economy and in markets resulted in the fishery being organized and developed as a capitalist rather than commercial industry.⁷³ These developments ultimately created many tensions in little fishing communities like Black Point or Bay St. Lawrence. At first, however, they seemed to bring a new prosperity.⁷⁴ For instance, in 1882, the Canadian government started paying a fishing bounty to

⁷² See Donovan (1971) p. 38 Cabot Archives. People in Northern Cape Breton were independent producers, but they traded their locally produced surplus, like butter or fish, with the merchant, for the few commodities, like tea or molasses, that they couldn't manufacture themselves.

⁷³ Harold Innis *The Cod Fisheries* University of Toronto Press: Toronto, 1954. He didn't define these terms exactly but he described them. By capitalist industry he seemed to mean a capital-intensive, vertically controlled, centralized industry that was marked by mechanization at all levels. By commercial industry he seemed to mean a labour intensive, decentralized, industry that centered around the big fleets of schooners and the small ports and was marked by a truck or share system of exchange. See also Karl Marx (edited by Friedrich Engels) *Capital* Chicago: Great Books of the Western World, 1952 (original 1867) pp. 279.

The conversion of a sum of money into a means of production and labour power is the first step taken by the quantum of value that is going to function as capital. This conversion takes place in the market, within the sphere of circulation. The second step, the process of production, is complete so soon as the means of production have been converted into commodities whose value exceeds that of their component parts, and, therefore, contains the capital originally advanced, plus a surplus value. These commodities must then be thrown into circulation. They must be sold their value realized in money, this money converted afresh into capital and so over and over again. This circular movement, in which the same phases are continually gone through in succession, forms the circulation of capital

⁷⁴ For most of the second half of the 19th century and the early 20th century the North Atlantic fishery was in a strong position. Small fishing communities whether they were in Cape Breton or Scotland seemed to be fairly prosperous. Interview with A.D. MacKinnon. See also Jane H. Nadel *Burning With the Fire of God: Calvinism and Community in a Scottish Fishing Village* (1992) *Ethnology* p. 50. and *Stigma and Separation: Pariah Status and Community Persistence in a Scottish Fishing Village* *Ethnology* Vol. 23 (1984).

promote the growth of the fishery.⁷⁵ People had always had a running account with the merchants when they sold their fish but with the truck system they had little control in their exchanges and they never saw any cash. The fishing bounty provided people with a source of capital for the very first time in their lives.⁷⁶

In the traditional economy, the wealth of the community was used to sustain the community. Some people might have more and others less, but the relation to property and wealth was essentially community based. People had to work together and it was in everyone's common interest to get the work done. Surplus wealth was redistributed rather than accumulated.⁷⁷

In a market economy, money is a medium of exchange that promotes particular kinds of relationships.⁷⁸ Certainly in Northern Cape Breton, money was a kind of wealth that people could accumulate in a way that was impossible before. Money was certainly easier to save than turnips, potatoes, or even salt cod.⁷⁹ It allowed people a certain freedom and control, the freedom to 'buy' and the power to purchase. In a market society such as ours, promoting and

⁷⁵ See Donovan (1971) File located at the Cabot Archives. The fishing bounty consisted of a yearly check of \$3.50 if the fishermen fished three months and caught a minimum of 2,300 lbs of fish.' They made more if they caught more fish. See also Harold Innis *The Cod Fisheries* University of Toronto Press: Toronto, 1954. p. 372.

⁷⁶ Informants: A.D. MacKinnon, A. Capstick, S.L. MacKinnon. A. Capstick noted: And the only money coming into our home when I was a kid was the fishing bounty. And you had to get so many thousand of pounds of fish for that before you'd get 6 or 7 dollars. But we're talking about cash and that was a big thing then.

Their increasing involvement with money as a medium of exchange would change the nature of their exchange relations. See also See Karl Polanyi *The Great Transformation* Beacon: Boston, (1944) 1957 I'm using market economy in the sense that Karl Polanyi does. p.71

A market economy is an economic system controlled, regulated and directed by markets alone; order in the production and distribution of goods is entrusted to this self-regulating mechanism. An economy of this kind derives from the expectation that human beings behave in such a way as to achieve maximum monetary gains. It assumes markets in which the supply of goods (including services) available at a definite price will equal the demand at that price. It assumes the presence of money, which functions as purchasing power in the hands of its owners. Production will then be controlled by prices, for the profits of those who direct production will depend upon prices, for prices form incomes and it is with the help of these incomes that the goods produced are distributed amongst the members of society.....

⁷⁷ See Rosemary E. Ommar *Primitive Accumulation and the Scottish Clann in the Old World and the New Journal of Historical Geography* Vol. 11 (1986) .

⁷⁸ See Marshall McLuhan, *Understanding Media* New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1965.

⁷⁹ See Rosemary E. Ommar *Primitive Accumulation and the Scottish Clann in the Old World and the New Journal of Historical Geography* Vol. 11 (1986). Ommar used Marx's notion of 'primitive accumulation' to explain the breakdown of the clan system in the Highlands. Her analysis seems to owe much to James Hunter's *The Making of the Crofting Community*. Edinburgh: John Donald Publishers, 1979.

protecting an individual's freedom to buy and the right to consume is probably the most essential function of the state society.⁸⁰

It is probably no coincidence that a retail store opened at the Beach in Bay St. Lawrence around the same time the government instituted the fishing bonuses. In 1899, a man named Joe O'Brien took over this store and he opened another one in Meat Cove.⁸¹ He also began to buy fish. O'Brien also made many changes in the fishery. He introduced the first motors for fishing boats, small one cylinder diesel engines that were the famous 'make and break' engines.⁸² Boats with these engines were known locally as 'doogie, doogie boats, because of the sound that the engine made.⁸³

By the turn of the century, the whole nature of the North Atlantic fishery was changing, boats were becoming bigger and more powerful and the development of the railway and steamship was centralizing both markets and trade. Small ports like Meat Cove and Bay St. Lawrence and even larger ones like Cheticamp were suddenly dependent on the fluctuations of capital and the world market. There were basic shifts in social systems of all kinds: in communication, production, transportation; and there were changes in the nature of the material relations and the social structures that supported them. These changes on a world

⁸⁰ Certainly it is one of the central aspects of the liberal tradition. See Adam Smith An Inquiry Into the Nature and Causes of the Wealth of Nations Encyclopedia Britannica: Toronto, 1952 (Originally published in 1776)

⁸¹ Cabot Archives File #536. According to this file, the store in Bay St. Lawrence was first owned and operated by two men, Nichols and Zwicker, in the 1880's. Although the first names of these men were not given, Mr. Nichols was most likely the same Nichols who listed in the 1871 census as one of the merchants. Mr. Zwicker was probably Jerimiah Zwicker, born in Lunenburg, who emigrated to the Bay around the same time as the MacKinnons. He was listed in the 1871 census as a fisherman. But he was not engaged in the same pattern as most of the residents in the district, because he did little farming. He may have worked in some capacity with the merchants from the beginning because he was one of the very few men in the community who could read and write English. He died sometime between the 1871 and 1881 Census, leaving no children old enough to work in the store and his widow, Catherine, who was Scottish, didn't read or write. The file indicated that a MacDonald (Reddy MacDonald's grandfather, Margaret Curtis' grandfather) worked as a clerk in the store for about 16 years. He may have helped Nichols run the store after Zwicker died. Around the same time, MacDonald Bros. store was opened in Cape North by John MacDonald. This was important for the residents in the Bay, because, for a time there was no store in the district and residents from as far away as Meat Cove had to 'journey the 18 miles by horse and wagon or sleigh...(to get supplies)...Sometimes they walked or used dog teams.'

⁸² Informant: I. La Russic. Stan Rogers, a well-known Maritime songwriter, celebrated the 'make and break' engines in his song about the traditional fishery called 'Make and Break Harbour'. In later years people would use old car engines for their boats, but around the turn of the century no one in the Bay district had access to cars or car engines.

⁸³ Informant: Cassie MacKinnon. Sometimes two fishermen would share the cost of the engine and also the cost of a larger boat, which they both used. Often people who used row boats fitted them with two sets of oars.

scale affected the daily lives of fishing families in small ports like Meat Cove, Black Point, or Bay St. Lawrence.

For instance, traditionally inshore fishing families in Cape Breton produced salt fish, which was in great demand in the Caribbean, for much of the 19th century. Making good, hard, air dried salt cod was a process that was labour intensive and that required a fair amount of skill. It was also extremely well suited to small household production in which the whole family participated. The market for salt cod was declining, however, because of the demise of slavery in the Spanish colonies in Latin America.⁸⁴ At the same time, the market in the cities for fresh fish was growing as the population there was rising and the cities were expanding. This was difficult for the traditional fishing family because they had been able to get a much better price for their salt cod than they could get for their fresh, women and other members of the family who were able to work on shore in producing the salt cod were displaced, and they often had no way to sell their fresh fish catches because of their location outside of the increasingly centralized marketing systems.

Market relations favored the development of a centralized, capital intensive, company controlled fishery, and government policies supported that kind of growth. For instance, the government offered subsidies for the purchasing of the bait freezers and supported the installation of the refrigeration equipment in larger ports, like North Sydney, that had access to markets through the railways and steamship services.⁸⁵ Even with the government's support, mechanized equipment meant a large capital investment that only the large companies or merchants could afford. In terms of capital, it was inefficient to locate the refrigerators and freezers in smaller outlying ports. These ports had neither the catch capacity nor the continuous supply of fish that would make profit margins high enough to justify the investment. Innis (1954) noted that:⁸⁶

The large-scale capital investment now essential to the fresh fish industry—that is, an investment in cold-storage equipment, packing equipment, and

⁸⁴ Harold Innis The Cod Fisheries University of Toronto Press: Toronto, 1954 p. 426 Salt cod was used to feed the slaves. Slave labour was abolished in the Spanish colonies in 1880. Also, the demand was declining in Black communities in the eastern United States. Towards the turn of the century, cod, in the Bay district, began to be shipped out green—that is, in a salt pickle. This is probably due to the declining salt cod market and also the fact that patent dryers began to replace the sun drying process

⁸⁵ Op. cit. p. 432. Also 433-438

⁸⁶ Harold Innis The Cod Fisheries University of Toronto Press: Toronto, 1954. p.435

by-products plant, extending in some cases to the ownership of mills for the production of lumber—demands a continuous supply of raw materials.

In the new fishery, bigger boats and more powerful technology meant more profits and control; and this meant even bigger boats and more technology. At the turn of the century, Innis (1954) noted, there was a 'rapid increase in trawlers' and 10 years later in draggers.⁸⁷ The draggers and seiners caught such large quantities of fish, though, that the price tended to stay low. The bigger boats could afford to sell their fish at these prices and still make a profit, because of the size of their catch. Big companies had always been involved in the fishery but the process of capitalization and centralization gave the big companies and the company fleet a kind of control over the fishery resource and the market that they had never had before.

The small inshore fishermen, however, were having a more and more difficult time. Many fishermen in the Bay district were still using row boats and handlines until the 1940's and 1950's.⁸⁸ Innis (1954) noted:⁸⁹

The decline of the dried-fish industry, the increasing importance of large-scale organizations, the demand of capital equipment, and the expansion of the American market have been followed by displacements of labour and serious maladjustments.

Small communities like Bay St. Lawrence, Capstick, Black Point, or Meat Cove were particularly disadvantaged when the fishery resource that they depended on for subsistence began to be exploited and depleted by large, centrally located companies and an industrialized fleet.⁹⁰ For these traditional

⁸⁷ Op. cit. pp.425-443. The first trawler was introduced in the U.S. in 1901 and in Canada in 1908. These trawlers were mechanized boats but they used longline technology.

The first draggers were introduced in 1918. These were mechanized boats that introduced a much more destructive technology than fishers had had before, because the bottom of the ocean is disturbed, often ripped up, during fishing. There are various types of draggers. For instance, Danish Seines, or Otter Trawlers (distinct from the longliners that in the old days were called trawlers)

⁸⁸ O'Brien had introduced engines into the Bay, but for they were too expensive for most people with the depressed economy of the 1920's and 1930's. It was only in the 1940's and 1950's that many people in the Bay district started to get boats that were mechanized. These were powered with old car engines.

⁸⁹ Harold Innis The Cod Fisheries University of Toronto Press: Toronto, 1954. p.438

⁹⁰ Op. cit. Innis 1954. Although some conservation measures were in effect, like a three mile limit for trawlers, they had little effect on the ultimate destruction of the resource. The mackerel fishery, for instance, started to decline around 1870 because the big American seiners fishing very close to shore depleted the stocks. .

fishers this only meant depressed prices and increasing pressure on the fisheries resources. It became increasingly difficult for these inshore fishermen to catch the fish they needed to sustain their families.

Traditional fishing families all along the North Atlantic coast were faced with the same difficulties, as the fishery industrialized and their traditional fishing grounds were eroded by bigger more powerful boats.⁹¹ The decline of certain stocks on the inshore meant that boats had to go further offshore. This meant larger and larger boats that only the companies could afford at the time. This was a never ending spiral of growth that began to deplete the inshore stocks. The increase in effort and catch capacity of the large company owned boats was making it harder and harder for the traditional fishing family to survive. The fish stocks they had access to and depended upon were declining.⁹² Vandana Shiva (1988) noted that:⁹³

The erosion of the resource base for survival is increasingly being caused by the demand for resources by the market economy, dominated by global forces. The creation of inequality through economic activity which is ecologically disruptive arises in two ways: first, inequality in the distribution of privileges make for unequal access to natural resources-- these include privileges of both a political and economic nature. Second, resource intensive production processes have access to subsidized raw material on which a substantial number of people, especially from the less privileged economic groups depend for their survival.

⁹¹ See Jane H. Nadel "Burning With the Fire of God: Calvinism and Community in a Scottish Fishing Village" (1992) *Ethnology* p. 50. Nadel (1992) reported that, in a small village in the Highlands of Scotland,

with the growth of the herring market and a concomitant rise in prices in the second half of the nineteenth century, Ferrydon became one of the most active fishing ports... After the First World War, however, there was a drastic change. Overfishing in the North Sea drove the herring fleets farther afield, requiring larger and more expensive boats.

⁹² Vandana Shiva *Staying Alive: Women, Ecology and Survival in India* New Dehli: Kali For Women, 1988. Vandana Shiva documents how the 'so called' green revolution in India was green for only a few people who grew rich from it. Her evidence suggests that capital intensive agriculture in India has led to a depletion of the environment and to a deterioration in the quality of the lives of most of the people who depended on it. In these terms, it was quite inefficient. For instance, the market yields might have been higher, but cropping required so much water that springs dried up and desertification resulted. This meant that people had to travel miles just to get water for drinking and cooking.

⁹³ Vandana Shiva *Staying Alive: Women, Ecology and Survival in India* New Dehli: Kali For Women, 1988. p. 12 See also Maria Mies *Patriarchy and Accumulation on a World Scale* London: Zed Books, 1986. and Maria Mies & Vandana Shiva *Ecofeminism* London : Zed Books, 1993. (Available Halifax: Fernwood Publications, 1993)

The Rise of the Lobster Fishery

It was only after the First World War, though, that traditional inshore fishing families in Northern Cape Breton began to feel the full effects of market forms of development. In the first decade of the 20th century the decline in the markets for salt cod and the depletion of the mackerel and the herring stocks was offset locally by the development of a lobster fishery.

In the 19th century, lobsters were only a minor part of the traditional subsistence economy. Since the turn of the century, though, they have been the mainstay of the traditional fishing family in Cape Breton. The inshore lobster fishery was particularly suited to the traditional fishery; it was an inshore fishery that was more effectively carried out by small boats than large and by the whole family rather than an individual.⁹⁴ It was labour intensive rather than capital intensive and most of the materials needed to make traps were locally available.⁹⁵ It has provided people in the area with a way of responding to the capitalist market by adapting traditional patterns. The price and demand for them have been relatively steady because live lobster is a luxury food, that, like cavier, is now identified with wealth all over the world

⁹⁴ For instance, in the winter, the whole family would knot the heads that were needed for the traps. Often young people would have contests to see who could finish them the quickest. Children could gather the stones to weigh down the traps from the beach and the elders in the family would carve out the wooden bouys and help mend the traps from the last season. On setting day many of the women in the community would be down at the wharf baiting the traps with fresh or salt mackerel and herring as the men and older children made loads and set them. The women also helped with the rope snoods and bouys.

⁹⁵ The wood for the traps was hauled out as logs and sawed at small saw mills that were set up in the district. All that was needed for these small mills was an engine— usually an old car engine— a large belt, a wooden handmade pulley, and wooden handmade rollers that were set up on a carriage. People traditionally made long sill lobster traps out of hardwood. The bows for the trap were made out of hardwood that was steamed and bent or out of small spruce or fir trees that were bent. The hoops for the trap were made out of splits of hardwood that were bent and then tied with a piece of twine. The bait spindle was carved out of wood and the door latches and bait holders were made out of leather that was from home tanned hides. The bouys were carved out of small softwood trees and all that people needed to obtain from the merchant were a small quantity of nails, rope and twine for the net heads. A. Capstick remembered:

We made the traps here, wasn't a very costly thing. Cut every bow, cut every sill, you made every bouy, you made everything and had the hoops. Yes. That's where all the McLennons used to be, the fellas to make the hoops. They'd all do that for you. Tie it in a little twine....I can see them coming yet. The little silver maple. So the only thing you really had to buy was the rope and the nails. Nails wasn't very high then. But the buyer gave you them.'

The Rise and Demise of the Lobster Factory

For many years, though, when lobsters were known in Nova Scotia as 'poorman's' food, they were so plentiful that the local merchant wouldn't buy them. At that time, there was no way to keep them alive or to preserve them until they reached the major markets in the States and in Europe. In the last decades of the 19th century, though, the technology for small canneries was imported from the U.S. and small lobster canneries were opened in fishing ports around the province.⁹⁶ Around 1908, Joe O'Brien built a lobster cannery in the Bay and W.F. Dawson from Margaree built one in Meat Cove.⁹⁷ It wasn't long before the lobster fishery began to surpass the fin fishery in value.⁹⁸

For many years, the local lobster market was dependent on the demands of the lobster factories.⁹⁹ This also meant that fishing families were vulnerable to the fluctuations of the world market. When the European market for canned lobster declined after the First World War, many lobster factories closed and others lowered production.¹⁰⁰ The price of lobsters, if people could get a price at all, was extremely low; so were the prices at the time for herring, mackerel, and cod.¹⁰¹

⁹⁶ Op. cit. Innis (1954) p.437. According to informant I. LaRusic, who grew up in the Bay district, all that was needed for these small canneries was a large cast iron pot for cooking the lobsters, blank cans, and lead solder for sealing them. After they were sealed, the cans were put back into the big vat and boiled.

⁹⁷ Cabot Archives File # 533. At first the lobsters in the Bay were so plentiful that the fishermen were able to net them instead of building traps as they do now. Also the lobsters were quite large so that the custom was to buy them by the count. According to Innis (1954) 'the price ranged as low as 30 cents per hundred. As the run of lobsters became smaller, undersized ones were take at two to one. but, when they got smaller still, the custom changed and payment..made by weight.' Informant I. La Russic reported that O'Brien introduced selling by the lb. instead of the count in the Bay

⁹⁸ Op. cit Innis (1954) pp. 437-39.

⁹⁹ In the 1930's and 1940's, the Antigonish Co-operative movement helped fishing families in Cape Breton develop their own markets for their lobsters so that they wouldn't be dependent on the companies. Fishing co-ops were formed around Nova Scotia A credit union in Bay St. Lawrence was organized in the 1940's. The present Victoria Fisheries Co-op was organized in the 1950's. See also Innis (1954) p.439.

¹⁰⁰ JHANS Part 2, 1921 pp.26-27 *Report on Industries and Immigration*. The lobster factory in Met Cove closed around 1934. A.D. MacKinnon :

I remember the factory in Meat Cove the first year I went to school. It shut down in 1934. They took parts of it and stuff to Pleasant Bay.

¹⁰¹ The people in the Bay became more and more dependent on the fish companies and it became harder and harder to get their fish to markets. Joe Curtis recalled the people who bought fish and lobsters in the Bay district:

After the lobster factory closed, Charlie La Forte came from Cheticamp with a boat for Robin Jones & Whitman. He bought fish in Capstick, Black Point, Meat Cove, and the Lowlands. Neil Angus MacDonald bought fish in the Bay. In 1945, Donald Fraser and Duncun Fraser aand Alec Fraser bought fish in the 'Silver Spray' (the boat's

With the disappearance of the market for lobsters the full effect of the development of an industrialized, capital intensive fishery began to be felt on the local level. Prices were low, markets were far, and inshore stocks were declining.

In the 1920's, it became clear that the prosperity the development of an industrial fishery capital promised might simply be an illusion. Development, in market terms, was actually leading to a kind of impoverishment and deprivation on the local level. A. Capstick, who fished out of Capstick in the 1920's and 1930's, described the fishery there:¹⁰²

It was mostly row boats then. No motor boats or anything but there were a lot of good fishermen in Black Point, same as there were in Capstick. But the price was killing them. Like I said, I fished myself for three cents a pound, lobsters. And codfish-they'd buy that for a cent. That's green, and if you dry them and the flakes are right hard, which you don't do today, four cents if you were lucky. So, they were getting the fish but there was no price for it.

By the 1920's, it was clear that development in market terms meant that people in the district actually had less opportunity to sustain themselves in Northern Cape Breton.¹⁰³ In fact, this was true throughout the Maritimes. The

name) for Robin Jones on Cheticamp. They came around from Pleasant Bay by boat and then they trucked it to Cheticamp. Then Captain Pearl came from Neil's Harbour. Then Knickersons, for \$7.00/hundred for one season. Then Bush Morrison from Dingwall and finally Knickersons from North Sydney. We got \$12/ hundred in 1948.

¹⁰² Interview with Alec Capstick.

¹⁰³ Dependency theorists like Andre Frank in his work Latin America: Underdevelopment or Revolution? (1969) or Immanuel Wallerstein in The Origins of the Modern World-System (1974) challenged traditional development theory by suggesting that in many cases in many parts of the world what is actually 'developed' is underdevelopment— that there is a 'core area' that prospers and 'peripheral areas' that remain poor. See also Michael Hechter Internal Colonization: The Celtic Fringe in British National Development, 15436-1966 Berkely: University of California Press, 1975. The Highlands of Scotland seem to be in a similar relation to Britain as the Highlands of Cape Breton are to Canada.

The spatially uneven wave of modernization over state territory creates relatively advanced and less advanced groups. As a consequence of this fortuitous advantage, there is crystalization of the unequal distribution of resources, power between the two groups. The superordinate group, or core, seeks to stabilize and monopolize its advantages through policies aiming at the institutinalization of the existing stratification sytem. It attempts to regulate the allocation of social roles such that those roles commonly defined as having high prestige are reserved for its members. Conversely, individuals from the less advanced groups are denied access to these roles. The stratification system, which may be termed a cultural division of labour, contributes to the development of distinctive ethnic identification in the two groups.

rest of Canada had recovered from the post World War 1 recession, but in the Atlantic region it was prolonged and severe, so severe that, in 1919, a Maritime Rights regional protest movement emerged protesting governments policies that promoted the development of Central Canada rather than the Maritimes.¹⁰⁴ They wanted adjustment in the tariff structures and lower freight rates. The *Royal Commission on Maritimes Claims* was set up in 1926. Hearings were held in Halifax, St. John, Prince Edward Island and Sydney:¹⁰⁵

To inquire fully into the claims thatin regard to transportation, immigration and other economic factors these provinces have suffered prejudicially in their position under confederation.

People in the Bay district remember nothing about this movement, and it is likely that they knew nothing about it. They were still extremely isolated physically from the rest of Cape Breton. This isolation helped them continue to provide for their subsistence needs at a time when people in the cities were hungry, but over the years they have been affected by the government's policies.

Development of the 'Work Ethic'

With development, the human and natural resources necessary for the maintenance of the traditional subsistence economy had gradually been diverted into the larger and more dominant market economy. This economy was based on an industrial system that treated labour and natural resources as if they were commodities that could be bought and sold.¹⁰⁶ It was based on the market and on

Hechter also noted that the recruitment of commercial and financial managers tended to be from the core rather than from the periphery and that the transportation and communication lines tend to link peripheral areas to the core rather than to each other.

¹⁰⁴ E.R. Forbes *Maritimes Rights Movement 1919-1927* McGill-Queens University Press: Montreal, 1979.

¹⁰⁵ NAC *Royal Commission on Maritime Claims 1926* Records of Federal Royal Commissions Vol. 1 p.174-75.

¹⁰⁶ Karl Polyani *The Great Transformation*, Boston: Beacon Press, 1957. (originally published in 1944) pp. 71, 42.

Labor and land are no other than the human beings themselves of which every society consists and the natural surroundings in which it exists. To include them in the market mechanism means to subordinate the substance of society itself to the laws of the market...Machine production in a commercial society involves in effect, no less a transformation than that of the natural and human substance of society into commodities. The conclusion, though weird, is inevitable; nothing less will serve the

margins of profit, not on people and the quality of their lives. In the 1930's, after more than 30 years or more of progress, the grounds of the traditional culture were eroded to the point that people felt dependent on the larger economy and vulnerable in a way that they never had before. As noted in Chapter 2, it was at this point that many of the Highland people in the district stopped teaching their children Gaelic and started to speak to them in English instead.¹⁰⁷ With development, the basic terms of their lives had been changed and people had been taught to believe that they would have to learn a new language in order to survive.

The people in the district who accommodated and adapted themselves most readily to the English language culture profited by progress in terms of that culture. The choice that Gaelic speaking people made to speak English to their children implied much more than teaching them new words. People's ideas about who they were, or who they wanted to be, had changed. They were internalizing the essential idea of the state society, that gain was both the principle and the purpose of human life, 'a calling, as Weber (1930) said, 'toward which the individual feels himself to have an ethical obligation.'¹⁰⁸

The highest praise that one person in the Bay district could give another was to say that he or she was 'a good worker'. This was said with a kind of reverence as if people's ability to do hard work gave them a higher purpose in life and a moral claim that other people just didn't have. The sign of being a hard worker, was of course, material affluence, so people who had more material goods began to be perceived in the local community as being 'better'. A 'higher class of people' is the term that I've heard used.

I did not hear this phrase used in the MacKinnon-Fraser households. In fact, people were looked upon with a certain amount of scorn if they appeared to be more interested in things than people. People in the kin group worked extremely hard but they perceived of work differently.¹⁰⁹ People worked to live;

purpose: obviously, the dislocation caused by such devices must disjoint man's relationships and threaten his natural habitat with annihilation.

¹⁰⁷ See Chapter 2.

¹⁰⁸ Op. cit Weber (1930) p.75.

¹⁰⁹ Op. cit. Weber (1930) p.71

But it is just that which seems to the pre-capitalistic man so incomprehensible and mysterious, so unworthy and contemptible. That anyone should be able to make it the sole purpose of his life-work, to sink into the grave weighed down with a great material load of money and goods, seems to him explicable only as the product of a perverse instinct, the *auri sacra fames*.

they didn't live to work. In a district where most people were beginning to believe in the sanctity of work, those who didn't were beginning to be looked upon as non-believers.¹¹⁰

Development and Disparity

With development, new patterns of social and economic disparity began to emerge in the district. Young people growing up with the idea that hard physical work was their 'calling' turned themselves into willing workers, who had no higher goal than getting work as a labourer in the mines or the mills. They made money and they spent it. Many of them sent it home to their families in the Bay district. This was the beginning of what was called a 'remittance economy'. It was an economy that the MacKinnon-Frasers could not have had much part in, since, as noted, the MacKinnons tended not to emigrate far from their community or family.¹¹¹

Remittance Payments¹¹²

Hornsby (1992) noted that the earnings from 'dutiful daughters' and dutiful sons 'were an important source of income for backland families.'¹¹³ Aside from the fishing bounty and wages from the lobster factories, this was the only other source of capital coming into the community. It was also entirely dependent on

¹¹⁰ See also Karl Marx (edited by Friedrich Engels) *Capital* Chicago: Great Books of the Western World, 1952 (original 1867) See for instance pp.79-84 Creating a work ethic was extremely important, so people would want to work and become labourers. Marx suggested that exploited labour is one of the basic sources of energy of the whole capitalist system. The 'unpaid' labour of the worker drives the system because, in order for a profit to be made, labourers are paid wages that are not a real expression of the value of their labour. The 'unpaid labour' is then appropriated by the owners, who are able to accumulate more capital.

¹¹¹ Pleasant Bay or Sydney Mines did not offer the same kind of opportunities for wages as the 'Boston States'.

¹¹² This section is based on Interviews with Fred MacDonald, Alan Gwinn, J. Curtis, I. LaRussic, J. LaRussic, A. Capstick. These remittance payments were not usually discussed.

¹¹³ Stephen J. Hornsby *Nineteenth -Century Cape Breton* McGill-Queen's University Press: Montreal, 1992. p.141. Informants reported that daughters were more dutiful than sons whose work on boats or in the woods didn't facilitate regular contact with home. The same informant noted that young men often arrived with their savings and lived in the district until it was all gone and then went off again to work.

wage labour and independent of the local production of goods or the exchange relations with the merchant.¹¹⁴

Out-migration changed the lives of those that left the community and also the lives of those that stayed. The kinship groups who were receiving these 'remittance payments' had access to manufactured goods that other people in the community couldn't afford. They were able to buy more gear for fishing and improved equipment for farming: a better plow, hay rake, or mower. These kinds of changes were significant to the whole kin group because people still shared their machinery. In terms of farming, for instance, it would take a person 21 hours to cut an acre of hay with a scythe but it took only 4 hours with a single horse drawn mower.¹¹⁵ In terms of fishing, families with the capital could invest in the gear needed for new technologies; the tub trawl fishery, which was used for groundfish, or the seine fishery, used for mackerel and herring.¹¹⁶ Kinship groups with access to these new tools and machinery were able to create more wealth for themselves and their families.

Kin groups, like the MacKinnon-Frasers, whose young people tended to stay home, didn't receive the same kind of outside support as did other families in the community. They were excluded from the remittance economy, so they didn't have the same access to labour saving machinery and gear. This meant that they would have a more difficult time achieving the same level of production on the farm or in the fishery, and they would have to work much harder to sustain themselves.

¹¹⁴ I am not considering the wages that the 'outsiders' in the community brought in: the priest, the nuns, the teacher.

¹¹⁵ Op. cit. Hornsby.1992. p.136. Older people in Nova Scotia reported that they could mow an acre an hour with a team.

¹¹⁶ Tub trawl fishing continued as one of the technologies employed by inshore fishermen until the ban on codfishing in 1992. According to Hornsby (1992), in the latter half of the 19th century, handlining was gradually supplemented by the French butlow or trawl in Cape Breton. 'Consisting of a long line with numerous shorter hook-lines or'snoods' attached at regular intervals, the trawl was fixed to the seabed by anchors while buoys held the line in position and marked its location on the surface. Usually the baited lines were set in the water for six to eight hours, sometimes longer. The increase in productivity was so enormous that fishery officials worried about the effect on fish stocks.' Handlining for mackerel, which was first used by Americans and introduced into the Maritime fishery in the mid-century, was similar to jigging for cod. When the mackerel or herring were schooling, though, they didn't jig and nets were used. Small gill nets were sometimes used but seine nets were more efficient. These were, however, large and expensive investments that enabled fisher to catch hundreds of pounds in a single throw. Mackerel seining continues today. 'When a shoal of mackerel or herring was spotted close to the shore, a seine boat was launched and the net let out as the boat encircled the fish. The trapped fish were then pulled out with a 'spiller' or small bag-net and landed on shore. As many as 800 barrels of fish could be taken in a single sweep.' Hornsby (1992) p.160.

Socially, their position was also affected by their demographic pattern. They began to be perceived by those who left as 'lacking in initiative', because they valued family and community more than they did a job in the city. And they also began to be perceived by those who stayed as being 'backward' and 'rough' because they didn't possess certain kinds of manufactured goods or a certain level of technology that began locally to be equated with refinement.¹¹⁷ Certainly they seemed, as Smout (1950) said of their Highland relatives, to refuse 'to conform to the model of Smithsonian man', that is, 'the uniform and constant and uninterrupted effort of every man to better his own condition'.¹¹⁸

(I)n pursuit of self-interest no Highlander should have hesitated to migrate...But Gaelic Highlanders...had their own ideology, which was that possession of land—the tenure (not the ownership) of a croft—was the highest good a man could desire. Other forms of earning a living were possible but less desirable than crofting; a man should only take them in an emergency, to pay the rent, but not as a lifestyle to help him enrich himself to the maximum extent possible...Sometimes indeed they appeared lazy...their preference was not really for idleness but for occupying a croft...It was not that Highlanders were averse to enrichment as such...but.. the crofter put home before wealth, the possession of land before the dubious opportunity to gain enrichment through a better income as an industrial worker.

This is not to say that individuals from other kin-groups didn't chose to stay in the district to maintain their traditional way of life. But most of them had many relatives who had left and then come back, and they brought more than money back with them when they returned to visit their families. They brought a whole new world with them. New ways of speaking, dressing, eating, and thinking. Weber (1930) noted the 'immense influence of exile in the breakdown of traditional relationships.'¹¹⁹ This was as true for the people who stayed as it

¹¹⁷ People remarked that the people in this kin group didn't seem to want to 'get ahead'. People who were maintaining traditional patterns were often ridiculed locally for their stubborn resistance to 'old ways' of doing things even when newer and easier technology was available, for instance using a scythe to make hay and raking it by hand, or using a hand-made wheel barrow with a wooden wheel to haul manure instead of a tractor. People would say that these people 'liked to do things the hard way'. 'rough', 'backward', 'shy' 'wild' were some of the words that other people used to describe the people in the kin-group.

¹¹⁸ See T. C. Smout A Century of the Scottish People 1830-1950 pp. 66-7.

¹¹⁹ Op. cit Weber (1930) p.43, See also ff. (20) p. 191

That the simple fact of a change of residence is among the most effective means of intensifying labour is thoroughly established. The simple fact of working in quite different surroundings from those to which one is accustomed breaks through the tradition and is the educative force.

was for those who left. For, though their new ways might be the subject of a certain kind of ridicule¹²⁰, the money they brought gave them a power and earned them a certain respect in the district. Their ideas and attitudes had an authority and legitimacy that was quite different from those of the traditional elders.

The Circle of Kinship Starts to Give Way

The systems and structures of the larger society, like the roads, the factories, and the schools, brought people from different kin groups together. But they also separated people in the community along different lines. When the circle of kinship started to give way, and the standards of many of the clan bearers began to have more to do with the drone of an alarm clock than of a bagpipe.

Civil institutions like the school, the factory, and even the church created new forms of privilege in the community. This is not to say that life was easy for anyone in Northern Cape Breton no matter what family or group they belonged to. For instance, when the lobster cannery opened in Meat Cove many of the local women got jobs cooking. According to the records held at the Cabot archives, fewer women from the Free Church MacKinnon Fraser families got jobs working in the factory, than from other families in the district.¹²¹ The wages for working in the lobster factory were extremely low, and the work was hard, but it was the only wage work in the local area. Annie Capstick got the job cooking.¹²²

¹²⁰ See, for instance, Charles Dunn Highland Settler. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1953.

¹²¹ According to Cabot Archives File #533 It seems that for the most part Catholic members of the community got the jobs. This is not to say that no one from the MacKinnon kin group worked there. But for the most part they were the members of the kin group that had connections one way or another with the larger Catholic social circle. Hiring most likely had less to do with religion than it did with the social circle that the church created. I will discuss this later in this chapter. In 1915, John Edward MacNeil from the Bay was the foreman at the factory and his wife Mary was the cook. 'The wages for cooking were \$8.00 a month...and you had to purchase your cap and aprons from this'. Sadie MacEachern worked at this factory. The hours were seven in the morning until five in the evening and if the lobster catch was heavy, they sometimes worked until midnight. In 1924, Maggie MacEachern and Tina Fraser worked in the factory. The last year they worked was in 1925. The wages then were \$25.00 per month. Mrs. Alice MacDonald, then Alice Capstick, were cooks. Jim MacDonald and Gussie MacEachern ran a smack (boat) to Pleasant Bau to pick up lobsters.

¹²² Informant: Alec Capstick.

My father died at 51 and left us with 10 children. Peggy was 9 months old and there was two years between us all. My poor mother had to go to Meat Cove, there was a factory there at the time and she worked for \$10 dollars a month, which was nothing for a big crowd...and she'd pay Mrs. Neil Brown up at our house, who looked after us, 'cause we're all from nine months up. She only worked for \$10 month and she'd have to pay her half of it..walked to Meat Cove and back. (about 5 miles one way)

The Capstick family spoke English and they were Catholic. English was the majority language of the larger society and Catholic was the majority religion of the local district. Annie's husband could read and write English, so he was able to function as a merchant. He bought and sold fish and he operated a small store. All of his children were literate and trained in what the Attorney General had called the 'habits and of the English language'. This was true whether they were unable to attend school or not. All of the children in the family received formal religious training, and the family was very involved with the social functions of the parish. When the wharf needed to be built in Capstick, it was one of the Capstick boys who was hired to pull out the logs for it. This family, like some others in the district, possessed a social currency that gave them more control in their relationships and exchanges with the mainstream. Their lives were supported and shaped by the civil institutions of the larger society, and they had more access than most to these institutions.¹²³

Religion and the Church.

In the first half of the 20th century, a persons relation to the church, especially the Catholic Church, established his or her position. It was by far the most powerful social institution in the Bay St. Lawrence district. The church was the human and social link to the outside world. People who belonged to the

¹²³ For instance, very few MacKinnon-Frasers got jobs working in the gypsum quarry in Dingwall in the 1940's and 1950's or on in the construction of the Cabot Trail in the 1930's or in the Highlands National Park. A. Capstick remembered:

We had a better oportunity here (in Dingwall) in due to the industry. Now they didn't have that in Black Point. The fishing went on. I don't remember anybody from Black Point working here, but the Bay did. Blackie Brown worked over here and a lot from the Bay. Willy Bob cause I worked the truck and took them home evey evening, took them back in the morning, 'cause they had no other transportation for years. And they all worked from SugarLoaf— quite a few. But I don't remember anybody from Black Point...Sandy Simon could have towed the truck, but I don't really remember. Probably couldn't get transportation out.

Note: S.L. MacKinnon was one of the few people from Black Point who got a job in the gypsum quarry.

church in Bay St. Lawrence belonged to the church everywhere. It absolved people of their differences and brought them together under one roof. Locally, it was the basic social connection outside of the kin group relations. In the early 20th century, the lives of most of the families in the district revolved around the Catholic church: the parish meetings, the parish picnics, parish dances and most importantly Sunday mass. Most of the MacKinnon-Frasers did not, however, belong to the Catholic Church, nor did they take part in any of its social activities.

Neither did they belong to the Protestant Church.¹²⁴ Except for the annual visits each year from the Minister from the Cape North parish, people in this kin group had no encounter with the institution of church, nor did they receive any formal religious training.¹²⁵ The common perception in the local district was that the people in the MacKinnon family had 'no religion' because they didn't go to church.¹²⁶ Even the Department of Social Services report stated that the members of the MacKinnon families in Black Point were 'nominally Protestant'.¹²⁷ This was not accurate, however. On a personal level, within their own kin group, their religion affected their lives and their belief system, and it was one of the things that held them together as a group.¹²⁸ But, as noted in Chapter

¹²⁴ They were traditionally Free Church Presbyterian. The small church in the Bay was a different denomination. Originally it was Church of England and then it was Methodist, as was the church in Aspy Bay. The church in Cape North was a Free Church parish but it was too far away for them to attend or to be engaged with socially. See Chapter One.

¹²⁵ Interview with one of the Deacons of the Protestant Church in Cape North
When you said that they were sort of Presbyterian do you mean they didn't go to church much? No there was no church background. They lived miles away from the church.
Did they go to the church for marriages, baptism, funeral? The ministers would go up to marry them. The Black Point families, though, churched or not, stayed together thick or thin. The earliest time that I had with the family was with A. MacKinnon. He was just young at the time and they were just married, he and M. They started getting involved in the church over here. They used to come to our meetings in Cape North. But they grew out of that. It was too far away. They never looked at the church at Bay St. Lawrence as their own. It's only the last few years after R. M. moved away. (In the 1980's) The church became theirs. It's in their own hands now, that little church.

¹²⁶ This was a phrase that was used to describe the people in Black Point.

¹²⁷ Dep't of Public Welfare (Study by Helen Ralston). *Black Point-Meat Cove Relocation Project- Evaluation Study* Manuscript published by Dep't of Public Welfare: Halifax, 1970

¹²⁸ It held them together as a group because of the marriage patterns described earlier. They tended to marry within their religion. The extent to which their religious beliefs shaped their daily behavior was indicated by a close neighbour who knew members of the MacKinnon families personally and was more familiar with their religious background. A. Capstick noted:
Religious, yes absolutely, yes absolutely. The Bible was always out. They were very strict, Mr. Peter MacKinnon and Simon. I remember going up and seeing them, you know, as a kid. And you know, how you grow old together and Sandy's older than I am. They wouldn't do a thing on the Sabbath. They wouldn't do barn work, or anything. They wouldn't throw down the hay. They had to do that on Saturday. No

1, their religion had always set them apart from other people in the district. Lack of formal church affiliation became a more serious social issue in the twentieth century than it had been for most of the 19th.

Religion has always divided the Scottish people, but, until the modern era, kinship in the Highlands was a much more powerful social principle.¹²⁹ In the late 19th and early 20th century, however, church affiliation was becoming more important in the district than kin. One Catholic resident recounted the story of his aunt visiting from Boston when he was a young boy. This aunt had married a Protestant while she was away. After she left, the priest came to visit the family and warned them never to allow her in the house again. As one local informant noted, 'It was different in those times...They'd warn you about Protestants and if you married one... well, dear, it was more like a funeral than a wedding.'¹³⁰

playing cards or anything like that on Sunday. Their church was in Cape North and they had no transportation.

C. MacKinnon reported that when she was young in the early 1940's her grandmother made her throw away the berries that she had picked on the Sabbath. A.L. MacKinnon reported that his father would recite sections of the Bible in Gaelic in the 1930's every evening. Some of the older people in the community at the time of relocation reported that they said their prayers in Gaelic. M. MacKinnon, who grew up in Black Point in the 1960's, reported:

There was no going to church or anything like that. Mom and Dad would do their usual thing, like the prayers. They would say prayers and that in the evening and the morning. There was no work allowed up there. I mean, no one did any work; you weren't allowed to, I remember Mom and Dad not doing a thing on Sunday, just time, like a family-time, quality-time, as they refer to it today, like the family members just sitting around and talking. No cards were allowed. No dancing. No playing music, but we used to do a lot of singing. We were allowed to sing. Mom and Dad wouldn't mind us singing. We used to sing hymns and...Dad used to tell stories all the time, fables or folk-lore. His stories. They weren't as heavily into the Bible that I can recall, until we come down here and we got more involved with the churches. I was told that my great grandfather read from the Bible to my mother all the time, in Gaelic. Read to my grandmother, like his wife; he used to read the Bible to her a lot.

¹²⁹ Religion was not as divisive an issue in the Bay district before the churches were officially established. For instance, in the beginning of settlement, the Protestant and the Catholics had their services in the same building. One group would have services in the morning and the other in the afternoon. Services were held on the Hill. This Hill, which is not near Black Point, is on what is called the Island. This is actually a peninsula. A channel divides one side of the Bay from the other, although it is possible to access the island by going around by a land route. At one point there was a bridge across the channel. According to a local informant:

the little church in the Bay was originally on the hill. The Catholics and the Protestants shared in it. They both held services in it. Then there was a fight and the Zwickers down here bought it (the church) for a dollar and they moved it down to where it is now. For awhile it was Church of England, then it became Methodist.

¹³⁰ Informant: Catholic Resident of the Bay. One woman told me that she was warned as a child not to go into tea to Protestant houses. She said that she grew up believing that they might do something terrible to her.

The Catholic Social Network: Cutting Across Kin Lines

The Catholic social network in the Bay district began to cut across kin lines; and it began to tie people from different kin groups together. The MacEacherns, the MacNeils, the MacLellans, the Capsticks and the Frasers were Catholic. They went to church together and they worked together. The MacEachern, Fraser and MacLellan families traditionally associated with the MacKinnon-Fraser kinship network but they were Catholic. They also had social and material ties with other Catholic families in the district, because of their mutual involvement with the church. Alec Capstick remembered:¹³¹

They (the families from Meat Cove way) had to come up to the Bay to church and they came by boat and they walked too. Many's a cup of tea my mother gave them. Called them in. That was kind of a stop-over, see. When you got down to Capstick, well, you only had three more miles. But, as far as religion was concerned, in the summer we went in our bare feet and in the winter we went on the ice. (They walked on the drift ice) But you never missed a first Friday station to the cross and Mass on Sundays and Easters. The people from Meat Cove did the same...and if we needed someone to come down...Alan Paulie (MacEachern) usually most. He lived a lot with us....like he was Jim's age and Morris' (his older brothers). and if we wanted moccasins made, he'd come down and spend a couple of days. Or he'd help them with the lobster gear and knitting the heads and everything. We sort of looked up to him. If Uncle Tom or Uncle Edmund needed him for a day chopping wood, he was there anytime you want. The same with any of them. They all worked together.

For the most part the Protestant MacKinnon-Fraser families lived outside of this Catholic social network.¹³² The MacKinnon families from Black Point or the Hill lived much closer to A. Capstick's family than the Catholic families in Meat Cove. But Protestant families in the district did not usually visit the Catholic families socially. did not have the same kind of relations with the Catholic families in Capstick as the Catholic members of the kin group.

¹³¹ Interview with Alec Capstick.

¹³² There were still some mixed marriages. Sometimes the children would be raised Catholic and sometimes not. A few of the Catholic women involved left the church because they were married by the Protestant minister and the Catholic church didn't recognize the marriages. Two of Archibald's sons married MacEachern girls. John Simon married Big Sadie MacEachern and Peter's second wife was Lizee MacEachern. S.L. MacKinnon reported on the marriage: 'She was a Catholic, but she didn't get married Catholic. She got married by the Minister. When she started getting older we thought she might be worrying about that. Then we got the priest to the house, and she got remarried by the priest at the house. My father done that to please her.'

This is not to say that there were no relations between the Protestant MacKinnon families in Black Point and the Catholic families in Capstick or the Bay. The children from Capstick and Black Point went to school together and the people in Black Point shopped at the Capstick store.¹³³ All of the families within the kinship network--the MacEacherns, MacLellans, MacKinnons, and Frasers--whether they were churched Catholic or unchurched Protestant, continued to marry and also to interact on many levels. The Catholic families in the kin network, however, had access to a social network that the unchurched Protestant families did not.¹³⁴

The Power of the Church

The influence of the Catholic church through the priest and the nuns who lived in the community was powerful. It was the Church that shaped the way people thought and it was the church that controlled the way they behaved. It was probably the church more than any other social institution that was responsible the re-creation of the local community along the lines of the larger society. Religion may have to do with the word of god, but the Church has more to do with the word of man.

The clergy preached that 'word' every Sunday and their message was probably the most compelling of any mainstream media in the district. This message had as much to do with progress, education, industriousness and

¹³³ This is not to say that they wouldn't be invited in for a cup of tea if they came in to the store. They just tended to travel in their own circles. A. Capstick remembers:

I went to school with Boucher and everyone of those boys. The finest kind of people, and there was no fighting or anything. And we got along great as neighbors. And like I say there was nothing wrong with the people...

¹³⁴ M. J. MacKinnon whose mother was Catholic, was raised as a Catholic. She reported: We went to the Catholic church every Sunday. Like Dad, he wasn't a Catholic but he made sure we got to church, eh. And first, when we were young, we used to go to Meat Cove. They had it in the school house. The priest came there if you couldn't get to the one in the Bay. They taught catechism in Meat Cove and we walked from Black Point to Meat Cove. We used to walk from there to Meat Cove every Sunday (about 4 miles). We were the only ones who were Catholic. Oh no, Dolly and Alex Beck The rest were Protestants. We never missed mass. We couldn't miss nothing at the church. But today, I can miss now a day's church and it doesn't mean nothing. We didn't miss church then. We knew more people because of it. You go to church and you met everybody, I remember going back to Black Point and telling people about this person and that person that you talked to, big and important people. They never knew what you were talking about. The difference in the religion didn't bother us whatsoever in Black Point. It was different other places. But we were all close, eh. When you went to anyone's house when the meal was put on the table, you sat right in with them.

sobriety as it did with God.¹³⁵ The clergy kept people in line, but these were the lines of the English state society. Many were Highlanders themselves and spoke fluent Gaelic, but for the most part they were educated in English schools and in the English language culture. Like Cape Breton politicians they might know how to step dance or even play the fiddle but they had been trained to believe in progress as firmly as they had been trained to believe in God.¹³⁶ The Gaelic parishioners recognized the authority of the clergy and their right to use physical force if necessary to promote the social order.¹³⁷

The church and the clergy provided an institutional and also a human link to the outside world within the local community. They preached its message and trained the young to conform to its rules, and they provided contacts and assistance to the young people in the community who wanted to go out into the world. They provided a conduit out into the world through the complex network of clergy and parishes.¹³⁸ People from the district tended to move where other

¹³⁵ Ralph Miliband *The State in Capitalist Society* Weidenfeld and Nicolson: London, 1969. pp. 201, 204-5. Miliband (1969) discussed how the 'churches have in this century provided a useful element of reinforcement to the authority of the state and its purposes... play(ing) a profoundly 'functional' and 'integrative' role in regard to the prevailing economic and social system.

¹³⁶ See article in the Antigonish paper *The Casket* Oct. 31, 1918. It is a common myth that the Catholic church helped people maintain their Highland traditions. In its world wide mission the Catholic Church seems on the surface to be more amenable than the Protestant to local traditions and often incorporates pagan deities and rituals. In Mexico, they worship the Virgin of Guadeloupe, and, in Africa, they sing the Missa Luba. Ultimately, though, the Church through the pope, priests and nuns, its worldly representatives, promotes an ideology that usually supports the state and the interests of the dominant group in the society. This certainly seems to have been the case in Nova Scotia. Temperance is usually associated with the protestant clergy but well into the 20th century the priests in Northern Cape Breton spoke out strongly against liquor and against the traditional work frolics. For instance, an article written in 1918 in *The Casket*, the Catholic newspaper published in Antigonish noted:

When Rev. Kenneth J. MacDonald took charge of the Mabou parish nearly sixty years ago, a great number of the Scottish exiles were illiterate. There were no schools in Inverness County except dancing schools! In nearly every Scottish home there was a violin or a set of bagpipes and there were musicians too, such as we rarely meet with now. It took the indomitable Father Kenneth years to suppress these dancing academies, which flourished under the name of frolics, the standard form of recreation for the Scots in their exile— but there was an evil which rendered these reunions dangerous occasions of sin—the old and ever new curse—intoxicating liquor. This holy priest got these good people, whom he loved, to erect schools in every section of the district now comprising three parishes... He encouraged them to acquire useful knowledge and to cultivate the virtues of honesty, industry, and sobriety, thus insuring their success in this life and their eternal happiness in the next.' This zealous pastor...denounced such parties. He endeavored to uproot liquor.

¹³⁷ Interview with members of the Bay district Catholic community.

¹³⁸ The Protestant church and clergy also provided this link to the outside world in Protestant communities. In the Bay, the demographic patterns of families that were associated with the little Protestant church were generally consistent with the pattern that Brooks described.

people had gone before. If people didn't have the network, they simply didn't go.¹³⁹

The people in the MacKinnon-Fraser kin group who had no connection to the institution of church were free from any of the restraints it imposed, but they lived totally outside of its protective sphere. People who did what they were trained to do, who behaved and followed the rules, who stayed in line, were rewarded in this life, even if they couldn't be too sure of the next.

In worldly terms, the clergy helped the young people in the community so they would be able to take their places in the larger society. They were trained to develop a certain demeanor that was proper to their station and to demonstrate a certain deference to authority and to the bureaucratic organization of the church.¹⁴⁰

Nietzsche (1994) suggested that the church taught people how to turn themselves into the subjects of another's authority. They might be oppressed by the authority, they might fear it or even hate it but they were taught to feel powerless before it. The church taught people to go inward,' Nietzsche (1994) said, and it created 'a self-discipline, a self-surveillance, and selfovercoming.'¹⁴¹ This was an expression of a consciousness that he called *resentiment*.¹⁴²

¹³⁹ See Bernard Bailyn The Peopling of British North America The Curt Lectures University of Wisconsin Alfred Knopf: New York, 1986. A social network of Catholic young people, originally from the Bay district, was also developing out in the world. People tended to 'chain migrate'. Only one person was needed to clear a path for others in the district to follow.

¹⁴⁰ See Goffman, Erving The Nature of Deference and Demeanor American Anthropologist 58, 3. 1956 pp.473-499. See also Gerald Sider Culture and class in anthropology and history Cambridge University Press: Cambridge, 1986. p. 21. Sider said:

'Deference' is not simply a token of respect paid to each other or the elite but rather the diffuse or specific conscious adjustments people make to each other's claims in their lives as *a whole*. Defer is to postpone...to submit to the judgment or claim of another....to pay courteous regard to the other...the concept of delay...it implies not single acts but whole lives.

¹⁴¹ Friedrich Nietzsche On the Genealogy of Morality Cambridge University Press: Cambridge, 1994. p.99 Part 111 Section 15. Foucault used many of Nietzsche's ideas in his own theory. See Michel Foucault Discipline and Punishment New York: Pantheon Books, 1977 Also The Foucault Reader (Edited by Paul Rabinow) New York: Pantheon Books, 1984. Nietzsche said:

(T)he priest is the direction changer of ressentiment. For every sufferer instinctively looks for a cause of his distress; more exactly, for a culprit, even more precisely for a guilty culprit who is receptive to distress,- in short, for a living being upon whom he can release his emotions, actually or in effigy, on some pretext or other; because the release of emotions is the greatest attempt at relief, or should I say, at anaesthetizing on the part of the sufferer, his involuntarily longed for narcotic against pain of any kind. In my judgment, we find here the actual physiological causation of ressentiment, revenge and their ilk, in a yearning, then, to anaesthetize pain through emotion:- people generally look for the same thing...in the defensive return of a blow, a purely protective reaction, a 'reflex' movement ...But the difference is fundamental:

This mentality of subordination was a state of mind that was necessary in the imposition of English hegemony. The church legitimated the state society. It taught people how to submit and also a kind of self-righteousness that positioned them in opposition to people who hadn't yet learned to accept the imposition of authority.

Domination in an egalitarian state society is not a static condition and it must be reasserted daily if it is to be effective. Human beings may want 'to struggle free from the immediate daily humiliation of dependency' but they can't because they have been taught to believe by institutions that these 'larger outlines of power, station in life, political authority, (are) as inevitable and irreversible as earth and the sky.'¹⁴³

Many of the differences that were growing up between the MacKinnon-Frasers and the other people in the district seem to have been related to their lack of relation to the church as a social institution. Their way of thinking and their way of living continued to be shaped primarily by their traditional Gaelic standards rather than those of the larger society. They adapted to progress, but they adapted in their own terms, which weren't those of the larger social order.

Illicit Spirits

In the 1920's, Peter MacKinnon, one of Archibald's sons, set up a small distillery in back of Black Point where he manufactured and sold alcoholic spirits locally. Peter MacKinnon was not the only person in the kin group who distilled spirits, but he was the most well known. Peter had quite a reputation for quality, and people would travel for miles to purchase his spirits,¹⁴⁴ despite the fact that

in one case the attempt is made to prevent further harm being done, in the other case, the attempt is made to anaesthetize a tormenting, secret pain which is becoming unbearable with a more violent emotion of any sort, and at least rid the consciousness of it for the moment....and the priest says to him...you yourself are to blame for yourself...the direction of the resentment is changed inward)

¹⁴² People's might act the way they were supposed to but, they ended up hating themselves and everyone else for it.

¹⁴³ E.P. Thompson *Patrician Society, Plebian Culture* Journal of Social History 1974- 7(4) pp.382-405.

Cultural hegemony of this kind induces exactly such a state of mind in which the established structures of authority and even modes of exploitation appear to be in the very course of nature. This does not preclude resentment or even surreptitious acts of protest or revenge; it does preclude affirmative rebellion.

¹⁴⁴ The owner of the store in Cape North, A. Morrison, reported that he often bought his Christmas spirits in Black Point rather than White Point or South Harbour (where liquor was

for many years the clergy throughout Cape Breton had been actively working to encourage 'sobriety'.¹⁴⁵ In the early 20th century in many parishes the priest got the men to take pledges that they wouldn't drink for a specified time.¹⁴⁶ One local informant said that the local clergy also condemned the people who sold spirits. Directly or indirectly, the people in Black Point were singled out, although at the time, aside from their lack of involvement with the church, there was little to set them apart in terms of their daily pursuits or way of life.¹⁴⁷

They were the kindest kind of neighbors, they were...Simon and Peter. Quality people. Like I said, the people in Black Point were the same as Capstick or the Bay. For me, they were good people...Peter MacKinnon's barn was probably better than what we had and his horse and cattle and the whole pile of wood was home at the door and the same with Simon. Simon was a great worker. It was the moonshine, selling the moonshine that killed that community. The priests turned against them and then the people.

In the 1920's and 1930's, Black Point didn't die with the birth of Peter's business, though, in fact, at the time, it helped many of the people living there survive.¹⁴⁸ But in terms of the mainstream society, the status of the people who lived there suffered as a result. Dr. C.L. MacMillan from Baddeck, who sometimes was called to the area in emergencies, noted that Bay St. Lawrence became known in Southern Cape Breton as 'Little Hell' because of the moonshine.¹⁴⁹ In

also manufactured) because of the quality of Peters spirit's and because he wanted to support Peter MacKinnon's business since he had 'all those little children' to support.

¹⁴⁵ See Records of the Presbytery of Victoria and Richmond Presbyterian Church in Canada 1886-1899. Holdings as the Maritime Conference Archives. Entry Aug. 24, 1886 p.5

The cause of temperance was earnestly urged upon (the consideration of the ministers in Northern Victoria County) and their cooperation was asked in connection with the friends of the cause at Baddeck who are most anxious and preparing to employ such means as will enable them to get rid of the nuisance of the sale of intoxicating drinks from the place.

¹⁴⁶ Williams (Manuscript Cabot Archives) p.34. Source: St Peter's Parish Church Records, p.47. In 1899, for instance, the priest in the St. Peter's parish convinced 159 men to take a pledge of abstinence from drinking: 'We promise to abstain from all intoxicating liquors for the time set opposite our names or until we will have our names removed from this book.' The pledges ranged from six months to life. Eight men took the pledge for life.

¹⁴⁷ Interview A. Capstick.

¹⁴⁸ Peter MacKinnon started distilling spirits and selling them in the 1920's. This was a few years after the death of his first wife, Margaret Fraser. Members of his family noted that he was left with eight children. The youngest girl, Maggie, was just an infant. The fishery was depressed and opening a distillery offered him the opportunity to make the money he needed to raise the family without having to leave home.

¹⁴⁹ Cited in Williams (Manuscript Cabot Archives) p. 45. Source: Dr. C.L. MacMillan

terms of the mainstream perspective of church and state, the local manufacture and sale of spirits was both illegal and immoral, and the people in Bay district who engaged in it were deviant.¹⁵⁰

The reputation that people in the district had outside of it and the reputation that people in Black Point had within it seems to have had less to do with the morality of the people in the communities than with the imagination of the people making the judgments. A. Capstick, who grew up in Capstick and who also was a County Councilor and Council Warden for many years, reported:¹⁵¹

There was never a problem (with drinking). No. Anytime we went there, it was the same as myself. I never took a drink until I was 27 and I was in Sydney at that time working. Those boys, all of them, I never saw them drinking. The old fellows in the community would send me up for a quart to buy for Christmas and different occasions. We were young gaffers then. They probably had just as much in Capstick and the Bay as they did in Black Point. But the young people, no there was never a problem. They did it probably to make an extra dollar and it was a habit they had making it....It was a \$1.00 for a beer bottle quart. And what moonshine it was!

In the first three decades of the twentieth century, the distillation and manufacture of spirits was an accepted practice within the Northern Highlands despite the fact that the clergy condemned it and the law prohibited it.¹⁵² Court records indicated that there were many local people aside from the MacKinnons or Frasers who were fined for distilling their own liquor at the time.¹⁵³ From the

¹⁵⁰ See for instance, *The Casket* Oct. 31, 1918. In the discussion of Father Kenneth's work in Mabou, the writer noted, 'This zealous pastor in season and out of season denounced such parties. [the frolics]. He endeavoured to uproot liquor sellers, agents of Satan, as he called them, who tempted those exiled Scots and sold them this deadly poison, which killed both soul and body and brought scores of our best loved people to a premature grave.'

¹⁵¹ Interview with A. Capstick

¹⁵² Some people in the MacKinnon-Fraser kin group distilled spirits but this had nothing to do with alcoholism. Spirits seem to have been another aspect of their household production, like potatoes or codfish. Often they gave away as much as they sold.

E. MacKinnon reported:

I remember my father used to make moonshine. But he really didn't drink much... sometimes on the weekends never during the week. He gave more away than he did selling it.

S. MacKinnon reported:

Yes, I drank moonshine myself, not much, but I drank it, eh. My grandfather, they made it for parties. No alcoholics then. But I used to see people from other communities come looking for a drink.

¹⁵³ Jail Reports in the *Minutes and Proceedings of the Victoria County Council*. 1920-1950. Members of some of the most respected families in the Northern Highland communities were

Highland perspective the distillation of liquor was a traditional pursuit and even illicit distilling was an accepted practice.¹⁵⁴ A. D. MacKinnon reported that the family brought the art of distillation with them from Scotland and also the design of the traditional pot still, *A' Phoit Dhubh*. (See Appendix G)

The manufacture and sale of spirits was really a traditional and local adaptation to the economic pressures of the larger market system. The people in the MacKinnon-Fraser kin group, however, continued longer than most others in the community to produce and sell spirits, probably because they didn't experience the social pressure being exerted by the church. Nor did they yield to that being exerted by the state.¹⁵⁵ From the mainstream perspective their spirits were as illicit as those they were selling. Their failure to behave the way people in the larger society thought they should resulted in the 1950's in the re-creation of their social identity within the local community as 'outsiders'.¹⁵⁶

Kinship and Social Equality

Until the 1940's, though, English cultural hegemony was not firmly established within the local area. The people in Black Point might say their prayers in Gaelic at home and the people in the Bay or Capstick might say them in English at church, but they all shared the same way of life and cultivated the

listed as being fined at one time or another before 1940: Burtons from the Bay, Dowlings from Dingwall and Petries from Smelt Brook.

¹⁵⁴ I.A. Glen *A Maker of Illicit Stills* *Scottish Studies* (1967) Vol. 11. According to Glen (1967) the distillation of liquor was well established in Scotland by the mid-eighteenth century. Even after the passage of excise legislation at the end of the eighteenth century, people in the Highlands were permitted to manufacture alcohol in small stills. Although this was supposedly for home consumption, the duty on legal spirits at this time was so high that illicit distilling in the Highlands 'developed on an unparalleled scale and the smuggling of illicit whiskey became endemic throughout the Highlands and Western Isles.' At this point illicit distilling became a respectable occupation in the Highlands. He noted that those who were caught were not publicly considered to be criminals, but 'debtors to the revenue and could stay in prison in relative comfort being allowed 6 d. a day maintenance.'

¹⁵⁵ See Jail Reports in the *Minutes and Proceedings of the Victoria County Council* For instance, see the 1949-1953 reports.

¹⁵⁶ See Howard Becker *Outsiders* New York: The Free Press, 1963. I'm using the term 'outsider' in the way Becker does. 'Outsiders' are members of a small socially stigmatized group who have a deviant identity as rule-breakers and who live within a larger more powerful group who have constructed this identity for them.

same kinds of social relations. Kin-divisions and religion separated people, but the patterns of the traditional society still unified them.¹⁵⁷

Kinship divisions have nothing to do with the differences in privilege that are inherent in divisions of the status and class that mark the modern social formation. The MacKimon-Frasers were perceived as 'equals' by other people in the district, despite the fact that they were responding differently to the process of development. They had a separate identity within the local community, but it was an equal one. Social differences like religion might divide people, but a sense of common culture tied them together. Notice the similarities in the accounts of men from two different families, one from Capstick and one from the Lowlands beyond Meat Cove. Members of the family from Capstick would eventually be perceived as 'insiders' and members of the family from the Lowlands would eventually be perceived as 'outsiders':¹⁵⁸

A. Capstick: It was the same all over Meat Cove, Capstick, the same as Black Point. When our cow was getting freshed and had no milk, so I came home from school. If there was no milk I went to J.'s or P.'s. So was vice-versa the other way. When they had no milk, we shared. And that's the way people were happy. I remember when we had the first radio, how they came in and listened to the fights. They shared with everything. You know even when you were going to church, they'd pick you up with the sleigh. We'd have to run up the hills. Then going down, J. D'd pick you up. And I was thinking about it the other day. There was always lots of meat, fish, and potatoes. We ate better than we do now. They were the best times that way. They all were big families too. But then again if you look back they all made their clothes. They had the spinning frolics and they had the milling frolics and they made their pants. If you had a good pair of moccasins, you were a proud boy. You know all those things. It was working together, which today, there's not too much of. Probably, today, there's too much money today. I wonder sometimes. And the toughest thing then was there was no money, you know. The way we lived when I started. MacDonald Brothers (in Cape North) up there, you got your supplies from him in the wintertime. I remember going with the dog team. You had a good dog team and a five gallon keg for five gallons of molasses. But you charged everything till you started fishing in the spring. And then you sold them all your lobsters. They would sell them for three cents a pound but you would hardly end up with any money because you were taking it up in credit. But we survived with that stuff all winter. But the sugar and the molasses and everything, and everybody was the same way alike. They went from Black Point and Meat Cove and everywhere,

¹⁵⁷ One man in the district recounted how he left home as a very young man in the 1950's. When he was asked for his nationality he responded that he was Scottish. He said he never thought of himself as Canadian.

¹⁵⁸ Interview with A. Capstick from Capstick and A. Fraser from LowLand Cove.

up there with the horses and it was a day's trip then. And they used to stop off a lot in Sugarloaf...They traveled by the ice. And they'd go over and put the horse in and have dinner...It was a long trip from Meat Cove to get a bag of flour. But that's the way we survived then...those are the hard things. But those were happy days for all. Everybody worked together from Black Point and Meat Cove and Capstick. The community worked together. That's how everybody survived.

A. Fraser:

In Meat Cove there was mainly Frasers and MacLellans...The MacKinnons, they lived in Lowland Cove. They had a farm—a big organization of maple sugar, and there was also MacEacherns and the MacDonalds...So there were quite a few families...The people had everything then. I remember one year putting 100 bags of potatoes extra in the basement. I just give them away. We were never short of potatoes, meat, fish..nothing. There were lots to eat, in the fall of the year— kill a couple of big animals and tons of chickens. No problem with eating. We ate better then, than now. It was the same for everybody. You wouldn't think that you'd give someone 50 bags of potatoes for their animals. People would share, help one another...All the community would go from house to house to drop seed, cut wood...I don't know so much about Bay St. Lawrence but that's how it was in the Lowlands, Meat Cove and Black Point. Like Simon George, when he would haul out wood from Meat Cove river...he would be there with his horse maybe two horses. And they'd hauled all his winter's wood in one day—sawed up and everything. Same thing in Black Point.

For most people, life in the Bay district in the 1930's, was more difficult economically than it had been at the turn of the century. But they were still able to sustain themselves locally and provide for their basic subsistence.¹⁵⁹ In 1934, R. W. Cautley, an engineer with the government looking into sites for the future Cape Breton Highlands National Park, described the conditions in Northern Cape Breton. He noted that:¹⁶⁰

People here have been less affected by the depression of the past five years than almost any other class of Canadians...Many of the isolated fishing stations are in small coves or beaches...It is impossible to use schooners or anything larger than an open fishing boat, about 27 feet long, which can be pulled high on the beach. There is no railway for the transportation of fish. During winter, the shores are beset with ice and active fishing only commences in May and is practically over by the middle of October. During the winter months, there is no means of travel

¹⁵⁹ Note that at this time migration out of the area all but stopped.

¹⁶⁰ See C.W. Cautley *Report on Examination of Sites for a National Park in the Province of Nova Scotia* 1934. File located at the Cabot Archives.

except by dog sleds and snowshoes. From numerous inquiries made, I gathered that people settle down for six months of the year getting enough wood to keep their small houses warm, looking after a few head of stock which most of them have and doing such odd jobs as making or mending fishing gear, making ax-handles etc. Usually these shore fishermen own about 100 acres of which one-fifth of an acre is in potatoes, five or six acres in rough pasture and the rest is unimproved timbered hillside. They keep one or two cows, a few remarkably fine sheep and some chickens. Most of them are extremely poor, ruggedly independent and more than unusually contented.

Market Exchange: 'The Whole World Has Changed'

The development process was gradual but by the 1940's it was clear to many people that something had changed and that these changes were beyond their control.¹⁶¹ A. Fraser noted:¹⁶²

It just changed. Everything got more modern. A truck and three wheeler....everyone for themselves. The whole world has changed. Like when they dug potatoes, all go together and dig potatoes Do the farming together, cutting hay together, always helping each other out. Even pushing their boat off the shore. Just to haul their boat together. When they would see a boat come in they would all run down to the shore. The next they would all launch out together. The whole world has changed. And it was money that did it.

It was also in the 1930's and 1940's, as noted, that people stopped teaching their children Gaelic. People in the district failed to resist English hegemony because they began to conceptualize their relations to each other in market terms.¹⁶³ People reported that they taught their children English because

¹⁶¹ Op. cit. Karl Marx Capital p737.

'the advance of capitalist production develops a working class, which by education, tradition, habit, looks upon the conditions of that mode of production as self-evident laws of nature...the dull compulsion of economic relations completes the subjection of the labourer to the capitalist'

¹⁶² Interview with A. Fraser

¹⁶³ See Holdings at St. Francis Xavier Archives. RG 30-3/4/2784-2795 Bay St. Lawrence Credit Union. RG 30-3/2/8252-8287 Victoria Co-op Fisheries and RG 30-3/26/1-27 Central Co-op. One of the alternatives to the dominant economy in the local area in the 1930's was the co-op movement that was inspired by Rev. Moses Coady. The co-op movement inspired people in the Bay district to get together. They built a co-op store, a credit union and established a fishermen's co-op to market their catch so that they wouldn't be dependent on the big fish companies and on system that was simply set up to profit from their labor. Most people in the MacKinnon-Fraser kin group, however, were not involved with the formation of the co-ops. It seems to me that this had to do with the fact that it was associated so closely with the Catholic Church. This is not to say that they were excluded intentionally. In later years,

they wanted them to be able to succeed in market terms. The whole world changed but people really did have a part in changing it. Although for the most part it didn't seem that way.

Suddenly, A. Fraser said, it seemed that 'it was everyone for themselves' The change in the medium of exchange, whether these exchanges were economic or cultural and whether the medium was money or language, affected the relationships between people. Money, for instance, is not wealth. It is a symbol for wealth. Yet, people began to organize their lives around acquiring it and they began to perceive of themselves and others in terms of it.

Money when used as a medium of exchange in a market system changes the way that people think about the world and the way that they live their lives. As a medium of exchange, it is based on a relation that has more to do with individual self-interest than with community. In Northern Cape Breton it encouraged a new kind of competition— one that was based in 'taking' rather than 'giving'. The competition of the gift exchange, based in how much people could give, was giving way and so were the social ties it created.

In a sense, money is really an illusion and so are the human relations that are established in pursuing it. Employees may feel that the business or institution they work for cares about them, but, if profit margins can be higher without them, they will be laid off no matter whether they have worked two years or 20. The same is true if a person works in the pit at the steel mill in Sydney, the pulp woods in Baddeck, or as a professor in the School of Education at Dalhousie.

The 'whole world was changed' because the whole 'lifeworld', the land, people's labour, and even their notion of wealth, were becoming nothing more than commodities, to be used in whatever way was most profitable. Polyani (1957) noted:¹⁶⁴

(L)abor, land and money are obviously not commodities;Labor is only another name for a human activity which goes with life itself, which in turn is not produced for sale but for entirely different reasons, nor can that

for instance, a fishermen from the MacKinnon-Fraser kin group, W. Bonnar, was one of the managers of the Co-op. But the movement was organized around the church despite the intentions of the organizers. For instance, people found out about meetings through the announcements on Sunday or the parish bulletin. The area has never had a newspaper and until the 1950's and 1960's few people had telephones. So the parish announcements and the Catholic social network was one of the only means of spreading the local news.

¹⁶⁴ Karl Polyani The Great Transformation. Boston: Beacon Press, 1957. (originally published in 1944) p. 72-3

activity be detached from the rest of life, be stored or mobilized; land is only another name for nature, which is not produced by man; actual money, finally, is merely a token...The commodity description of labor, land, and money is entirely fictitious.

Fictitious or not, in the 1940's many people in Northern Cape Breton wanted more than anything else to make money. This meant a market economy, where exchanges were contractual and based on wages paid for services rendered, where property was private and individuals pursued their interests and their lives separately from their neighbours.¹⁶⁵ This meant a change from the traditional patterns, where the economy of the community was embedded in the social and where relationships between people were cultivated at the same time in their material and social exchanges.

These relationships, the energy of their exchanges, were the bonds, the *mana*, that tied people together in the community. And they depended on having some common ground together to work, which was open in some way to everyone in the community. Market relations that led to the enclosure of the commons, to the privatization of all forms of property, could only lead to a breakdown of community. When people in the district internalized mainstream ideas about property and accepted the idea that the earth, people's labour, and the wealth of the community were commodities, the fabric of the local society began to disintegrate.

Progress: Social Erosion and Natural Depletion

With the start of the Second World War, business in the cities was booming, and cheap rural labour was in demand. Wars may be healthy for the market but they aren't necessarily healthy for the people who have to fight them or for the communities that they leave behind. In the 1940's, people began to leave Northern Cape Breton again, but this time many more people went down

¹⁶⁵ Karl Polanyi The Great Transformation. Boston: Beacon Press, 1957. p. 178 (originally published in 1944) There began to be a basic change people's relation to the land. Traditionally use of the land resided in the family or clan and people survived together in their cultivation of the commons.

Traditionally, land and labor are not separated; labor forms part of life, land remains part of nature, life and nature form an articulate whole. Land is thus tied up with the organization of kinship, neighborhood, craft, and creed— with tribe and temple, village, guild, and church...It can be readily seen that market economy involves a society, the institutions of which are subordinated to the requirements of the market mechanism.

the road than ever before. So many people left that some small communities disappeared and others deteriorated.¹⁶⁶

Meat Cove was a nice community. It had a big store, a factory, a school. It was nice. Then the war broke out. But even before that it made it difficult to fish out of Meat Cove because they only started buying fish in the Bay. You couldn't truck your fish down. You would have to do it by boat. It was complicated. Like lobster fishing--if you went to the Bay and then had to go back to Meat Cove, the shore would be too rough to haul your boats. Before that, they'd buy right in Meat Cove, buy your lobster and codfish in Meat Cove. Black Point was much smaller...but they fished and they farmed the same. Meat Cove had all the big farms and five or six big farmers around. From Black Point they had to go to Capsticks to the store and school. There was a store in Capsticks, and a school in Capsticks, and that's not far. One time, in Meat Cove, there was everything. But that was one time, not in later years...Then, when the factory closed and the store closed, people had to seek employment elsewhere, eh, the younger people had to leave. Then the war broke out.

'Progress' in Northern Cape Breton was, in many ways, a process of social erosion and natural depletion. It washed over the human and physical landscape in such a way that whole communities were swept away. A manufactured way of life gives people the illusion of independence. They are freed from the hold of tradition, but then cast adrift in an economic tide that leaches out the local landscape and carries them far away from their communities.

The relation of capital to an area like Northern Cape Breton has always been one of exploitation. The cod stocks are depleted, but the big company owned draggers are still depleting other fish stocks. A mine company has just petitioned the government to allow it to strip mine a protected area in the Barrens of Cheticamp south of Lowland Cove. At one time there was a mine and cannery in Meat Cove, a cannery in the Bay and the gypsum quarry in Dingwall.¹⁶⁷ They left when profit margins dropped too low or the resources they needed were more or less depleted. The people who had given up their farms to go to work had to leave soon after.

Vandana Shiva (1988) pointed out that development often destroys traditional economies and also ecologically sound traditional technologies. With

¹⁶⁶ Interview with A. Fraser

¹⁶⁷ The gypsum quarry in Dingwall opened in the late 1930's and operated through the 1940's and 1950's.

development, she said, there is a 'mistaken identification of the growth of commodity production as better satisfaction of human needs.'¹⁶⁸

In actual fact there is less water, less fertile soil, less genetic wealth as a result of the development process. Since these natural resources are the basis of nature's economy...their scarcity is impoverishing...marginalized peoples in an unprecedented manner. The new impoverishment lies in the fact that resources which supported their survival were absorbed into the market economy while they themselves were excluded and displaced by it.

The people who were resisting this kind of mal-development, as Vandana Shiva (1988) called it, had a harder and harder time sustaining themselves.¹⁶⁹ This had to do with the nature of the traditional economy which existed in the exchanges between a large community of people who worked together in various ways to cultivate it. This was not a theoretical issue. In a traditional economy, people need each other to provide for their own subsistence. When people left these small communities in Northern Cape Breton, it became impossible for those who were left to maintain their way of life with any sort of grace. To provide for themselves, they had to become more dependent on market forms.

Accepting the inevitability of these forms and the market mentality that went along with them became as natural and unavoidable as accepting the reality of the rain or the snow. People wanted to prepare their children and provide them with some protection, because relations with the mainstream taught them just how vulnerable they were.

The MacKinnon-Frasers Move Back Down From The Lowlands

When Alexander MacKinnon moved to the Lowlands, in 1890, there was a small but vibrant community. In the 1920's and 1930's, however, the young people in Lowland Cove started to move to more central locations. Mainstream systems and services like schools and fish markets were centralizing. The centralization of services affected settlement patterns and also changed the

¹⁶⁸ Vandana Shiva Staying Alive: Women, Ecology and Survival in India New Dehli: Kali For Women, 1988. p. 13

¹⁶⁹ Vanadana Shiva (1988) used the word maldevelopment.

nature of relationships within these settlements.¹⁷⁰ The central locations became more desirable and the people who had access to land in those areas were more privileged than those who didn't. There was also much more pressure on land resources in these locations. When Alexander's children, Rory, John Alec, and Duncun, got married, they moved down from the Lowlands to raise their families.¹⁷¹ In terms of the larger society, there were many more opportunities around Black Point than there were in the Lowlands.

Land, however, was a problem at this time. The commons that had been Northern Cape Breton was enclosed. All of the good land in Black Point and the Hill was taken up.¹⁷² One of Alexander's original grants in Black Point was a rough piece of land known as the Little Cove, located on the Capstick side of Black Point. When Alexander's sons, Rory and John Alec, moved down from the Lowlands, both of them lived for a time on this piece. Rory eventually moved to Sugarloaf, a small community in the district but John Alec settled there and built a house. In 1947, his nephew claimed that he owned the land, and, at this point John Alec and his family moved to the Hill.

S. MacKinnon's response, in claiming the piece of land that his uncle lived on as his own, was typical of the change in relationship to property from kin-group to individual control. But it was fairly atypical of the MacKinnon-Frasers. Individuals might own the land in title, but the whole kin group still had access to using it in various ways. A thoroughly private conception of property was still unusual, even though land resources were getting scarce.

Peter MacKinnon, for instance, gave Duncun, another one of Alexander's sons, a piece of land on his property. Peter, like most other MacKinnon-Frasers, was surrounded by children or kin who eventually built on the land that he officially owned. The same was true on the Hill. The settlement patterns that arose were very much like the Highland *Clachan*'s. (See Appendix B--Land Settlement Maps)

¹⁷⁰ A. Fraser, whose family left the Lowlands for New Waterford around 1940, said that he went to school for only one year in the Lowlands. He attended school in New Waterford, however. Regular state schools had been established at this time in Black Point and Meat Cove and compulsory education laws were enacted, but there was no regular school for the children in the Lowlands at this time.

¹⁷¹ Alexander's children from his first marriage, who were Catholic, left the Lowlands earlier. They moved primarily to Industrial Cape Breton, New Waterford, and Sydney Mines

¹⁷² When Alexander moved from Black Point in 1889, he had deeded one of his two original grants in Black Point to Donald, who was his nephew. When Donald left to work in the mine, he deeded it to his father. Eventually, Donald's brother, Simon, lived on the property.

The Problem of Land

S. MacKinnon's individual relation to property was the exception that proved the rule. All of the families that moved down from the Lowlands were able to establish themselves around Black Point or the Hill precisely because the traditional notion of the land as a community resource, was still very much alive. But this branch of the family never had the same access to the land around Black Point as did other members of the family. The land around Black Point, as noted in Chapter One, was also relatively less productive than in other areas of the district. S.L. MacKinnon talked about Peter's farm in Black Point in the early 20th century:¹⁷³

The land was poor. You had to do a lot of work for farming on it. The Bay here has more flat land. It was as rocky at Black Point as you get...Farming it involved a lot of work, hard work. But I seen my father sell seed potatoes to the MacEvoy's over at Cape North. Big farmers would come over and get seed potatoes from him. We had 40, 50 sheep.

In the next generation, access to the land became even more of a problem for this branch of the family. In the 1940's, 50's and 60's, most of the young people in the MacKinnon family continued to settle in the area at the same time that the young people from other family groups were leaving it in droves. As the population of many of the small communities in the Northern district from Meat Cove to Aspy Bay were shrinking fast, the population of Black Point began to swell.

The families in the kin group always found some land to build on but they didn't have enough improved land to support themselves completely from farming and fishing. They could, however, still piece together a livelihood from this and that. These families all had gardens. They raised pigs and even milk cows.¹⁷⁴ They worked at lobster fishing and helped each other if the cow dried up or the potatoes got the blight. They continued in traditional patterns, but it became harder to survive without wage work.

¹⁷³ Interview with S.L. MacKinnon

¹⁷⁴ P. MacKinnon, one of Alexander's grandchildren, was able to buy a larger piece of improved land, which enabled his family to sustain themselves on the land with a combination of fishing and subsistence farming.

The MacKinnons moved down from the Lowlands in the 1920's so they would have more opportunity to market their fish and their children would have more opportunity to go to school. But when their children grew up, they had even less of an opportunity than their parents had to sustain themselves locally. Certainly they were more vulnerable in terms of the larger society because they had no 'official title' to the land they were using.¹⁷⁵

Stigma and Separation

In the 1950's, the disparity between the MacKinnon-Frasers living in and around Black Point and the other people in the district became more noticeable. However, there were families in other areas in Northern Cape Breton who were having a hard time sustaining themselves in their local communities. They were not really alone in the difficulties that they faced. As one of the local teachers pointed out:¹⁷⁶

Black Point is like an exaggeration of this area in some way because those people have kept so tight, but in another way our whole area is like that.

But by the 1950's, the MacKinnon-Frasers began to be isolated and identified as a group apart, as 'outsiders', by other people in the district.¹⁷⁷ It was as if all the threads of difference that had been spun by the process of development in the first half of the 20th century were suddenly pulled tight. This was the decade when English replaced Gaelic as the language of social

¹⁷⁵ These families were the ones who were considered by the government to be squatters in their own community.

¹⁷⁶ Interview with former principal of Cabot High School. In 1946, the Public Health Nurse began working in the Bay district. She worked for a few years and then left to raise her children; in 1958 she started working in the area again. She made visits to most of the homes in the area between Meat Cove, Capstick, Black Point and Bay St. Lawrence. In 1946, there was not very much difference between the homes, but in 1958 there was.

In '46 it was more solid. There was something very solid about the few houses there. And there weren't many houses as I recall. And you know, they were very well established. Like the old MacKinnon people, Peter MacKinnon was one. There was a lot I can't remember. They farmed quite a bit. The older people. Oh yes. They had sheep too. And cattle and pigs, oh yes, and hens. I would say there was a deterioration in '58. You know, there were similar problems all over, but it was engrouped (sic) in Black Point.

¹⁷⁷ As noted in Chapter 2, in the 1950's the MacKinnon Frasers were still speaking Gaelic in Black Point at a time when people, for the most part in the Bay district, were now monolingual English speakers. Effective transmission of the language had ceased in Black Point, though, by the early 1940's.

interaction in the whole district and English cultural hegemony was finally established.

Certain groups, like the MacKinnon-Frasers, became stigmatized within the larger local community, just as the local community was stigmatized within the larger society.¹⁷⁸ This had to do with the fact that certain kinds of relations and exchanges that traditionally were considered legitimate within a Highland context weren't legitimate in the context of the larger English language society.

Ortega Y Gasset (1932) noted that the modern social process teaches people that 'to be different is to be indecent'.¹⁷⁹ Traditional marriage patterns,¹⁸⁰ language patterns, religious practices, fields of knowledge, educational practices, landholding patterns, drinking patterns, living arrangements, and standards of prosperity were perceived to be inferior, unhealthy, improper, and sometimes even unlawful.

There is a relation between the dispossession of the MacKinnon-Frasers in terms of land, the enclosure of the commons that they needed to sustain themselves, and their complete loss of status in the district. In our society, the people who have the power to make decisions about what is proper and appropriate are the people who own the property, that is, who have access to most of the wealth. They are the ones who make the decisions about what 'progress' is and whose interests 'progress' will serve, although the system is set up to work their will so even they aren't conscious of the fact that it does.¹⁸¹

Liberal democracy has never dared face the fact that industrial capitalism is an intensely coercive form of organization of society that cumulatively constrains man and all their institutions to work the will of the minority who hold and wield economic power; and that this relentless warping of men's lives becomes less and less the result of voluntary decisions by 'bad' men or 'good' men and more and more an impersonal web of coercions dictated by the need to keep 'the system' running.

¹⁷⁸ See Erving Goffman Stigma Englewood, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, 1963. pp. 1-2.

The Greeks, who were apparently strong on visual aids, originated the term stigma to refer to bodily signs designed to expose something unusual and bad about the moral status of the signifier...Today the term is widely used in something like the original sense, but it is applied more to the disgrace itself than to the bodily evidence of it.

¹⁷⁹ Ortega Y Gasset The Revolt of the Masses Unwin Books: London, 1932. p.14.

¹⁸⁰ There seems, for instance, to have been a much higher percentage of unions in the community that were consent relations rather than 'churched' relations.

¹⁸¹ Robert Lynd Forward to R.A. Brady Business as a System of Power 1943 p. xii. Cited in Ralph Miliband The State in Capitalist Society Weidenfeld and Nicolson: London, 1969. p. 74. Miliband also cited K. Kautsky The Social Revolution 1903 p. 13. 'The capitalist class rules but does not govern. It contents itself with ruling the government.' (p. 55 in Miliband)

The inequalities in the market system are systematic, but this system has no real existence apart from the people producing it. The system gets its energy only from the relationships that are formed within it and these relationships give it shape, the relationships that people have with the natural universe, the relationships that people have with themselves, the relationships that people have to each other.

The process of development has to do with the development of new relations between individuals and groups within the social order. The stigma that the people in Black Point began to carry was, it seems to me, not just a function of this process but an essential part of it. Deviance, as Emile Durkheim pointed out, is a social necessity. Judgment and punishment act as social deterrents.¹⁸² Other people learn what happens if they if don't behave and they learn how they are 'not supposed to behave'. They learn to put as much social distance as is possible between themselves and the groups who are considered deviant.

The stigma that the people in Northern Cape Breton had to carry around in their relations with the larger society was a social device that taught people to be ashamed of who they were. People became ashamed of who they were in the eyes of the church, the school, and the world outside; they were ashamed of their language, their patterns of marriage, landholding and even work. Goffman noted what happened to a person who is stigmatized:¹⁸³

(T)he standards he has incorporated from the wider society equip him to be intimately alive to what others see as his failing, inevitably causing him, if only for moments, to agree that he does indeed fall short of what he really ought to be. Shame becomes a central possibility, arising from the individual's perception of one of his own attributes as being a defiling thing to possess, and one he can readily see himself as not possessing.

The stigma that the people in the MacKinnon family began to carry around in the local community arose not because other family groups were afraid of their differences, but because of they were afraid of their essential similarities:¹⁸⁴

¹⁸² Emile Durkheim (ed. George Simpson) *Emile Durkheim* (Selected Works) New York: Thomas Y. Crowell, 1963.

¹⁸³ Erving Goffman *Stigma* Englewood, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, 1963. p.7

¹⁸⁴ Interview with M. MacKinnon.

'Black Pointer' is used in a very distasteful manner. It's almost like the word 'nigger' [for] the Black People. It makes you feel like you're second class, you're dirty. It's hardly ever used in a good way. I would use the word as just like the Bay, or it's just the place that I'm from. It doesn't mean anything bad to me, but to other people, when they say 'Black Pointer', they don't mean it's a good—they don't use it in a good way at all. Very mean, that's one word to describe it. Usually they think that it's gonna hurt you. It's used in a hurtful manner. People from Black Point use it, but, well, they do when they're joking, in a joking manner, but not to be mean. They say, 'Well are you proud to be a Black Pointer, bla bla bla' You say, 'Ya, I'm proud to be a Black Pointer'. There's a lot of people that will not say they're from Black Point. Go and say they're from somewhere else, just to, just so you don't get grief, what they usually get when they say they're from Black Point—prejudice.

It seems to me that ultimately the Gaelic people in the district were unable to articulate an oppositional culture strong enough to resist English cultural hegemony, because they became divided in themselves, and they turned against themselves and each other.¹⁸⁵

The capacity of a people to resist domination lies, in part, in their cultural unity, and that this unity is not based on a common depth of oppression or impoverishment nor, perhaps, even in a shared ideological commitment to oppose oppression, nor, definitely in shared abstract images such as ethnic identity. The core of culture lies in how people conceptualize their relations to each other-- the claims people make on each other, the deference's towards each other's claims, and the concerns and caring people have for one another.

The label 'Black Pointer' has little to do with identifying where a particular person was born or raised. People from Rory MacKinnon's family were born in Sugar Loaf while other members of the kin group were born in Sydney Mines. No matter where they were born, though, they were still identified as 'Black Pointers'. This was a mark that was carried in the blood.¹⁸⁶

¹⁸⁵ Gerald Sider *Culture and class in anthropology and history* Cambridge University Press: Cambridge, 1986. p. 21

¹⁸⁶ Interview with E. MacKinnon. Also Interview with S. Fraser:
Just the other night before last I was in a house and they said something . Some car was stopped up the road and out of gas or something. And the man in the house said 'You know, it's that Black Pointer'. And I said 'He's not a Black Pointer. He is from Bay St. Lawrence.' Not that they shouldn't be proud. But I knew that it was in a derogatory way that it was said so I had to get right back.

E. MacKinnon People treat me perfect first, but when they realize where , who I am, and where I was from, they treat me like I was a nothing....People in Baddeck, people in the Bay, people almost everywhere.

People who were labeled in this way were treated as 'untouchables' and marked as if by some sort of social pathology. Children from the MacKinnon family first learned this lesson in school from the teachers and other students:¹⁸⁷

They downgraded the kids from Black Point awful bad. Well, I remember some things we used to say and the teachers would say that it was slang. If I said them, they would say, 'Is that a Black Point word or what?' We use to say like clear blue', and they would say, 'That must have come from Black Point'....Then, later, my kids would come home from school and ask me if there was such a person as Annie Oakley in Black Point because they heard that people used to shoot one another up there.

People in Meat Cove were also stigmatized.¹⁸⁸ Within the local district, however, they have a higher status. I believe that this is a function of their involvement with the Catholic Church and the Catholic social network. The people in both Meat Cove and Black Point maintained a way of life that other people in the district were moving away from. They had their own standards and their own laws that had little to do with those in the dominant society. One woman originally from outside the area who has lived off and on in the Black Point-Meat Cove area for the last 40 years commented on the local perspective:¹⁸⁹

The only laws the people followed, aside from observing the Sabbath, were the natural laws by which they lived, the rhythm of other people, the laws of Nature. The law of government, a very organized government, was not theirs. It was considered an intrusion. They had their own morality and

¹⁸⁷ Interview with M.J. MacKinnon

¹⁸⁸ Recently the 911 system came into effect and everyone was given a civic address. Everyone living on the road from St. Margaret's Village to Meat Cove was given an address on what was called the Meat Cove Road. This was extremely disturbing to some of the people who lived between St. Margaret's Village and Capstick. White residents who lived near Preston, a Black community outside of Halifax, were also disturbed when their civic addresses connected them to the Preston community.

¹⁸⁹ Interview with a part time resident of the Meat Cove/ Black Point area, who originally came from outside the area but who has lived in the area off and on from the late 1950's to the present. A few people from outside the area, most of whom were university academics, bought land in Northern Cape Breton in the 1950's and 1960's. They often lived in the area for months at a time. After a few years, if they learned to understand and appreciate aspects of the local perspective, they were given a special place in the communities where they settled.

their own ethics. When you were hungry, you sought food and there was lots of deer. There was not a season for hunting. You saw nothing wrong with killing an animal if they were hungry...as a source of food. The food was never wasted. When you wanted alcohol you made the home brew. You didn't buy it, that wasn't part of the same organization of life. You cut logs and built your own house. You walked if you didn't have a car or you got a ride with the mailman. Or you took your boat, if you wanted something from the store at Bay St. Lawrence, or it was the catalogue you bought from. You had no reason to go to the outside world except maybe to see the doctor. The children were educated right here. A few would go to boarding school far away, but hardly any of them lasted because it was such a strange life...It was a unified whole. People were related to each other and so it was really like an extended family. You knew where you belonged and the children could go to any house and they would get fed and taken care of. That was part of the way of behaving. No one ever went hungry...It was very different from outside. The people who married into the community, even from the Bay, were still from far away. If you weren't from here but married into it from outside, you were an outsider. If there was no kinship line somehow you almost remained an outsider...People didn't look up to people from the outside. They made fun of them.

The judgments that one group of people make about other people and their behavior are relative to their particular social perspective, but the power of the state and the people who control it are not.¹⁹⁰ For the state has the power to compell, to fine, to jail, and to punish by economic or social sanctions that are more subtle but no less coercive. English hegemony in Northern Cape Breton was established through social structures like the school and the church and systems like the roads and the mail. These social structures and systems became social institutions at the point that people begin to recognize and internalize their rules and standards.

Historically, there is nothing particularly unusual about this whole process. As a social device, ridicule and shame have been used not only to keep people in line but also to cultivate certain lines of thought and feeling. In the modern social

¹⁹⁰ See Howard Becker Outsiders New York: The Free Press, 1963. p. 15.

Social rules are the creation of specific social groups. Modern societies are not simple organizations in which everyone agrees on what the rules are and how they are to be applied in specific situations. They are, instead, highly differentiated along social class lines, ethnic lines, occupational lines and cultural lines. The groups need not and, in fact, often do not share the same rules.....Insofar as the rules of various groups conflict and contradict one another, there will be disagreement about the kind of behavior that is proper in any situation.....Differentials in the ability to make rules and apply them to other people are essentially power differentials (either legal or extralegal) Those groups whose social position gives them weapons and power are best able to enforce their rules.

process, prejudice and ridicule often have a spatial aspect that is related to the privilege inherent in a modern conception of space.

For instance, people living in the central Canadian heartland tell jokes and stories about the people living outside of it. People living on the mainland tell jokes and stories about the Cape Bretoners and Newfoundlanders.¹⁹¹ In southern Cape Breton, they tell funny stories about the people living 'down north' in the areas beyond Kelly and Smoky mountains, and especially about those in the Meat Cove area at the very 'end of the road'¹⁹²

These circles of ridicule radiate out and ripple, like water in a puddle after small stones or seeds are tossed. But if there is a central point to all of it that center is located in Ottawa and not in Cape Breton. People in Meat Cove or Black Point might make fun of 'outsiders', but no one pays much attention, nor does it affect people in Ottawa the least bit.

The jokes that were and are told about people affects them. Ask people from the area who have gone away to school or work outside of it about the jokes and remarks that are made as soon as people hear where they were from.

¹⁹¹ For instance: There are many of these jokes and stories. Here are a few of them. There was a Cape Bretoner who wanted to get in to watch the Olympic games but when he got there they told him that there were no more tickets left. He was very disappointed but while he was standing there he noticed that various people came by in uniform and they were let in after they identified themselves. He didn't have any kind of uniform but he did have an idea. He picked up a roll of fencing that he saw on the ground put it on his shoulder and when he got to the gate he said: MacGregor, Cape Breton, Fencing. 2. A Cape Breton fishermen won the million dollar lottery but he decided not to take prize because he figured it would interfere with his 'pogey'. (his unemployment benefits) 3. A Newfoundlander won the lottery and a CBC reporter asked him what he was going to do with it. His reply, 'Why I guess I'll just try to keep fishing till it's all gone.' 4. There were three guys traveling together, one from Toronto, one from England and one from Cape Breton. One day they were walking in the mountains and they came on an old bottle. When they rubbed it a genie appeared who told them that they each had one wish that would allow them to change into whatever they wanted. The only catch was that they had to jump off the mountain but when they reached bottom they would be transformed. The Torontonion came up first and as he jumped he yelled out that he wanted to be a Prime Minister. The fellow from England came next and he yelled out that he wanted to be a King. The Cape Bretoner came next. He ran to the edge and jumped. The only trouble was that he tripped on a branch and yelled out 'Oh shit'.

¹⁹² A very small place, Meat Cove has a very big reputation. When people outside the local community say Meat Cove, they usually seem to mean people living 'down that way', that is, anywhere in the Bay St. Lawrence district. See Lori Vitale Cox *New Maritimes Magazine Meat Cove Revisited*. A man from Sydney told me the following story:

I went down to Meat Cove when I was working for a finance company and I went down to repossess a car, a new car it was, but when I down there, the car had been stripped. No battery, no tires, no seats, not even a fan belt. Every single thing that was of any use had been taken off of it and no one knew any thing about it. So I just left it where it was and made my report. Well wasn't it just a few weeks later that I heard from someone who lived down that way that, by the afternoon of the day I left, they had that car back on the road and running. It wasn't more than a few hours, they said.

This prejudice and ridicule begin to work internally. As Gramsci noted, ruling class control is primarily a function of cultural hegemony and only secondarily a function of military and political power.

In the modern social order, people are taught to discipline themselves. They began to be trained at a very early age to put themselves under a kind of internal surveillance, as Nietzsche said, so that they shape themselves into the forms that the society requires them to be.¹⁹³ They learn to do this whether they really want to or not. Freud's super-ego, as an internal eye.

This is not to say that people's relationship to their traditional language culture was fully articulated. People felt compelled to move away from their traditional culture but they also valued what they were losing.¹⁹⁴

No, they shared everything, as not. When I moved, I found it very funny and strange to see my neighbors putting in seed (potato seed), just one fella pulling the plow and driving; nobody planting seed. I remember when H. was a little girl, I said to them (their children,) 'Go over and help them drop seed.' So used we were. Accustomed to that. When I left, it was drilled in me to help one another. But it was a different standard of way here. But you get used to it.

This man's attitudes were contradictory. He talked about how he first left his community to go to work in the mines:¹⁹⁵

I went to Sydney Mines and worked every winter while the rest stayed home. To make a few dollars extra and worked like a dog. Like the health I had then. Got up in the morning, haul coal before daylight and everything. Probably we had a lot more initiative probably than a lot of fella's. Not putting them down or anything but we tried to get ahead. Get a truck and a car and so on. But there was no other way to make a living. There was no unemployment insurance or anything. And they just cut wood in the winter, and got their wood. That was mostly...But they all helped each other in sawing it up. As far as being poor, though, that's in every community. Some make it and some don't. There's a lot of hard luck too.

This man valued the old days of sharing and working together, but he also considered the people who continued to maintain traditional patterns to be lacking in initiative and also in a competitive edge that makes some people want

¹⁹³ Friedrich Nietzsche *On the Genealogy of Morality* Cambridge University Press: Cambridge, 1994. p.99 Part III Section 15.

¹⁹⁴ Interview with resident.

¹⁹⁵ Ibid

to 'get ahead'. He thinks people are foolish for not helping each other, but also foolish for staying home to help each other.

This idea that the people who stayed in an area like Northern Cape Breton lacked initiative was often expressed by social scientists and social service professionals. These people equated material ambition with intelligence. They believed that the people who remained were 'left behind' so to speak.¹⁹⁶

There was a selective migration too, perhaps. The ambitious people would migrate to a different standard of living. Those wanting more things moved away. Certain people would not have these qualities so the population has been gradually depleted. So you have to look at what is left against this kind of background.

In reality, though, the people who decided to stay in the area seem to have had good reasons for it.¹⁹⁷

The city was a good place to live, but I didn't like working there. I would rather do what I'm doing here-- fishing. It's a little hard but you get a little time to yourself--more then you would get working in a factory. A lot of days...if you don't feel like going out you stay ashore for the day and work at something else--cut wood, or do something round your buildings, the horses, get ready for the next season of lobsters, ready for trawling between days of jigging. There's always sometime to do. It's good to be your own boss. You got to drive yourself...The main reason why most people fish is because you're you're own boss.

It may be that people stayed in the area because they liked to be their own bosses and to exercise their own initiative. The issue here doesn't seem to be lack of ambition, but independence, and a quality of life that is more rewarding.¹⁹⁸

Well I was happier in Meat Cove as a community than in New Waterford. It was a different life altogether. In New Waterford, you couldn't go out in the woods or hunting. You just had the mine and work. Then, after that, I went away to the war.

It seems quite reasonable a person would choose the woods and the water of Meat Cove and Black Point and not the mines, the factories and the wars of New Waterford and beyond.

¹⁹⁶ Interview with sociologist.

¹⁹⁷ Interview with A. Bonnar.

¹⁹⁸ Interview with A. Fraser

Chapter 4: Moving On Down the Road: The Mechanics of Relocation

Prologue: The Relocation of the People of St. Kilda

In 1930, more than 30 years before the relocation process began in Black Point, a small community of Gaelic families from Hirta, St. Kilda, an island located in the Outer Hebrides of Scotland, was relocated to the mainland.¹ None of the families on the island wanted to leave, but they believed that they had no other choice.

In his study of the St. Kilda relocation, Steel (1975) noted that 'the strength of the community' seemed to 'weaken as contact with the mainland increased.'² Social service and health professionals thought that relocation was in the best interests of the people, especially the children, who they believed, would have many more opportunities on the mainland. Officials also thought that it was in the best interests of the state. From 1925 to 1930, the British government had spent an average of 455 pounds per year on St. Kilda 'in providing the St. Kildans with a nurse and a postal service'.³ After a particularly difficult winter, the Public Health Nurse and the Minister who served the island convinced the people of St. Kilda to move. The government took little responsibility for providing the island with what were considered essential services in other areas. There were no paved roads, no electricity, no elementary schools on the island. This is not to say that the people on St. Kilda needed these systems, but many people, like the Health Nurse, thought that they did. A large part of the people's decision to move had to do with the fact that there were no schools for the children on the island.

Steel (1975) reported, however, that none of the children from the Island who relocated ended up with more than a few years of elementary schooling. They could have obtained this, he said, from the minister who tutored them on St. Kilda. Actually not too many children ended up in school. Many died after the

¹ Tom Steel *The Life and Death of St. Kilda* Glasgow: Fontana/Collins, 1975. See also Alan Small (editor) *A St. Kilda Handbook* Dundee: University of Dundee, Department of Geography, Occasional Paper No. 5, The National Trust for Scotland, 1979.

² Ibid. Steel (1975) p. 10.

³ Ibid. They were, Steel (1975) said, obsessed with the costs of maintaining St. Kilda.

move to the mainland. Their immune system wasn't capable of dealing with mainland disease.⁴

The St. Kildans had noticed many years before that they got sick whenever they came in contact with people from the mainland. But no one seemed to listen to them. For instance, in reading Johnson's and Boswell's accounts of their journey to the Hebrides in 1772, I came across a discussion the two men had about the inhabitants of St. Kilda. Samuel Johnson was laughing at the people who lived on the island because they believed that whenever strangers visited they became ill.⁵

How can there (said he) be a physical effect without a physical cause?'- He added, laughing, 'the arrival of a ship full of strangers would kill them; for if one stranger gives them one cold, two strangers must give them two colds; and so on in proportion'...He said the evidence was not adequate to the improbability of the thing; that if a physician, rather disposed to be incredulous, should go to St. Kilda, and report the fact, than he would begin to look about him. They said, it was annually proved by McLeod's steward, on whose arrival all inhabitants caught cold. He jocularly remarked 'the steward always comes to demand something from them and so they fall a coughing'

Not long after Johnson's and Boswell's visit to the community, travelers to the island brought with them a form of infant tetanus that killed off most of the island's children. Within a few generations there were few young people to support the older members of the community.⁶ After the move to the mainland, there was hardly anyone left at all.

Johnson's lack of sensitivity was an integral part of the training of the senses that professional men received and continue to receive in their formal education. Schooling often seems to bring with it a kind of *hubris*⁷ that deafens and deadens the simple humility of the senses. More often than not, experts fail to ask people or even to listen to what they have to say about their experience.

⁴ Ibid. pp. 200-237.

⁵ S. Johnson and A. Boswell. Johnson's Journey to the Western Islands of Scotland and Boswell's Journal of a Tour to the Hebrides (1773) (ed. R.W. Chapman). Oxford University Press: London, 1971 pp. 346-7.

⁶ Op. cit. Steel (1975)

⁷ *Hubris* is a greek word that means a kind of pride. Aristotle used it to describe the tragic flaw, of heroes like Agamemnon or Oedipus—who have a kind of pride that has tragic consequences.

Sometimes, they don't seem to listen to their own. For the people in small communities like St. Kilda, this can be fatal.

◇

About 25 years after the removal of the people from St. Kilda, the government decided to build a guided missile range on the island for 20 million pounds. Roads, electricity, running water, and sewage systems were installed for the men who ran the station. There was a boat service for supplies and a helicopter service for medical emergencies. Around the same time, a heritage group decided to restore and preserve the St. Kildans' cottages for the tourists who came to the island to photograph the sea birds nesting there.

Moving On Down the Road: The Mechanics of the Relocation

Somebody Turned on The Lights

In 1956, the government finished the construction of a land bridge across the Strait of Canso, connecting Cape Breton to the mainland. Rory MacKinnon, Alexander MacKinnon's son, was one of the pipers who led a parade of people celebrating the opening by marching down the road, across the new causeway, and onto mainland Canada.⁸

Around the same time Northern Cape Breton was also connected to the North American electric power grid. One of the elders in the area told me that, when power came, the area was transformed; it was as if someone turned on the lights, and suddenly it was so bright people could hardly see.⁹ By the 1960's, much of the district seemed to be in a state of alteration,¹⁰ if not 'improvement'.¹¹ Usually, however, these improvements were funded only as far as Capstick.

Throughout the 1950's people in Northern Cape Breton continued to be quite isolated.¹² In the good weather, the coastal steamer the *Aspy* made its regular weekly runs, but often in the winter when the drift ice packed in and the roads were buried under snow there were few lines of transportation or communication open, either in or out. There were no daily newspapers, no

⁸ Angus Dann MacKinnon, his nephew said that his brother Sandy was working down there at the time. He had a truck and he drove Rory down. Angus said the Rory played a tune called the Golden Slippers. Rory had moved from the Lowlands and lived in Sugar Loaf which is in the very Southern part of the Bay district. Sandy, who married one of Rory's daughters, also moved and raised his family in Sugar Loaf.

⁹ Interview with J. MacEvoy. We talked about the power of second sight that is common in the Highland tradition. It seems that when electrical power came to the area people were plugged into such a different world that they lost that kind of connection.

¹⁰ By the mid-1950's, power came to the Bay district and telephones were installed. In 1957, for instance, there were listings for people in Bay St. Lawrence, St. Margaret's Village and Capstick but none in Black Point or Meat Cove. In 1958 there were listings in Meat Cove for: Simon George MacLellan, D.A. MacLellan, Allen J. MacLellan, J. Angus Fraser, Alec J. MacEachern and the Meat Cove School. There was also a listing in Black Point for Mrs. Simon W MacKinnon. See *Telephone Directories 1956-1960* Holdings at Cabot Archives.

¹¹ Jane Austin *Persuasion in Northanger Abbey and Persuasion* Oxford: University Press, 1971. Chapter 5. During the 19th century 'improving' movement in England Jane Austin described a landowner, who had improved his economic but not necessarily his moral state, in this way.

¹² Actually many people on the Northern tip of Cape Breton lived without power until the late 1960's.

libraries, and no buses¹³. Mail came in only once or twice a week and there were only a handful of T.V.'s. because reception was so poor.¹⁴

In the 1950's, a group of people called the *Cape North Farmers' Association*¹⁵ petitioned the Victoria County Council for improved steamship service and also year round road access to the Northern districts. The members of the Farmers Association wanted to be able to market their butter and other farm produce more easily. Eventually, they succeeded; by 1960, people were finally able to truck out their butter out all year round.¹⁶ The organization, however, ceased to exist soon after.

The year round road was able to bring much more butter into the area than it carried out. It also continued, at an alarming rate, to carry out the young people who had helped make the butter and feed the cows.¹⁷ A steady stream of people from Cape Breton continued to go down the road along with any source of natural wealth—fish, coal, lumber and gypsum— that could be exploited in factories on the mainland.¹⁸

¹³ In the 1960's there was a small bus that operated from Dingwall to Sydney. It went two or three times a week and picked up things for people. But Dingwall was miles away from Black Point and from the very Northern tip of the island.

¹⁴ In 1965 there were only two TV's in the Bay district. See Cape Breton Post April 19, 1965 *Living Standard Topic of Survey*. Some people in the area were working to get an antenna put up so that reception would improve. At the time one of the elder's in the district who had a way with words, was asked how he liked the TV. 'Well', he said, it must've snowed at least four inches last night.'

¹⁵ Cabot Archives *Minutes of the Cape North Farmers Association (1949-1960)*. Most of the families from the Bay district who were involved were Catholic. Families from the Bay district included the Kanarys, Capsticks, MacDonalds, Curtis, and MacNeils. There were no MacKinnons. Fraser's, MacEachern's or MacLellans listed. In the 1950's, this group petitioned the County Council to bring in electric and snow removal services as far as the Capstick area.

¹⁶ Ibid. *Minutes of the Cape North Farmers Association 1959* No one from Meat Cove or Black Point joined this group. There were, however, a number of families involved from the Bay.

The need of a year round good transfer to service the area was discussed and while the *S.S. Aspy* was fairly dependable and had reasonable rates she only operated for a certain part of the year. The general feeling was that if the government could be induced to pay the *S.S. Aspy* subsidy to a trucking outfit the area would get steady and cheap transportation rates.

¹⁷ The population of Victoria County hit its peak in 1891 with 12,432. In 1961, there were only 8,216 people enumerated. See the *Halifax Chronicle-Herald* Oct. 4, 1966 *Too Many Too Young, Too Many Too Old Part of CB's Economic Dilemma* by Father Andy Hogan. This was one part in a three part series. It was the reprint of a paper that was concerned with the 'the slow strangulation of areas (like Cape Breton) with an undiversified and declining economic base.'

¹⁸ Even the steel mill in Sydney produced only 'raw' steel which was then shipped out to be made into nails or finished products elsewhere. See Don MacGillvary and Brian Tennyson

It was in the 1950's and 1960's, that the state began to take a more and more active role in promoting the development of industry, and also in instituting programs to alleviate the effects of that kind of development. In the fisheries, the state heavily subsidized the development of an off-shore dragger fleet.¹⁹ This fleet could compete in the world market but it put such pressure on the North Atlantic stocks, that, by 1960, there were few fish left to catch in small fishing communities like Black Point or Bay St. Lawrence.²⁰

(Editors). Cape Breton Historical Essays Sydney, Nova Scotia: C. of C.B. Press 1980 Also I. Wallerstein The Origins of the Modern World System. N.Y. Academic Press, 1974

¹⁹ By the 1950's, government policies had helped subsidize and promote a Canadian fleet of mid and off-shore draggers. These joined an international fleet in exploiting the North Atlantic cod stocks. In 1944, the Royal *Commission on Provincial Development and Rehabilitation Report on the Canadian Atlantic Sea fishery* suggested that the fishery be built up along industrial lines. Stewart Bates, the author, believed that the fishing industry was 'underdeveloped' because it was undercapitalized. He also suggested that government regulations on the fleet, like the trawler restrictions of the 1930's, adversely affected growth. In response to this report Nova Scotia created the Fisheries Division of the Department of Trade and Industry and the Nova Scotia Fisheries Loan Board. The loan board launched a program for independently owned, medium sized longliners and draggers. Between 1947 and 1960, 125 longliners and 34 draggers were built in Nova Scotia. In 1947 the Canadian Vessel Construction Assistance Act also established federal subsidies for large boat development. Between 1947 and 1965 this resulted in 32 vessels being added to Nova Scotia's offshore fleet. By 1968-1969, federal vessel construction assistance programs had aided in the construction and acquisition of 285 vessels between 25 and 99.9 gross tons in NS alone. See Gene Barrett's article in C. Lamson and A. Hanson (editors) Atlantic Fisheries and Coastal Communities Halifax: Dalhousie Ocean Studies Programme, 1984. p. 79. Also Anthony Davis Dire Straits: The Dilemmas of a Fishery ISER: Memorial University St. John's, 1991. p. 73.

²⁰ In 1966, Archie MacLean from Extension wrote a letter and report on the fisheries in the Bay district. He discussed what he called the 'serious downward trend from year 1953 to 1963 in groundfish landings'. See RG 30-3/2/8384 Holding at St. F.X. Archives. See also Raymond Rogers *Conservation and Development: The Case of Canada's East Coast Fishery* M. A. Thesis: York University, 1991. pp. 25, 32.

The thirty years that followed the 2nd World War were marked by the industrialization of the global fishery and a global open-access situation. There was a rapid expansion of the international distant water fleets in the 1950's and 1960's. Spain, Poland, Germany, Britain, Portugal, Russia, Japan, Canada, and the United States built new fleets of stern trawlers that were equipped with refrigeration, radar, sonar, hydraulics (dragger gear). With the new technology the fishery changed from a labour intensive industry to a capital intensive one. There was also increased demand for fish with the development of fast food industry and the capacity to store fish with innovations in refrigeration and freezing technologies. Although an international body the ICNAF--The International Commission on Northwest Atlantic Fishery-- was established in 1949 to set quotas and regulate the international fishery, they had no enforcement capability. This increase in technology and demand quickly led to the decimation of the Northwest Atlantic Fish stocks. Global catch grew from 1,846,000 tonnes in 1946 to a high of 4,599,000 tonnes in 1975. (From ICNAF Statistical Bulletins)...The fishery was exploited to the point of collapse before there was any serious consideration of resource planning. Essentially this was crisis management.

By 1960, A. Bonnar said, the fishery in the Bay district had completely 'bottomed out'.²¹ Transfer payments to the region increased through social welfare programs like U.I.C.²² Development worked in Cape Breton somewhat like an addiction. What people thought of as the answer, in the end, turned out to be the problem.²³

In other parts of the world, traditional fishing families are called artisanal fishers. We have no such name to distinguish fishing families who are still trying to maintain their traditional patterns and relationships to each other and to the fishery resource. Without a name, artisanal fishers do not exist as far as state policy is concerned. They are not protected by the state as they are in some other parts of the world. In fact, fisheries policy in Canada in recent years is displacing them, as farm policy displaced the family farm not too long ago. See Ralph Surette *Why the Farmer is Dying* The Last Post, November, 1971.

²¹ Interview with A. Bonnar.

Before, when I was growing up, there was hardly any young people. Cordell, Frances, Stewart, Edward, a lot of those guys, as soon as they were old enough, they left. Because there was nothing here. The only thing the people done was lobster fish mainly. In the '50s, well it was O.K. then but by the early 60s everything went slack...There was no cod. Before they took in the 200 mile limit you could jig all day and you wouldn't get 50 lbs.... It was only 7 or 8 cents a lb. so everybody was taking off. A lot of them went to central Canada...Some more went away and work in the woods.

A Bay resident also noted:

There was no money in fishing. They got nothing for their fish other than lobsters and that was when there was no UI. So the little money they had, had to last them all year round. I'm talking about here in this community. And a lot of people had fishing, but there was no fishing then other than lobster fishing and sword fishing. Everything else was gone. There was no money in fishing. The boats that they had were no good for fishing, other than right off the shore. There was no big boats in this area then.

Romeo Le Blanc who held the Fisheries Portfolio in the Trudeau government, declared the 200 mile 'exclusive economic zone' in 1977. This gave the traditional family fishery a few years respite until Canadian management policies led to the development of Canada's own inshore dragger fleet. This fleet also had the capacity and the technology to deplete the stocks

²² Eventually, in 1957, U. I.C. benefits were extended to fishers. Cynthia Lamson and Arthur Hanson Atlantic Fisheries And Coastal Communities Halifax: Dalhousie Ocean Studies Program, 1984. p.viii.

²³ See the The Stages of Economic Growth: A Non-Communist Manifesto Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1960. pp. 4-11. Rostow talked about how the economies in what he called 'undeveloped' areas needed to 'take off'. Regional economists in the 1960's suggested that the Atlantic area had what was called a 'dual economy'. One sector in the region remained traditional while the other was fully industrialized and modern. The traditional aspects of the economy were perceived to be holding back development. See, for instance, Otto Brox The Maintenance of Economic Dualism St. John's, ISER, 1969. From the mainstream perspective in the 1950's and 1960's western style democracy allowed us to live in 'the best of all possible worlds'; that is, if there were problems, whether individual, social, or economic, it was just a matter of 'adjustment' to find the way to fix them to enable the society or the individual to 'function' properly. In sociology there were few critical voices at the heyday of 'functionalism'. C. Wright Mills was one of them. See Mills, C. Wright The Power Elite New York: Oxford University Press, 1956.

Power Politics and People New York: Ballantine Books, 1963. For a critique of the functionalist perspective in sociology see Alvin Gouldner The Coming Crisis of Western Sociology London: Heinemann, 1974.

In this chapter, I am going to look at the mechanics of the the relocation, the community development process and the development discourse that gave rise to it. The development process and development projects like the relocation have transformed the Bay district from within. These were the result of rural development policies like ARDA, the Agricultural Rehabilitation and Development Act, agencies like St. Francis Xavier Extension, and professionals working on a local level to facilitate change.

Rural Development: St. F. X. Extension in the Bay District:

In the 1960's, community development was St. Francis Xavier Extension's mandate in rural Cape Breton. Extension fieldworkers were working with people in the Bay district formulating a development plan for the area that included the development of tourism and also the development of the community of Bay St. Lawrence as the population and service center and in district.²⁴ Extension's role in the development process in the Bay and in the relocation of Black Point was informal but it wasn't neutral. G. MacNeil, a native of the Bay district, who worked in the credit union movement in Sydney and traveled with the Extension fieldworkers, commented on their role in the relocation: 'They were instrumental', he said. 'They were the cogs in the wheel that kept things going.'²⁵

In the late 1950's, development for the people at Extension meant modernization. In the late 1950's, the three cooperatives in the Bay--the Victoria Fisheries Coop, the Bay St. Lawrence Credit Union, and the Central Co-op Store, all began to have financial difficulties.²⁶ The depletion of the fish stocks meant that fishing families in the community had little money to spend at the Co-op

²⁴ See, for instance, Cape Breton Post April 19, 1965 *Living Standard Topic of Survey*. The land in Black Point was perfect for tourist development and the deep water harbour in the Bay was perfect for a larger scale fisheries operation than the fishers in Black Point had. The Department of Welfare researcher noted in an interview that, in the 1960's, the local leaders in the Bay district wanted to start to clean the Black Point area up. 'Getting rid of the eye-sores, in the top tourist territory, was how they perceived it at the time.', she said.

²⁵ Telephone interview with George MacNeil. He often traveled up to the Bay with the Extension team.

²⁶ See holdings at the St. Francis Xavier Archives. Bay St. Lawrence Credit Union RG 30-3/4/2784-2795 Victoria Co-op Fisheries RG 30-3/2/8252-8287 Central Co-op RG 30-3/2/8250-8252. Fishery Letters RG 30-3/2/8381-8382 The operations of the Bay St. Lawrence Credit Union were even suspended for a year in the late fifties. The Victoria Fisheries Co-op, which included fishers in the entire North of Smoky area, faced a deficit because of the poor situation in the fisheries, the competition from Maritime Packers and the lack of interest among the fishers.

store or to save at the Credit Union. Extension experts advised the local co-op boards to re-structure the co-ops so they were more efficient.²⁷

In 1961, Jimmy Barbarita, one of the leaders in the Bay community²⁸, was hired by St. F. X. as a fieldworker, to help modernize and re-organize all three.²⁹ Father Roach, who worked with the Extension office in Sydney noted:³⁰

Barbarita worked part time for Extension. He was a businessman in the bush. He was working with fishers, helping manage the credit union and the co-op store and the fish co-op to help straighten them out. He was hired by Extension in that capacity.

On the advice of Barbarita and Extension, the directors of the retail co-op decided to stop giving credit.³¹ This worked, however, to change the essential nature of the exchange relations in the district. The co-ops had been operating, like the old merchant stores, on a credit basis.³² This was important to the people

²⁷ See holdings at the St. Francis Xavier Archives. Jimmy Barbarita RG 30 3/26/1-27, RG 30 2/8/ 7-9, RG 30 2/4/15-18, RG 30 2/6/26-40, RG 30 2/12/ 1-3 Central Co-op RG 30-3/2/8250-8252 Holdings at St. F. X. For instance in the fall of 1957, two men, Mr. MacKinnon and Mr. MacLennan were sent from Extension to help the Directors of the Central Co-op store.

²⁸ This term was used constantly in the development literature at the time.

²⁹ See holdings at the St. Francis Xavier Archives. G 30-2/6/28 Letter from Reddy MacDonald to Rev. J.N. MacNeil dated Oct. 22, 1963. Jimmy Barbarita, had grown up in Cambridge, Massachusetts, and had married into one of the Highland families in the district. He lived in the area on and off for 30 years.

³⁰ Telephone interview with Father Roach, Extension Fieldworker in the Sydney office. He worked mainly with Credit Unions. See also holdings at the St. Francis Xavier Archives. Jimmy Barbarita RG 30 3/26/1-27, RG 30 2/8/ 7-9, RG 30 2/4/15-18, RG 30 2/6/26-40, RG 30 2/12/1-3 The fishery was Barbarita's main focus. In a letter dated Dec., 1960 Rev. J.A. Gillis, who was director of Extension at the time, noted that Jimmy Barbarita's official job was 'St. F. X. Extension Department fieldworker with permission from me to help put the Victoria Fisheries Co-op on its feet.' By 1961, despite continued difficulties with the fisheries resource and the market, all three cooperatives were showing 'substantial gain(s)' as Barbarita noted in his annual report. See RG 30-2/26/12a Annual Reports James Barbarita

³¹ See Central Co-op RG 30-3/2/8250-8252 Holdings at ST. F. X. A Mr. In the fall of 1957, two men, Mr. MacKinnon and Mr. MacLennan were sent from Extension to help the Directors of the Central Co-op store. They suggested that the financial difficulties facing the store centered around the 'accounts receivable'. They suggested that the store reduce its accounts receivable, that is, try to stop giving credit to the people in the community and to collect on their bills. They also suggested that the store become a 'self-service' outlet instead of the clerk serving the customers one by one. 'In short ... if you are to save your store, operations must be much more efficient.'

³² See holdings at the St. Francis Xavier Archives. Jimmy Barbarita RG 30 3/26/1-27, RG 30 2/8/ 7-9, RG 30 2/4/15-18, RG 30 2/6/26-40, RG 30 2/12/ 1-3 Bay St. Lawrence Credit Union RG 30-3/4/2784-2795 Victoria Co-op Fisheries RG 30-3/2/8252-8287 Central Co-op RG 30-3/2/8250-8252. Under the old system, as noted, usually no money exchanged hands. People ordered their supplies on credit from the merchant and their accounts were balanced when they sold the merchant their fish.

in the community, because they had no source of income in the winter. It was a problem though, in terms of business. The retail co-op store found it difficult carry the same kind of debt load as the old merchant store had because the Co-op neither had the certainty of the fish as payment nor the backing of one of the large merchant houses. Their creditors expected to be paid in cash. Without credit, though, people couldn't charge tea, molasses, or flour. In the winter, when there was no fishery, they now needed U.I.C. or wage work to survive.³³

For Barbarita and the people at Extension, the retail co-op and the fish co-op were businesses. Development meant increased capacity, higher levels of capitalization, and more centralized operations.³⁴ Some of the improvements that Barbarita worked for, like the ice-machine at the wharf, helped to make the lives of all of the fishing families in the district easier. Most, however, served to change the nature of the social and material relations in the district and to promote new divisions. For instance, Barbarita helped some of the fishers in the Bay district capitalize and increase the size of their operations. This meant a few fishing families had access to larger boats with more powerful and also more destructive technology. It also meant that the threads of a new pattern of disparity began to be spun.³⁵

³³ Ibid. At the Victoria Co-op the fishers get weekly paychecks so they now have money coming in during fishing season. But the fisheries co-op continued and continues to operate on a modified version of the old system. The fishers charge everything that they need and then they pay it off gradually during the season. Sometimes they owe thousands and thousands of dollars. The co-op marks up by 10% anything that they sell their prices are higher. They also started to charge the fishers interest on the money that they owe.

³⁴ See for instance, Barbarita's monthly field reports and annual reports. RG 30-2/26/ 6-20. RG 30-2/26/6. In his annual reports, for instance, he noted that the 'long range solution (to the problem of the fisheries) was completion of a fish plant with larger boats bringing in fish from afar'.

³⁵ These threads would not be pulled tight into any kind of discernible pattern until Romeo Le Blanc, who had the Fisheries Portfolio in the Trudeau government, instituted policies to help the inshore fishery 'modernize' by subsidizing the development of an inshore fleet of draggers. Only a limited number of people in the local community got these subsidies, though. These fishers also had an opportunity to get the licenses that went along with the bigger and more powerful boats. In fact, the government often made the fisher's subsidies contingent upon their willingness to convert their traditional operations to large-scale draggers. The state also began to institute management policies that more strictly limited licensing and quotas. Some of these, like the crab licensing policy in the early 1980's, made eligibility for a license dependent on the size of a fisher's boat. Since only certain fishers in the community had been subsidized to get these boats, only certain fishers were eligible to apply for the licenses. Many traditional fishing families in the district were hesitant or unable to get involved with draggers. Their resistance had to do with that fact that 1. they believed that dragging was an extremely boring fishery that was much like a factory job 2. They were inherently conservative. The huge subsidies were tied to huge loans from the Fisheries Loan Board and some traditional fishers were uncomfortable with modern levels of debt. 3. They believed that the big draggers had been harmful to the fishery resource. History has proved

Community Development and St. F. X. Extension.

As noted in the last chapter, in some sense progress in mainstream terms was the process of instituting new forms of communicative media--newspapers, money, expert systems of knowledge. These articulated and expressed relationships that were really very different than those generated within the family and the local community. The group in the district who had the most access to these exchange media were also the people who were able to have the most control over their own lives and the lives of others. By 1960, community development in terms of Extension seemed to have more to do with getting people to accept the dominant terms of development and the forms of media that articulated and generated it than it did with getting them to work together to find local alternatives to the process.³⁶

The emphasis of Extension seemed to change in 1959 when Rev. John Allan Gillis resigned³⁷ and Bishop Joe N. MacNeil was named the new Director. On March 28th, 1963, Archie MacLean, Extension's Fisheries Fieldworker, who occasionally worked in the Bay district, wrote to Rev. MacNeil,³⁸

that their caution was warranted and yet they have been consistently denied access to the fishery resource because of their natural tendency to conserve. Government management policies have consistently worked to widen the economic and social distances between people by subsidizing the 'development' of one group of fishers in each community and then limiting the fishery access to that group.

³⁶ See RG 30-2/6/28 Some people in the community were uncomfortable with the way that Barbarita was working in the district. See letter from Reddy MacDonald to Rev. J.N. MacNeil dated Oct. 22, 1963, *Regarding the Co-op ways of doing things*.

Now I know this man Barbarita since 30 years or thereabouts a good man but a one track mind and Jimmy is out for Jimmy and he don't know co-op principles. Never studied anything on the co-op.' These are the true facts I give you Father and I can back them up. So you can guide yourself between my statement and the one you will get from Jimmy Barbarita. Throw it in the lap of the Directors of our Co-op Store and advise them to call in Reddy MacDonald, Willard Zwicker, W.P. MacLean. John H. Burton, all those fellows are farming here and they will talk for themselves.

Reddy MacDonald wrote to Father MacNeil, Director of Extension. Father MacNeil answered him and told him that he would carefully consider his complaints. Behind the scenes, though, Father MacNeil wrote to Barbarita and told him that he knew that Reddy MacDonald's complaints were unjustified. Barbarita and Father MacNeil corresponded about the best way to go about dealing with them.

³⁷ Gillis reportedly was forced to resign.

³⁸ RG 30-3/1/5455 Holdings at St. F. X. Archives. *Correspondence between Rev. J.N. MacNeil, Director of Extension and Archie D. MacLean, Fisheries Fieldworker*.

The term 'Conservation' is no longer favoured by the research people. They now speak of management or the 'wise use' of the resource so as to get the maximum sustained yield from the fishery. There is a growing concern over the economics of the industry by the research people which we may not recognize. We may have to [sic] many people and too much inefficient equipment in the fishery. We have encourage those people to improve their equipment; when they fail to do so they should be encouraged to leave the industry.

In the 1960's the 'wise use' of the state's natural and human resources had to do with the idea of maximum sustained yield'. Maximum Sustained Yield (MSY) was actually a formulation used to determine catch limits in the fishery.³⁹ The idea was to allow the maximum efficient exploitation of whatever resource was involved--whether natural or human.

This notion of growth had little to do with community or with sustaining it. The dominant development paradigm had very little to do with the local context of relationships; in accepting it the professionals at Extension were co-opted by the state.⁴⁰ The answer was not to organize the co-ops more like modern businesses but to re-organize the fishery so that it operated less like one.

The policies that grew out of the development paradigm changed the relationships of fishers to each other and to the fishery resource that they needed to survive. Wendell Berry (1977) described a similar process in the farming:⁴¹

³⁹ MSY was based on certain biological criteria that would 'ensure that no commercial fish protein was wasted.' See Raymond Albert Rogers *Conservation and Development: The Case of Canada's East Coast Fishery*. Faculty of Environmental Studies York University, North York, Ontario: Masters Thesis, 1991. See p. 51.

⁴⁰ Originally under the influence of Rev. Moses Coady, Extension had tried to maintain rural communities by encouraging people to stay in them. See Moses M. Coady Master's of Their Own Destiny New York: 1967. Coady believed that there were 'too many farmers in the coal fields' and that the shift in population from the country to the city was a mistake. In the 1930's, he wanted to relocate the miners from the city back to the country, resettling them back on the land. In the 1930's, and early 1940's the Provincial Department of Agriculture had assisted Extension in its work to keep people in their communities. As noted earlier, the cooperative movement in Bay St. Lawrence was exclusive because of its relation to the institution of the Catholic Church. The people in Black Point, or generally in the Protestant community, were not involved with it. Nevertheless the ideas of Coady and Tompkins were opposed to development in mainstream terms. They were essentially in the same tradition as those of Paulo Friere. The idea was not to change people into workers who would serve the needs of industrial society. Instead, they wanted people to have the opportunity to determine for themselves their own direction. Coady's study groups and reading rooms, for instance, were originally as much or more a part of the cooperative movement as was the marketing of fish or the balancing of books. It seems to me that this is quite similar to Friere's notion of the process of consciensization within the peasant literacy groups. See also Paulo Freire The Politics of Education New York: Bergin & Garvey, 1985 and Paulo Freire Pedagogy of the Oppressed New York: The Seabury Press, 1969

⁴¹ Wendell Berry The Unsettling of America Sierra Club: San Francisco, 1977 pp.45,46.

The concentration of farmland into larger and larger holdings and fewer and fewer hands—with the consequent increase of overhead, debt and dependence on machines is thus a matter of complex significance, and its agricultural significance cannot be disentangled from its cultural significance. It forces a profound revolution in the farmer's mind: once his investment in land and machines is large enough, he must forsake the values of husbandry and assume those of finance and technology. Thenceforth his thinking is not determined by agricultural responsibility, but by financial accountability and the capacities of his machines. Where his money comes from becomes less important to him than where it is going. He is caught up in the drift of energy and interest away from the land. Production begins to override maintenance. The economy of money has infiltrated and subverted the economies of nature, energy, and the human spirit

Human⁴² and natural resource management in terms of formulations like the 'Maximum Sustained Yield' reduce the earth and all life on it to economic efficiency in terms of the market system. Rogers (1991) reported that fisheries policies, like MSY, or TAC, (Total Allowable Quota), appear to be attempts at resource conservation, but actually lead to resource depletion.⁴³

Modern management systems tend to erode resources, because for managers like the Director of Extension Joe MacNeil and Archie MacLean, the notion of resource has more to do with production than reproduction. In dominant society, once something is identified as a resource it is exploited to the maximum. Under this kind of modern management, regeneration, abundance and creativity give way to extinction and deprivation. Vandana Shiva noted:⁴⁴

⁴² See for instance: John Bodley *Victims of Progress*. California: Cummins Publishing Company, 1975. Vandana Shiva *Staying Alive: Women, Ecology and Survival in India* New Delhi: Kali For Women, 1988. Wolfgang Sachs *The Development Dictionary* London: Zed Books 1992. Wolfgang Sachs *The Archaeology of the Development Idea* *Interculture* Vol. 23. No. 4. Fall 1990.

⁴³ Raymond Albert Rogers *Conservation and Development: The Case of Canada's East Coast Fishery*. Faculty of Environmental Studies York University, North York, Ontario: Masters Thesis, 1991. pp. 71-94. In the section called Production Models for Stock Assessment, Rogers discussed all of the states models OSY, optimum sustainable yield, FO1, the ADEPT framework, etc. None of these worked to conserve the stocks, but ended up depleting them. He reported that 'as long as a modern, consumer based and growth oriented perspective is brought to bear on the earth's natural surroundings, there will be species depletion, ecological instability, and pollution, no matter what the management framework.' p.9,10.

⁴⁴ See Vanada Shiva *Resources* in Wolfgang Sachs *The Development Dictionary* London: Zed Books 1992. p. 206. In the modern social order resources exist only in relation to their utility, that is, the use they can be to the people that want to profit from them. See also Raymond Albert Rogers *Conservation and Development: The Case of Canada's East Coast Fishery*. Faculty of Environmental Studies York University, North York, Ontario: Masters Thesis, 1991. p. 12-15. Resource development has become:

'Resource' originally implied life. Its root is in the Latin verb, *surgere*, which evoked the image of a spring that continually rises from the ground. Like a spring, a 're-source' rises again and again, even if it has repeatedly been used and consumed. The concept thus highlighted nature's power of self regeneration and called attention to her prodigious creativity. Moreover, it implied an ancient idea about the relationship between humans and nature--that the earth bestows gifts on humans who, in turn, are well advised to show diligence in order not to suffocate her generosity. In early modern times, 'resource' therefore suggested reciprocity along with regeneration. With the advent of industrialism and colonialism, however, a conceptual break occurred... 'resources' became those parts of nature which were required as inputs for industrial production and colonial trade.

The Development Paradigm

The development paradigm was born in the U.S. when President's Harry Truman's first used the word 'underdevelopment' in 1949 to describe the relation between the industrialized countries of the west and the rest of the world.⁴⁵ With colonialism the wealth of those countries that still maintained traditional forms was exploited by people who lived outside of the area. The new development mentality was going to transform these countries from within. Both, however, served the same interests; although with development a local elite was created. This new class was trained to act as managers to facilitate the development process on a local level.⁴⁶

On the national level, the development perspective gave rise to the idea that there were 'undeveloped' rural areas and that state intervention was

the process whereby the 'neutral stuff' becomes a commodity or service that society can use...The idea that living natural resources have to provide a return on investment at least equal to other sectors of society has had enormous ramifications in modern society...When something is recognized to have a utility or benefit beyond its mere existence and is therefore identified as a natural resource, a set of processes comes into play that can be identified as resource analysis, resource management, and resource development.

⁴⁵ See Documents on American Foreign Relations Connecticut: Princeton University Press, 1967. 'We must embark', Truman said, 'on a bold new program of making the benefits of our scientific advances and industrial progress available for the improvement and growth of underdeveloped areas.' Internationally, the development perspective altered the relationship between the Western industrialized nations in the world and the so-called 'undeveloped' nations of the so called Third World.

⁴⁶ I will discuss the rise of this new class in the Bay district later on in this chapter.

necessary to encourage the proper growth.⁴⁷ In the section that follows, I've listed the main assumptions of the rural development discourse in Canada in the 1960's, in the terms used to articulate it in the rural development literature.⁴⁸

- The basic principal of social order was economic growth and industrial development.
- Rural areas were economically and socially underdeveloped.⁴⁹
- Proper development was characterized by the process of centralization and industrialization and by the development of a minimum 'standard' of living.⁵⁰
- Farming and fishing were 'primary industries', which were not as profitable as secondary industries because there was a 'low price elasticity of demand for products of the farm or fishery'.⁵¹
- Farming operations needed to be capital intensive rather than labour intensive in order to be profitable and efficient in market terms.⁵²

⁴⁷ Michael Hechter (1975) suggested that development policies within the nation-state are the workings of what he called 'internal colonialism'. See his Internal Colonialism: The Celtic Fringe Berkeley: University of California Press, 1975.

⁴⁸ I've used the ARDA (Agricultural Rehabilitation and Development Act) and CCRD (Canadian Council on Rural Development) research and literature. J.A. Abramson Rural to Urban Adjustment. ARDA Research Report No. 1 Ottawa: The Queens Printer, 1965 ARDA. A Report in the Rural Development Pilot Research Region Northern New Brunswick Toronto: Lockwood Survey Corporation, 1965. CCRD. Rural Canada 1970: Prospects and Problems. Ottawa: Canadian Council on Rural Development 1969. James N. MacCrorie ARDA: An Experiment in Development Planning. Ottawa: CCRD, 1969. Pierre-Yves Pepin Life and Poverty in the Maritimes Ottawa: ARDA, 1968. Department of Welfare Black Point-Meat Cove Relocation 1970. See also Richardson, Harry Elements of Regional Economics London: Penguin, 1969.

⁴⁹ Low incomes in rural areas were perceived to lead to 'sub-standard housing and living conditions and a reduced communal tax base which, in turn, produces a low level of social infrastructure and amenities'. See CCRD. Rural Canada 1970: Prospects and Problems. Ottawa: Canadian Council on Rural Development 1969.

⁵⁰ Development planners considered that 'the larger urban industrial society is an acceptable objective' and one that would 'provide income and employment opportunities and improve the use and exploitation of natural resources in those rural areas in Canada suffering from adjustment problems due to technological change'. See James N. MacCrorie ARDA: An Experiment in Development Planning. Ottawa: CCRD, 1969.

⁵¹ Ibid.

⁵² There were too many farmers and not enough land or productive farmland to make the margins of profit of their operations high enough in business terms. See A Report in the Rural Development Pilot Research Region Northern New Brunswick Toronto: Lockwood Survey Corporation, 1965. p. 21. This same assumption is part of the fisheries management discourse.

- Surplus population needed to be channeled into urban areas or designated growth centres, where people could be 're-educated' and trained for jobs in industry.
- Relocation of the population was more efficient in terms of the state because the cost of services would decrease and revenue would increase because of the increased tax base.
- The state had the right and the responsibility to intervene to make sure that 'undeveloped areas' were developed properly, that is, the management of the human as well as the natural resources of the country was now a central concern of the state.⁵³
- Resistance to development in mainstream terms had to do with 'psychological limitations' that should be overcome.

The ARDA Ideology: Rehabilitating the Land to Make it Pay

In the new development paradigm, human beings and the resources they needed to survive were the objects of scientific and socially engineered programs designed to eliminate system malfunctions. This paradigm shaped the ideas of Archie MacLean, Rev. Joseph MacNeil and the local leaders in the Bay district. It also generated ARDA, the federal program that would fund the relocation program. ARDA, the Agricultural Rehabilitation and Development Act, had its first reading in the House of Commons in 1961.⁵⁴

ARDA, was 'An Act to provide for the Rehabilitation of Agricultural Lands and the Development of Rural Areas in Canada'.⁵⁵ It provided for:

⁵³ ARDA. *Partners in Progress*. Ottawa: The Queens Printer, 1965. p.57

Rural development calls for the planned development of both the physical and human resources of the rural community and requires the co-ordinated efforts of private enterprise and community organizations with assistance, where necessary, of all levels of government...this definition implies broad programs involving development of all resources in the area that can be utilized—both physical and human.

⁵⁴ ARDA *A Rehabilitation Program in the Making* Canada Department of Agriculture, 1961. The first reading of ARDA, Bill C-77, was on March 23, 1961. The bill was officially passed on May 31, 1961.

⁵⁵ The ARDA legislation was first introduced by the Minister of Agriculture as a resolution into the House of Commons in December, 1960. The resolution that was recorded in *The Hansard* page 819, December 15, 1960, was cited in *ARDA A Rehabilitation Program in the Making* Canada Department of Agriculture, 1961:

That it is expedient to introduce a measure to authorize the Minister of Agriculture to enter into agreements with provincial governments or agencies thereof for the undertaking jointly with those governments or agencies of projects for the alternative uses of lands that are marginal or of low productivity, projects for the development of

- The 'alternative uses of agricultural lands that (were) marginal or of low productivity';
- The 'development of opportunities for increased income and employment in rural agricultural areas'; and
- The 'improvement of standards of living in those areas.'⁵⁶

At first, it seemed as if the ARDA legislation was designed to help people in rural areas manage so that they could stay in their homes and communities. Officials said that ARDA was 'enabling legislation' designed to help the small farmer live better, not 'to impose plans or projects on communities'.⁵⁷ Minister of Agriculture, Alvin Hamilton, noted:⁵⁸

It is not the purpose of ARDA to reduce the number of farms. Those who feel that the small farm problem can be resolved by uprooting people arbitrarily from their farms, do not understand the deep attachment of rural people to their home surroundings. ARDA is designed, rather, to help by various means to improve the income and standard of living of the smaller and more marginal farms, and in that way help improve the overall position of agriculture.

income and employment in rural agricultural areas, and projects for the development of income and employment opportunities in rural agricultural areas, and projects for the development and conservation of the soil and water resources of Canada; for payment to the provinces of contributions in respect to the cost of such projects undertaken by a province or agency thereof; to authorize the Minister of Agriculture to undertake programs of research and investigation in respect of these matters; to provide for the establishment of advisory committees and the appointment of their members, and to provide for other related and incidental matters.'

⁵⁶ See holding at S.F.X. Archives. RG 30-3/19/400. *Copy of the original ARDA legislation, Bill C-77*. See also House of Commons Debates, January 25, 1961, p. 1403. National Archives Ottawa.

⁵⁷ *The ARDA- What is it?* National Farm Forum Guide Volume 19, No. 12, March 19, 1962. p.2. See also ARDA. Federal-Provincial Rural Development Agreement Ottawa: The Queens Printers, 1970: ARDA National Rural Manpower Ottawa: Department of Forestry, 1966: ARDA. Partners in Progress. Ottawa: The Queens Printer, 1965.

⁵⁸ *The ARDA- What is it?* National Farm Forum Guide Volume 19, No. 12, March 19, 1962. p.2

The ultimate reality of the ARDA legislation through the projects it funded was really quite different from the rhetoric of Hamilton's speech.⁵⁹ This became more explicit in 1969 when the original ARDA legislation was amended. On paper the new program sounded almost identical to the old,⁶⁰ except that it applied to fishing⁶¹ as well as farming communities but there was, a definite shift

⁵⁹ For the rhetoric of human resource management see ARDA. Partners in Progress. Ottawa: The Queens Printer, 1965. Preface.

Some hundreds of thousands of families in our rural areas have not yet succeeded in adapting themselves to the demands of modern life....(S)ome are trapped in regions where the natural resources are too poor to provide decent incomes. Some are trapped by lack of basic education. Some are trapped by fear of the unknown—the poorly understood dog eat dog world of urban industrialism. Some are trapped by love of the land and others by ill-health. The fact that these people remain poor in our rich society casts a grave reflection on our ability to plan for change—to provide opportunities for all or most of our citizens. One could talk in much the same way about natural resources; the Canadian lands that are not producing what they should...the great opportunities for productive enterprise that are being neglected...The basic objective of ARDA is to increase rural income and employment opportunities...See also *The ARDA- What is it?* National Farm Forum Guide Volume 19, No. 12, March 19, 1962. pp.6,7,9. There were hints as early as 1962 that ARDA planners assumed that the smallest farmers needed to be moved off the land and into other occupations.

The primary approach (of ARDA) is not to move people off the land into other occupations but rather to make other alternatives so attractive that people will want to move toward them. This would allow the remaining farmers to enlarge and consolidate their holdings and become more efficient in market terms.

⁶⁰ See House of Commons Debates, March 23, 1961 p.3264 National Archives Ottawa. A resolution to amend ARDA legislation was introduced to the Commons by Mr. H.J. Robichaud, the Minister of Fisheries, on March 18, 1966. Bill C-152 received second reading on March 31, 1966, and was passed on April 6, 1966. Bill C-152 basically provided four amendments to Bill C-77, the original ARDA legislation: 1. ARDA was extended to include all rural areas in the country and not just agricultural areas. 2. The name was changed to the 'Agricultural and Rural Development Act' from the 'Agricultural Rehabilitation and Development Act' 3. In the original legislation, the term 'Minister' meant Minister of Agriculture, but now it could mean any 'such member of the Queen's Privy Council for Canada as designated by the Governor in Council'. 4. There was provision made for money to be paid to members of advisory committees. A related bill, Bill C-151, established FRED, the Fund for Rural Economic Development Act. This authorized the Federal Government to enter into agreements with the provinces to undertake a comprehensive rural development program in a special rural development area. It established a \$50,000,000 fund in the Consolidated Revenue Fund of the Federal Government. (This was increased a few years later) It also provided for the establishment of an advisory board of not more than 19 senior officials of Federal Departments or Agencies for the purpose of reviewing proposals for comprehensive rural development programs.

⁶¹ For years the government had been working in Newfoundland to centralize the population of isolated fishing villages by resettling the people in them, although the resettlements were carried out on an individual rather than community basis. Early in the 1950's, for instance, the Department of Fisheries had implemented the Household Resettlement Program in Newfoundland, designed to resettle the scattered outport population into central locations. Regional relocation policy was supported by most of the social research that was being done at the time. Researchers sometimes questioned how state policy was being implemented, but they rarely questioned the assumptions on which it was based on. See Parzival Copes The Resettlement of Fishing Communities In Newfoundland Ottawa: Canadian Council on Rural

in emphasis. Under the new ARDA legislation, relocation was recognized as being an integral part of rural development policy and also part of ARDA's mandate.⁶² An article in the Halifax Chronicle-Herald on Jan. 13, 1965 quoted the Hon. Maurice Sauve, Minister of Forestry, and other ARDA officials:⁶³

Where local resources are simply inadequate to support the population of socially (sic) acceptable standards of living, 'the best solution is to provide for some of the people to move elsewhere to live and work... What we want to do is get more people contributing to the productive capacity of the nation and less living on wasteful welfare.' Another ARDA official explains... There will be no lessening of attention to the need for better use of farmlands in many parts of the country through such measures as consolidation of uneconomic units, the return of some acreages to woodlots or their conversion to recreational usage, the establishment of community pastures, water conservation, and soil erosion. All this will be continued under the second ARDA stage over the next five years. But, in addition, there will be provision for the rehabilitation of the underemployed and the underpaid and, where necessary, for their relocation. There will be allowances paid to such people who are prepared to take training for more productive work and for resettling these and other qualified people 'where arrangements for employment and relocation have been confirmed as sound.'... It is the hope of the administration that a

Development, 1972. Also Noel Iverson, Noel & Ralph Matthews Communities in Decline. St. Johns, Newfoundland: ISER, 1968. p. 121. Iverson and Matthews, for instance, reported that it was necessary to 'turn a peasant, subsistence-level society into a market-oriented, industrial one'. They stated that 'resettlement (was) an absolute necessity' and that it was the only way the children living in the 'outports' would manage to obtain 'the education and skills' they needed to survive in the modern world. There was, however, a change in the perspective of many regional social researchers in the early 1970's. This had to do with a general shift in sociological theory. Rostow's (1960) 'stages of development' model was giving way to the 'development and underdevelopment', 'centre and periphery' models. See for instance, Wallerstein The Origins of the Modern World System. N.Y. Academic Press, 1974. Immanuel Wallerstein World Inequality: Origins and Perspectives on the World System Montreal: Black Rose Books, 1975. Andre Gunder Frank Latin America: Underdevelopment or Revolution? London: Penguin, 1969. Regional sociologists also began to see 'development' in mainstream terms as the structural growth of 'underdevelopment' and dependency. See Ralph Matthews "There's No Better Place Than Here"- Social Change in Three Newfoundland Communities St. Johns: Peter Martin Associates, 1976. Robert Brym and James Sacouman (editors) Underdevelopment and Social Movements in Atlantic Canada. Toronto: New Hogtown Press, 1979. Ralph Matthews The Creation of Regional Dependency Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1983. Gary Burrill and Ian McKay. People, Resources and Power Halifax: Gorsebrook Research Institute, 1987.

⁶² RG 30-3/1/5458-9 Letter from Archie MacLean to Director Rev. J.N. MacNeil. MacLean. MacLean quoted George Mathews, the government officer who was directly responsible for the Black Point relocation. He worked for the Department of Public Welfare and later as Director of the Social Development Branch. It is clear that by 1964, the people at Extension and in the Department of Social Welfare were already discussing how the ARDA funding, that now supported relocation could be used in fishing communities in Nova Scotia.

⁶³ See Halifax Chronicle-Herald Jan. 13, 1965 *Second ARDA Phase Ready*.

great number of people now working part-time as fishermen, part as small farmers and part as pulpcutters will be drawn into one or other of these occupations full-time. Those that are engaged full time in one line of work usually do well. Those who scatter their efforts into two or more lines seldom do well', a spokesman explained. In other cases it will mean a complete change in the type of work, and perhaps in locality. A sub-marginal farmer living on Nova Scotia's North Shore may be encouraged into retraining as a machine operator and eventually end up working in a factory in New Glasgow.

In the 1960's, relocation was a tool the state used to eliminate traditional patterns and to help cultivate new ones. The state appeared to be in a nurturing role because it was taking more responsibility for people's social welfare, but there was compulsion involved in the process. Development planners assumed there was only one way to 'develop' or grow properly. They believed it was in everyone's best interests to persuade people to 'develop' in this way, even if it meant giving up what they believed was most important—their land, their homes, and their communities. One of the contradictions of the welfare state has to do with the fact that welfare systems are generally imposed on people not to free them from the demands of the system but to try to shape them to those demands.

The Bay St. Lawrence Development Group

Under the leadership of Rev. James MacNeil, St Francis Xavier Extension began to actively promote ARDA 's mandate in rural Cape Breton.⁶⁴ Extension fieldworkers were instructed to form 'development' groups around the island. A group of Extension Fieldworkers traveled around Cape Breton, working 'as a team' to facilitate these groups.⁶⁵ In the fall of 1964, Jimmy Barbarita and the Extension workers met with the leading members of the Bay district and

⁶⁴ See holdings at ST. F. X. Archives. RG 30-3/19/ 906-8. Extension's official connection to ARDA was primarily as a 'contractor', that is, they were hired by the ARDA Joint Task Force to conduct research. For instance, *Letter from James MacNeil, Chairman of the ARDA Joint Task Force to Rev. Joe N. MacNeil. Extension. Nov. 5, 1965.* Extension was hired to do research 'to determine the resources available in the rural areas of Northern Victoria and Inverness Counties, and the shore line area of Richmond and Guysborough Counties, and the ways in which these resources, particularly human resources, can best be developed and utilized.'

⁶⁵ See RG 30-2/173/3-16. Holdings at St. F.X. Correspondence Rev. Joseph Campbell. Father Joseph Campbell, from Extension in Sydney, who worked primarily with credit unions, began to help establish development associations in a few areas around Cape Breton. Rev. Campbell replaced Father Roach in 1963 and continued his work.

established the Bay St. Lawrence Community Development Association.⁶⁶ Barbarita organized the meetings and he also chaired them.

According to Father Joseph Campbell, who worked with Extension in Sydney and who traveled with the Extension team, tourist development, the extension of the National Park and relocation were all ideas that were proposed as part of the Bay Committee's plan.⁶⁷ 'When people are interested in helping themselves there is only one way to go and that is up' he said.⁶⁸

The rhetoric of Extension was still consistent with Coady's original ideas about the grass roots involvement of the people in the community.⁶⁹ Father Roach, one of the Extension team at the time, suggested, for instance, that the Black Point relocation project was, 'basically...the community's program...It grew out of concerns expressed by members of the Bay Development Committee.'

Extension's notion of community had become very narrow, though. The Bay Development Committee did not really reflect the ideas of most of the people living in the district. For instance, there was no one from Black Point or Meat Cove and relatively few people from the Bay community itself involved with the committee.

In theory the meetings of the Bay group were supposed to be open but in reality only the local elite participated. E. MacNeil remarked: 'There was no input from the community, even in the Bay, the public meetings were just people like

⁶⁶ It was sometimes referred to as the Bay St. Lawrence Community Improvement Association.

⁶⁷ Cape Breton Post April 19, 1965 *Living Standard Topic of Survey*.

The newly formed Bay St. Lawrence Community Development Association is out to improve living conditions in the area. The association formed last fall and enlisted the aid of St. Francis Xavier Extension Department. (Note: In reality the group was formed because of the assistance of Barbarita and St. F. of X. Extension.)

Suggestions offered by residents to improve the area include: dredging of harbour and wharf repairs, road repairs and paving to give work to the men and to permit easier access to tourists, extension of the Highlands National Park and the Cabot Trail to include all the northern areas of Cape Breton to encourage more tourists, establishment of camping facilities at several spots, establishment of an experimental sheep farm...rural renewal or relocation programs to assist people to rebuild or repair old homes...Armed with the information from the survey and 'assisted by the Extension Department the association have been actively studying ways to help themselves and seeking the assistance of provincial and federal authorities ' the survey report.

⁶⁸ Ibid.

⁶⁹ Coady's cooperative study groups were the basis of Extensions original grass roots approach to organizing. For the most part, these groups were composed of the all of the working people who made up the community.

Jim and Barbarita'. (Jim MacNeil, her brother, was the principal of the local school.)

The exclusivity of the membership really had more to do with design than chance, though. It was part of the ARDA mandate. In fact, the development groups around Cape Breton were formed by Extension in response to the ARDA program. Jimmy Barbarita even called the Bay St. Lawrence Community Development Group, 'the ARDA group' in his field reports.⁷⁰

In January, 1962, there was a meeting of Extension fieldworkers held in Truro to discuss how to 'facilitate' the development' of these ARDA groups.⁷¹ A handout from that meeting that meeting instructed:⁷²

Rural Resources Development Committee or Committees (will be) composed of extension workers, school teachers, leading farmers, executives of other industries and services, rural bankers and other credit agencies, representatives of local and provincial farm organizations, representatives of farmers' cooperatives, of provincial forestry services, of the county or municipality councils of 4-H clubs, church groups and other organizations.

I am not suggesting that ARDA did not support community involvement. Consultations and a 'community development approach' were essential to the ARDA rhetoric. The consultation process, described in the ARDA literature, though, was extremely limited not only in membership but also in the field of action that was described. This process really had more to do with limiting alternatives than with creating them, more to do with compulsion than choice.⁷³

⁷⁰ See for instance, Barbarita's monthly field reports and annual reports. RG 30-2/26/ 6-20. RG 30-2/26/6.

⁷¹ RG 30-3/19/424 p. 1 An Outline of Proposed ARDA Program Holding at St. F.X. Archives. January 4, 1962. See also ARDA Regional Planning for Depressed Rural Areas Department of Forestry and Rural Development, 1968. p. 5.

The first step (in an ARDA proposal) is the organization of the local people, through community development or social animation process, into groups for discussing their problems and suggesting program activities. As their organization becomes more sophisticated and they develop, with the help of experts, stronger views and a broader appreciation of their situation they begin to take a more active part in the planning process.

⁷² Ibid. p.2

⁷³ ARDA. Partners in Progress. Ottawa: The Queens Printer, 1965. The alternatives were limited by the expert opinion of the studies that the state provided. People had to chose between these, however, or, they were told, a plan of action would be imposed on them. People had no opportunity to question the terms of the development dialogue, but they could hardly ignore them.

In cases where the local community sets up a committee, makes full use of the studies provided, and shows real initiative, there is little doubt that the local committee will have enormous influence in determining projects, developing projects, and building a community plan. Where local committees do not take action on their own behalf, but where long term problems persist, there is little doubt that a plan will be evolved for the community.

In the late fall of 1964, John Nicholson, a sociology professor at the Sydney campus of St. F. X., began to travel with the members of the Extension team to work with the Bay group. In January of 1965, Nicholson was officially hired by Rev. MacNeil to work in the district.⁷⁴ Nicholson described Extension's community development process there:⁷⁵

(T)here were all these programs going on, right. All I was trying to do was like the old Extension method--Get people together to solve their own problems--But there is a temptation to go in and lay stuff on people. You can't do it in the meetings, so you tell J. C. about these ideas and you go to the meetings and J. C. would bring them up like they're supposed to be J. C.'s ideas. That's not right--Development schemes, development policies set up by government, by institutional bodies, by definition won't work.

Ultimately, Nicholson left Extension. He said that he felt as if he would get 'eaten up' by the organization. But at the time he was hired to do a certain job and he did it.

Nicholson's Survey

Nicholson carried out a sociological survey of the Bay district, that was supposed to be used as the basis for a local plan of action. This survey, however,

⁷⁴ See Holdings at St. F. of X. Archives Rg 30-2/6/1317-23a Nicholson was hired shortly after he completed his survey..

⁷⁵ Interview with John Nicholson. Nicholson met with the Bay group once a month until August of 1965. See also Rg 30-2/6/1317-23a Letter from John Nicholson to Director of Extension Rev. J.N. MacNeil January 20, 1965. :

As requested, I am writing to give my decision on topics of conversation of last week, that is, the Bay St. Lawrence Development Group and the Housing Survey. (in Industrial Cape Breton) I will do the Bay St. Lawrence Group. I have informed Fr. Joe A. Campbell of this, and also talked it over with him and Fr. Leonard MacKinnon, pastor. Both agree I might do okay. I have mapped out a small program which I hope to follow with the group on a monthly basis...I am asking \$50.00 per trip.

Nicholson worked with the group until July, 1965. In a letter to Rev. MacNeil, dated August 23, 1965, he submitted a copy of the Bay St. Lawrence survey and requested that \$350 be deposited to his account in Sydney because he had 'no forwarding address yet.'

attracted so much media attention to the Bay district that the 'poverty' there became a national issue. Nicholson reported that the media publicity was unintentional. He said that he never officially released the survey data. But other people did. Joe Campbell, from Sydney Extension, included detailed information from Nicholson's survey when he was interviewed for a Cape Breton Post article. This article was the first to mention the possibility of relocation in the district.⁷⁶

A few days before this article appeared, another one based on Nicholson's survey data, was published in the Halifax Chronicle Herald.⁷⁷ This report was extremely distorted. Nicholson explained that over a few drinks at the Extension offices, someone showed this Herald reporter a copy of his survey without his knowledge.⁷⁸ The people in the Bay district were outraged as were many people

⁷⁶ Interview with John Nicholson. Nicholson still refuses to release the survey even for research purposes. He did, however, give an interview in which he talked about his specific involvement with Extension and the Bay Development Committee. Information from his study was published in the Cape Breton Post April 19, 1965 *Living Standard Topic of Survey*.

The survey took in Meat Cove, Capstick, Black Point, and St Margaret's Village (Bay St. Lawrence).

Survey Information as published:

Income

73% households receive less than \$2000 a year

11% receive more than \$3,000.

per capita income \$355 a year well below national average

99% own their own home

70% own their own boats and fishing gear.

Sources Income

36% from social assistance-pensions, baby bonus, welfare

33 % from fishing

5% from farming

2% lumbering

24% teaching, storekeeping, road repairs, lighthouse, post office etc.

Household Amenities

Most people in St. Margaret's village and Capstick own washers, radios, indoor plumbing, and other appliances. Only 2 TV sets in the area but reception is nil.

Attitudes towards way of life

Only 17% felt way of life poor (Nicholson said in interview that this group had the highest per capita income)

Most felt that there were aspects of their lives that compensated for the low material standard of living.

Population

20% between 10-16 but only 9% between 16 -20

Out migration

The young people leave the area to make their living going mainly to the other areas in industrial Cape Breton, but some to Ontario and even as far as California.

⁷⁷ Halifax Chronicle-Herald April 15, 1965 *War on Poverty to Start Soon in Cape Breton*

⁷⁸ Interview with John Nicholson.

in small rural Nova Scotian communities who were subjected to this kind of media sensationalism.⁷⁹ The article claimed that:⁸⁰

Survey reports showed a shocking state of living in some of the areas. What it did not list were the private reports of a man and his wife and eight young children living in a one room house with most of the roof gone: or another house where the family slept on the ground although under a roof...The Victoria County area is a no-man's land for good living or industrial venture although there has been some drilling for minerals in the general area.

Most people living in this 'no-man's land for good living' were still quite satisfied with their way of life, though. No one, however, seemed to care much about their opinion. According to Nicholson the only people who thought the way of life in the area was poor were the local leaders, the 17% who had the highest average per capita incomes in the area.⁸¹

'Expert' Knowledge

Nicholson's research informed the relocation decision, but in an interview he noted that it was really designed as an academic exercise for his freshmen sociology class:⁸²

⁷⁹ See for instance the response of residents in Windsor, Nova Scotia in letters to the editor that they wrote to the Halifax Chronicle Herald after that newspaper published articles about the poverty and the poor in their area. For the original research and report see: Halifax Chronicle-Herald March 24, 1965 *Poverty in Windsor*. For the community response see: Halifax Chronicle-Herald April 20, 1965 *Outrageous Report*

⁸⁰ Halifax Chronicle-Herald April 15, 1965 *War on Poverty to Start Soon in Cape Breton*.

⁸¹ Interview with John Nicholson. According to the 'unofficial official' survey data in the Post story. These 17% who were dissatisfied with the way of life in the Bay district, also believed that there were aspects of their lives that compensated for the low material standard of living.

⁸² Interview with John Nicholson. Also interview with S. MacKinnon, (Different MacKinnon family) a teacher and principal in the Bay school, was a student at the time who was going to St. F. X. He knew one of the students involved with the study:

And I was rooming with one of the fellows that was involved with going down there and he told me he knew all about Bay St. Lawrence and Meat Cove. And I remember how he thought that the people down there spoke some sort of dialect. I think it was Portuguese, he said. It was their Gaelic of course. And they had strung him along all the time. John Nick was trying to teach them methods of Sociology, I suppose, but they didn't really know what they were doing. It was only when he went home and his father told him that they probably all came from the same place. You know, I had the feeling that here they were with their noses clean and didn't even...never had to wipe them on their sleeves and here they were squeaky clean down from Sydney ...going down North where people still used outhouses...Well here they were and they felt like

I knew Father MacKinnon the pastor. I knew George and Jim (MacNeil). Joe Campbell came down once a month and we would go down once a month...They did the driving....I stayed with Father Doc (Father MacKinnon) in the Glebe. I did the survey because I was curious about rural areas and it was an education exercise for the kids (his students).... We took the kids down and we did a house to house survey. We did up a questionnaire.

The only other research that specifically mentioned the communities of Black Point and Meat Cove before the relocation was written by a planner Pierre-Yves Pepin for ARDA. Pepin (1968) reported:⁸³

We cannot ignore the cases of Meat Cove and Capstick...These are two tiny neighboring localities on either side of the line between Inverness and Victoria counties. The people of Cheticamp give them a legendary and sinister reputation: they are rough, thieving, backward; no one ever goes there. We made the trip. The scenery is magnificent. The majestic crest of the plateau falls sheer to the sea...Rickety little houses, decorated with the bodies of rusty automobiles, are scattered along the cliffs of St. Lawrence Bay (Capstick-Victoria) and Cap Noir (Meat Cove-Inverness). The road is an unbelievably dizzy trail. According to...a summer resident (in the district)...the five families of Meat Cove are hard-working and hospitable Scottish fishermen, who have their doubts about the quality of the people of Capstick: they live on welfare. We ought to have asked the people of Capstick about those from Meat Cove.....

Pepin would have done well to make some inquiries because he confused Capstick with Black Point.⁸⁴ Condescension, ridicule and ethnocentricity were so evident throughout his work that I find it difficult to read it without laughing.⁸⁵

they wanted to find out something that no one ever found before...bring something to light that no one really knew.

⁸³ Pierre-Yves Pepin Life and Poverty in the Maritimes ARDA Research Report # RE-3: March, 1968 See pp. 75-116. More specifically pp.111, 114-115.

⁸⁴ This mistake was easy to make because these communities were so close. The two CBC documentaries about Black Point and Meat Cove also confused the communities in that they showed photos of the fish shacks at Capstick when they were discussing the housing situation in Meat Cove and Black Point. One of the residents of Capstick, who was also one of the local leaders of the district, commented:

The picture is Capstick that they showed on TV. That's when they called me on the phone...Everyone was angry and so was my own pride. I was born in Capstick. But the bottom of the picture that they showed of the homes in Black Point that night on CBC was my Capstick.

⁸⁵ Ibid.

The (Scots) are gloomy and withdrawn, listless, creatures of habit and attached to the land. The (Acadians) are cheerful and outgoing, active, industrious, sociable and men of the sea. The former are set in their ways, the latter still have the qualities which sent their ancestors out to man schooners and sail the seas as far as the West Indies in the early nineteenth century. The houses of the Acadians are in plain sight, facing the sea; the houses of the Scots are often hidden in small clearings

What isn't funny, though, is the fact that ARDA published Pepin's research and Extension supported Nicholson's. In the end, the 'expert' knowledge of social scientists and planners had less to do with understanding than with power. It had less to do with trying to understand the social reality of the people they were writing about than with imposing their own.

CBC-TV's *Beyond Those Mountains*--1965

In the spring of 1965, a few weeks after the news reports of Nicholson's survey appeared, a CBC producer was attracted to the area. He filmed a 30 minute documentary, called *Beyond Those Mountains*. The principal themes of the show were how the people living in the communities of Meat Cove and Black Point were left behind by progress. The solution articulated by local leaders and professionals in the state system was relocation.

Jimmy Barbarita, the Extension worker and manager of the Victoria Co-op Fisheries, said the families should be relocated to the Bay because the harbour facilities were better. They could get larger boats and increase their incomes. Jim MacNeil, the principal of the local school, said that the home environment of the children was problematical. John Nicholson, the sociologist and researcher, confirmed the need for relocation supporting his point of view with data from his study. The priest spoke and so did the doctor.

Except for the local elite no one from the local area appeared, except for Simon George MacLellan from Meat Cove, a Gaelic elder. According to Nicholson, Simon George stopped cooperating with the filming as soon as he realized the intent of the producer. This did not stop the CBC producer from using the footage he had of him, though.⁸⁶ The Department of Welfare study

⁸⁶ The film opened to scenes of bagpipers and the first Highland settlers landing at Pictou. There was Gaelic singing in the background. Simon George then appeared telling a Gaelic story. Then, in English, he told what life was like in Meat Cove and how life was getting easier. The scene changed again and we saw images of small paint-bare houses surrounded by

noted that the people in Black Point and Meat Cove, who never saw the documentary, felt that it was made 'under false pretenses'.⁸⁷ When I showed this film to a room full of Black Point families, I noticed that many of the children, who were too young to have known Simon George, laughed at him as he spoke.

The children didn't laugh at the professionals and the local leaders who were interviewed. The local leaders spoke in their official capacity— as principal, teacher, or manager. They spoke in their offices or in front of the school and the fish plant. By the time these children were born, it was these people, not the Gaelic elders, who were the authorities.

'Pressure From Afar'

The mass media were an integral part of the relocation process. The reports in the newspapers and on the TV created a pressure both within and without the Black Point community. Fred MacKinnon, Provincial Deputy Minister of Welfare at the time, commented on the relocation:⁸⁸

There was pressure from afar, from T.V. and radio and pressure in the national magazines, inferring, of course that we in Nova Scotia were somewhat backward...and that we should do something about their condition.

rusty cars and old tools. The film was composed of interviews with the local leaders, who wove the themes of ignorance, dirt, disease and bad blood into a pattern that made it clear that something needed to be done. Then Simon George appeared again and he spoke about the need to improve the roads and the fishing facilities. Then we heard Gaelic singing again and the film was over.

⁸⁷ See Dep't of Public Welfare (Study by Helen Ralston). *Black Point-Meat Cove Relocation Project- Evaluation Study* Manuscript published by Dep't of Public Welfare: Halifax, 1970. pp. 4,5. The Dep't of Welfare study noted:

In particular, with the present and former residents of the Black point community there was deep resentment at the attempts of a CBC-TV camera crew to make movies of their homes, as the residents felt, 'under false pretenses'. In this regard, an intelligent and articulate spokesmen of the group, while recognizing the good will and well-intentioned desires of outside agencies to improve living conditions of Black point residents, emphasized that poor people have a right to privacy, self-respect and self-determination, and that any personnel attempting to assist must demonstrate their recognition and sensitivity to these basic human needs.

⁸⁸ CBC-TV Halifax Documentary *The Wrong Move* , produced and written by Claude Vicory. First aired on Nov. 17, 1986.

Words are powerful. People shape their lives and their world in relation to the stereotypes, the mass-produced ideas of the media⁸⁹ In the 1950's and 1960's the media began to manufacture a consciousness in Cape Breton that I call 'keeping up appearances'.⁹⁰

People in any society are concerned with what other people think of them. In fact, other people's judgments about a person's behavior often have as much or more to do with shaping it as personal gain. People have died and suffered and given away all they have to ensure their honour. In the modern social process it is not honour that usually compels action but property. People have killed for a pair of Nikes and they have died to protect them. People are judged not so much by what they do but by what they own. Their worth is measured by their property not the quality of their relationships.

People's growing concern with what people outside the area thought was really like one of R.D. Laing's knots.⁹¹ It was their image of what other people's image might be of their image.⁹² This concern with appearances leads to the one-

⁸⁹ Stereotypes are as much a product of the machine age as the printing press that gave them rise. See Walter Lippman Public Opinion. New York: MacMillan, 1932. Walter Lippmann (1922) the term 'stereotype' in the present sense in 1922. He said that they are the habits of mind, the 'uniformity's', the 'series of images', the 'ideas accumulated and hardened' See also Leo Driedger and Rodney Clifton. Ethnic Stereotypes: Images of Ethnocentrism The Canadian Review of Sociology and Anthropology, Vol. 21 #3: 227-99, 1984. Driedger and Clifton pointed out that originally the word stereotype was used in the printing industry. It referred to a 'plate made by molding a matrix of a printing surface and from this, casting a metal type face... A stereotype is a uniform matrix of type that is molded so that the printing is standard and unchanging.' See also Marshall McLuhan Understanding Media New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1965. According to the O.E.D. Cliche is the French word for stereotype block used in printing.

⁹⁰ See for instance Halifax Chronicle-Herald Nov. 14, 1957 Pictou County Future Grim. In 1957, an article in the Halifax Chronicle-Herald called Pictou County Future Grim, was typical of the media accounts at the time. Leaders said the area was 'backward' and looked it. It needed to be fixed up, they said, to appear more modern if it was going to attract business. The article reported that 'Town council hopes to enact a by-law whereby persons owning 'run down' property will be forced to take steps to remedy it.' 'Appearance', they said 'means a lot'.

⁹¹ R.D. Laing Knots New York: Vintage Books, 1972. This is a book of Laing's poems. Laing's a psychiatrist who talked about the way that people's ideas of other people's ideas affected them. Knots is poetry but he used the same ideas in his theory and in prose. See The Politics of Experience. Middlesex: Penguin Books, 1967.

⁹² See, for instance, Halifax Chronicle Herald Feb. 7, 1955 Irate Cape Breton Voices Scorn for American Lecturer. When a man from the larger Boston area gave a lecture in Massachusetts about a trip he took to Cape Breton in 1955, his account made it into the local paper and eventually into the Halifax Chronicle-Herald. The local leaders read his story and they were outraged at how the people and the area was depicted. The Halifax paper quoted the Massachusetts paper which quoted the original lecturers impression of the island:

The people (of Cape Breton) are not concerned with the outside world. They have no radio or autos. Perhaps every few weeks, they may see a Halifax newspaper. There are only three horses on the island and nobody seems to know to whom they

dimensionality of experience that Marcuse (1964) wrote about.⁹³ The social landscape, the lifeworld, is flattened because it is constructed to give only the appearance of success.⁹⁴ But it has no substance and little depth or feeling is possible.⁹⁵

The fact that Black Point looked run down was deeply disturbing to the people in the province who wanted to position themselves and their communities in the larger society. The media created what Foucault (1980) called an 'inspecting gaze'. This is a metaphor for a kind of consciousness that is produced by mainstream media and then interiorized by the people who experience it.⁹⁶

There is no need for arms, physical violence, material constraints. Just a gaze. An inspecting gaze, a gaze which each individual under its weight will end by interiorizing to the point that he is his own overseer, each individual thus exercising this surveillance over, and against, himself.

belong...Cows and sheep are not penned up...Cape Bretoners are happy, healthy folks who turned out the world's best home-made bread.

The local leaders were offended they said because Cape Breton was made out to be some backward 'shrangri-la'. Their defense of the island appeared in the news the following day. Their insistence that the island was really part of the 'Ford' generation seems almost funny at this point in time. Anselem Boudreau, the Warden of Inverness County, Cape Breton's most rural county, stated that his 'county was full of paved roads' 'At least 300 miles of highways in Cape Breton are paved', he said. Gordon Elman, owner of Sydney's biggest garage, remarked that 'Next to Detroit, Sydney has the greatest number of automobiles in proportion to the number of people of any city in either country.' Finally, City Clerk, Reid MacPherson, argued that 'Sydney's municipal services had completely switched to trucks' only a few years before. The stereotypes that offended these leaders, though, rolled off the presses just like the cars they loved rolled off the assembly line.

⁹³ Herbert Marcuse One-Dimensional Man Boston: Beacon Press, 1964.

⁹⁴ The lifeworld is a term that refers to the world of everyday experience and life. See Alfred Schutz (translated by G. Walsh and F. Lehnert) The Phenomenology of the Social World Evanston: Northwestern University Press, 1967 Peter Berger and Thomas Luckman The Social Construction of Reality: A Treatise on the Sociology of Knowledge. New York: Doubleday & Company, 1967. Huserl used this term and 'bracketed' it off because he believed it was inaccessible to rationality. Schutz, however, believed that it was this everyday taken-for-granted reality that social scientists needed to explore. He believed that the 'stocks' of everyday knowledge- he ways that people made sense and interpreted their world and experience was as central to human understanding as science.

⁹⁵ This is probably how people in the 'developed' world can continue to believe that they live in the best of all possible worlds, despite the degradation, impoverishment, and even extinction of whole biological and cultural communities. See Anthony Wolbarst Environment in Peril Washington: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1991.

John Bodley Victims of Progress. California: Cummins Publishing Company, 1975.

⁹⁶ Michel Foucault Power/Knowledge (edited by Colin Gordon) Sussex: The Harvester Press, 1980. p.155.

In the modern social process, the prisons, that we live inside, may be ones of our own making but we don't usually own them.⁹⁷ The mass media work as gossip does in a small town. It ties people together, but only as it tears them apart. The people who produce and consume the media gossip are drawn closer together, but they are separated from the people that are identified as 'other'. The actions of the people who are within the social range of the media become more and more controlled by the construction of identities that are not of their own making.⁹⁸

In the modern social order, the mass media even more than the expert systems of knowledge taught in school, work to maintain hegemony by setting the terms of the public dialogue.⁹⁹ There may be many publics, but there is only one discourse that is sold every morning on the street corners. Skovecky noted that Stalin considered that a writer or journalist was an 'engineer of human souls' who could construct the mind of the New Man just as an engineer constructed a machine.¹⁰⁰

The Local Leaders: A Network of Power

In the Bay, in the 1960's, there were only a few people who responded to the media and the 'pressure from afar'. These were the people in the district who were formally educated in mainstream terms.¹⁰¹ They belonged to Extension's 'ARDA group' in the Bay and in the end they initiated the relocation project.

⁹⁷ This is the title of one of Doris Lessing's books.

⁹⁸ Michel Foucault suggested that people should refuse the identities that have been created for them by a social process that would make them willing slaves. Power/Knowledge (edited by Colin Gordon) Sussex: The Harvester Press, 1980.

⁹⁹ See Noam Chomsky Manufacturing Consent New York: Pantheon Books, 1988.

¹⁰⁰ Josef Skovecky The Engineer of Human Souls

¹⁰¹ Access to public schools, as mentioned, was much more limited in the Bay district, so fewer people living there went away to school than from other areas down north. The retired principal of the local high school reported:

There is mixed feeling. The mother and the father don't want their children moving away. I would say that South Bay Ingonish community would have been the group that children went away the easiest. As you came further north you got more people staying. I know some families who deliberately keep their children home. They want them in the area. The want them close by.

Most people in the Bay district, who did go on to school, came from homes where one or both parents had some formal education and so the family valued it. Some came from families who were affluent in local terms. This meant that they could help with expenses. The retired principal discussed the fact that, his wife, for instance, didn't have as hard a time as he did: 'She was one of the families, her father was the local fishery officer. Her father had a guaranteed income. He had a car, indoor plumbing, electric lights.' Often the children from

It was in the late 1940's and 1950's that the first generation of young people in Cape Breton graduated nursing school, normal school and university.¹⁰² These people became teachers, managers, nurses, doctors, and journalists. They were involved with the university and with the co-op and credit union movements. They participated in local or provincial politics as Councilors or MLA's. These people supported the development of the systems and structures of the larger society within the local community. And quite literally, these systems supported them.

Max Weber (1922) suggested that, in general, the development of bureaucratic institutions led to the 'leveling of social classes'.¹⁰³ This was not the case, though, in rural Cape Breton. The local elite¹⁰⁴ were privileged because of the bureaucracy and because of their ability to appropriate the authority and administration of the social systems on the island.

Their status in the community may be seen as a function of class position because it was related to their control of certain kinds of productive relations. Their investments, though, were not in factories but in the social systems of the state--the hospitals, the schools, the media, the government, the church, and the academy. They owed their position to the fact that they controlled most of the wealth in the community, but it was cultural, linguistic and intellectual capital that they owned. In Northern Cape Breton, the rise of a popular mentality of

these small Highland communities felt like 'outsiders' in school and had a difficult time fitting in.

There were only a few of us who went away to get high school... I had to leave when I was 15 because...I couldn't go any further here...My mother was educated, and her family was from the Glace Bay area...Would I have gone to school if my mother wouldn't have pushed me out the door? I don't think so. There wasn't any teachers in the area so I felt I would go away to get my education and teach...I never had any money when I was in school. I had to get \$10 for a school ring. Everybody had a ring. I wrote Dad for the money. He sent me the money but he wrote a long letter about money not growing on trees. But I didn't feel it until I went into grade 12 in Glace Bay, in the large high school...There were children there from merchant families. They had a little money. They had money and I had none. When they went to school they were well dressed and so on. So I didn't go to school dances, I stayed away.

¹⁰² Op. cit. Donovan (1971) Holding at the Cabot Archives.

¹⁰³ Max Weber The Theory of Social and Economic Organization. New York: The Free Press, 1947. (original German published in 1922 as *Wirtschaft und Gesellschaft*) p. 340

¹⁰⁴ The phrase 'the leaders of the local community' or the 'leading members in the community' was used consistently in social research, policy or planning documents of the 1960's. It was an essential part of the discourse. See for instance the Dep't of Public Welfare (Study by Helen Ralston). *Black Point-Meat Cove Relocation Project- Evaluation Study* Manuscript published by Dep't of Public Welfare: Halifax, 1970.

development, was more characteristic of the transformation of social and economic relationships, than the rise of industry.¹⁰⁵

In the Bay district, this new class, the educated professionals, belonged to a network of power and authority that spread over the island.¹⁰⁶ This was a 'power elite' in Mills' (1956) sense.¹⁰⁷ They controlled the production of all of the social systems but their control was not simply economic. Power was held through all of the formal and informal exchanges the people in this group shared; the relationships they cultivated in their work and their play.

The local leaders were a status group in the Weberian sense.¹⁰⁸ They ate the same kind of food, bought the same kinds of clothes, built the same kind of

¹⁰⁵ See Ralph Miliband The State in Capitalist Society London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1969. p64

It is undoubtedly true that a process of social dilution has occurred...and has brought...the most able and thrusting recruits from subordinate classes...into elite positions inside the state system. But to speak of 'democratization' in this connection is somewhat misleading...As these recruits rise in the state hierarchy so do they become in every significant sense, of the social class to which their position, income and status give them access...such recruitment, by fostering the belief that capitalist societies are run on the principle of 'the career open to the talents' usefully obscures the degree to which they are not.

¹⁰⁶ See Fredrik Barth (Editor) Ethnic Groups and Boundaries London: George Allen & Unwin, 1970. See article by Harald Eidheim When Ethnic Identity is a Social Stigma pp. 39-57. Eidheim studied the Lappish population in Norway and the stigma that was associated with appearing to be a Lapp. The Lapps who had taken on the Norwegian language and language culture enjoyed a higher status in the community. Privately, the Lapps were loyal to their language culture but publicly they often took on a Norwegian identity because Lappish language culture was stigmatized in Norway. There seem to be many parallels in the experience of the two groups and the way they have adapted, for instance, in terms of the language. Eidheim reported that Lapps were ashamed to speak their native language in public if only one person in the company was Norwegian. Charles Dunn (1953) reported, that in the 1940's in Cape Breton, if someone spoke Gaelic to another person at a dance, a fight might ensue because of the embarrassment of being associated with the Gaelic. See Dunn's Highland Settler. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1953. This was true even though both the Lapps and the Gaels had a certain kind of loyalty and love for their language culture that allowed them to persist as a group despite the pressure from the larger and more dominant society.

¹⁰⁷ A term used by C. W. Mills in The Power Elite New York: Oxford University Press, 1956. I am using the term as Mills used it to describe the process through which this group held control. Mills first used the terms to specifically distinguish an elite in the U.S. composed of a group of people who held interlocking positions of power in the military, industry, and politics. It is the way in which the 'new elite' in Cape Breton expressed and held power that was similar to the process that Mills described.

¹⁰⁸ Max Weber The Theory of Social and Economic Organization. New York: The Free Press, 1947. (original German published in 1922 as Wirtschaft und Gesellschaft) p. 428. Status, Weber suggested, is a function of: 'a. mode of living, b. a formal process of education which may consist in empirical or rational training and the acquisition of the corresponding modes of life or c. on the prestige of birth or of an occupation...A social *stratum*...is a plurality of individuals who, within a larger group, enjoy a particular kind and level of prestige by virtue of their position and possibly also claim special monopolies. The following are the most important sources of the development of distinct strata: a. The most important is

houses, and dreamed the same kind of dreams for their children. They all believed in formal education and material success. They went to each others houses for dinner and they served together on the boards of the hospital, the school and as directors of the co-op or credit unions. These were the people I met at the party I spoke of earlier on. These people longed for the past but in many ways they rejected their own.¹⁰⁹

For the most part the 'leading members of the Bay district' were not very well educated in the Gaelic language culture. None of them spoke the language. They were less affected by the Gaelic stories their grandparents told than they were by the ones they read in the news or saw on T.V. These people were the medium of change in the local community because they were plugged into the circuits that connected the island with the rest of the world. These also connected them to each other. For a sense of the extent of the meshing of their relationships, see the following: Table 18--Local Leaders in Cape Breton Involved with the Relocation of Black Point: A The Web of Relations.¹¹⁰

by the development of a peculiar style of life including, particularly, the type of occupation pursued. b. The second basis is hereditary charisma arising for the successful claim to a position of prestige by virtue of birth. c. The third is the appropriation of political or hierocratic authority as a monopoly by socially distinct groups.'

¹⁰⁹ For instance, many of these people actively supported the formation of the Gaelic society in Sydney in the hopes of preserving the past at the same time they were working to relocate the Gaelic speaking people in Black Point in the hopes of educating the children in the community in the English language culture.

¹¹⁰ Provincial professionals and officials were also involved with this network. For instance: Norma Lloyd was a social worker involved with the community during the relocation. She was a good friend of Norman and Carol MacInnes and a colleague of George Mathews.

Table 18--Local Leaders Involved with the Black Point Relocation: A Web of Relations

<p>Jim (James) MacNeil-- Principal of the Highland Consolidated School. Member of the Bay Development Association. Member of the Victoria County Council. First contacted the government about conditions in Black Point. Married to Rita Capstick Brother-in-law Alec Capstick member Victoria County Council. Alec Capstick-- Member of the Victoria County Council. Council provided municipal funding Brother-in-law Jim MacNeil Brother-in-law Norman MacInnes George MacNeil-- Worked for the Credit Union in Sydney. Jim MacNeil's brother Traveled to the Bay with the Extension team and attended the Development Association meetings. Joe Alec MacNeil-- Member of the Development Association. Brother-in-law Jim MacNeil Brother-in-law George MacNeil Brother of James MacNeil, ARDA director James MacNeil-- Director ARDA Task Force-ARDA gave federal funding for relocation Brother of Joe Alec MacNeil Brother in-law Jim MacNeil. Jimmy Barbarita-- Local Extension Fieldworker. Manager of Victoria Fish Coop (At one time he managed all three coops in the Bay) Friend and acquaintance of almost everyone mentioned. Recommended relocation of Black Point and Meat Cove in the CBC documentary. Father Alex MacDonald-- One of the Extension team. Friend and colleague of Jim MacNeil, George MacNeil, Joe Campbell and John Nicholson John Nicholson-- Sociologist and professor at St. Francis Xavier University in Sydney. Hired by Extension to work with the Development Association. Author of survey used to justify the relocation. Friend of the members of the Extension team Friend of Father MacKinnon who was parish priest at the time. Shaun MacDonald-¹¹¹ <i>Halifax Herald</i> reporter. Sensationalized Nicholson's survey. Acquaintance of Nicholson's and Joe Campbell's. Information from Nicholson's survey and about the area was passed to him unofficially in the Extension office over a bottle of rum. Maynard Mac Askill-- Doctor in the area during the relocation. Close friend of Jim MacNeil's and acquaintance of Norman MacInnes MLA of the riding in latter years Worked closely with Isabel MacDonald Isabel MacDonald-- Public Health Nurse. Acquaintance and colleague of Dr. MacAskill, Jim and Rita MacNeil, Norman and Carol MacInnes and George Mathews, who was responsible for implementing the relocation. Norman and Carol MacInnes-- Teachers in the Bay school Friends or colleagues of all of the people mentioned. Norman served on a local advisory board set up to provide feedback on the relocation. Brother-in-law and Sister-in-law of Alec Capstick Father Joseph Campbell-- Extension fieldworker with the Credit Union movement Friend and colleague of George MacNeil Traveled as part of the Extension team Attended the Development Association meetings. Linden MacIntyre-- Journalist involved with the CBC documentary <i>Beyond Those Mountains</i> . Mother's family originally came from the Bay. He knew many of the local leaders in the area.</p>

¹¹¹ John Nicholson did not confirm this reporter's name. This was the name that appeared on the byline in the Halifax Chronicle Herald .

The leading members of the Bay society may have been established in terms of the larger society but they were displaced from the way of life they had grown up with. It is no wonder that they were involved in spatially reorganizing the district. It was the only way they could re-place what they had lost, their position in local terms. These people were educated in terms of the English language culture and it was the grounds of this culture that they cultivated in the local area and it was on this ground that they had established control.¹¹²

School Consolidation- The Seeds of Relocation

The local elite worked to reorganize, that is, to privatize to centralize and consolidate, all of the social spaces in the community. In 1960, the local leaders began to work to consolidate the schools.¹¹³ As noted in the last chapter, the consolidation of the schools and the centralization of population were really aspects of the same process.¹¹⁴

¹¹² This is not to say that any of these people were conscious of any self-interest. Quite the opposite. They believed that this was the way to help. This is also not to say that the local leaders didn't feel superior by virtue of their education and culture.

¹¹³ One of the local teachers described the way in which school consolidation came about: At that time C. and I were teaching in Sugar Loaf. North Harbour had no teacher and Cape North had no teacher . So we took North Harbour students and I suggested to the Inspector that we take Cape North students.....And there wasn't enough room in the Sugar Loaf school for them all so I moved with the senior class to North Harbour. And at that time there was a school at Capstick, one room. In the Bay 2 rooms had grown to 3 because the gym was in the hall then there were 2 rooms in the old school. There was Sugar Loaf, North Harbour and there was a schoolat Cape North. So a number of us got together...The School Inspector wasn't in favour of consolidation, not a complete consolidation. He was in favour of it at the Jr. High but no more. We got together, the local Parish Priest (Father Chisholm) and some more of us...When we got the OK to go ahead with the consolidation some people got a petition up against it. The ones in Cape North especially, because they were not involved. We said to the Cape North people you should have your own consolidation in the Dingwall area. The roads were terrible. Everybody said you'll never get the consolidation because you'll never get the children there, the roads are bad. But which comes the first, the chicken or the egg? So Cape North didn't like that....and a number in Aspy Bay...and a some families in Sugar Loaf. They also didn't like the fact that there would be sisters involved. (Cape North is Presbyterian) So it was a battle for a while.

¹¹⁴ See for instance, ARDA Regional Planning for Depressed Rural Areas Department of Forestry and Rural Development, 1968. p. 7. These were interconnected in the development discourse as well. For instance, the report suggested that part of the ARDA development strategy in Newfoundland 'will be to assist in concentrating communities around a consolidated school. This may be achieved by either the physical relocation of families from outlying communities or by the construction and improvement of roads and communication systems where these are feasible.' The same development planners who suggested the reorganization of the educational space in a district usually suggested that something be done about reorganizing the private spaces in which people lived. These programs were most often supported by the teachers and professionals and local leaders in a particular area and

In the fall of 1961, when the small one room or two room schools in Capstick, Sugar Loaf, and the Bay closed and the Highland Consolidated Elementary School in Bay St. Lawrence opened, people started to move into the central Black Point area.¹¹⁵ The Department of Welfare report noted that within a few years after the school consolidation 'the half dozen or so families living on 'The Hill', the flattened elevation nearer to Meat Cove, migrated to...Black Point about two miles closer to Bay Saint Lawrence, because it was at the end of the school bus route.'¹¹⁶

The consolidation of the school system worked to change people's relation to the state and also to each other. When the population began to centralize in the central Black Point area, there were problems. There was enough land available in the community but not enough property.¹¹⁷ Large sections of land were owned by the Crown and from the local perspective this land was public, the common ground that could be used to sustain family and community. The notion of common ground, though, had no more legal meaning in the Cape Breton Highlands than it had had in England or Scotland. From the state

resisted by most everyone else. See also Canadian Welfare Council. A Preliminary Report of Rural Poverty in Four Selected Areas. Ottawa: ARDA, The Queens Printer, 1965. p. 45

In all areas the program of school consolidation is underway. The families interviewed raise some of the usual questions and objections, namely, problems of transportation, distance to school, increase in taxes...It is obvious from the interview reports that other factors need to be considered in any planned attempt to prepare the children of poor families such as these, to attain a higher educational level. One room homes are scarcely conducive to good study habits, books are conspicuous by their absence, low nutritional standards hamper some of the children. While modernization of school facilities and vocational training programs are steps in the right direction, it may be necessary to consider public provision of facilities which in high income areas would naturally be available at home.

¹¹⁵ *Home and School Minutes Highland Consolidated School, Bay St. Lawrence*. Holdings at the School. School consolidation made it much more difficult for the families living in and around Black Point. See for instance, *Minutes December 13, 1962. Motion made by Mrs. Christana MacKinnon from Black Point*.

Parents from Black Point were concerned that the children in Black Point now had to walk to Capstick where they had to wait for the schoolbus. A resolution was passed at the Home and School to get the secretary to draft a letter to the Minister of Highways stressing 1. 'The dangerous condition of the Capstick -Black Point Road and the very great need of a railing at several places' and 2. The need for 'the school bus to go further on to pick up the children from Black Point'. These complaints led the Department of Highways to improve the road and the school bus to continue into Black Point.

¹¹⁶ Dep't of Public Welfare (Study by Helen Ralston). *Black Point-Meat Cove Relocation Project- Evaluation Study* Manuscript published by Dep't of Public Welfare: Halifax, 1970. p.3

¹¹⁷ The enclosure of property on the land or limited entry licensing on the sea have to do with the rationalization of space and the rationalization of experience in order to manage them.

perspective, as noted, the Black Point families who moved onto Crown Land were 'squatters'.

When all of the families moved down to the central Black Point area after the consolidation of the school, the two branches of the MacKinnon-Fraser kin group were reunited in Black Point for the first time since Alexander MacKinnon left for the Lowlands. They were, however, brought together on a very unequal footing; there was no equal ground anymore in Black Point.¹¹⁸

Complaints From the Local Leaders

It was soon after the local schools consolidated in 1964 that relocation became an issue. The teachers of the Highland Consolidated School in the Bay contacted the Minister of Public Welfare 'in respect to the physical conditions of some of the children from Black Point'.¹¹⁹ One of the teachers at Highland school, a member of the local relocation advisory board set up by the state, reported:¹²⁰

The seeds of the relocation, of course, came from the consolidation of the school. Jim MacNeil, (the principal) saw that the children were coming from inadequate housing and started putting pressure on Social Services at the time...The school itself demanded through Social Services, called Welfare then, that better housing should be done for these people.

George Mathews, the Director of the Social Development Division of the Department of Welfare, the government agency responsible for implementing and coordinating the relocation project, reported that until this complaint was received Black Point had never been identified as a problem by state agencies. Nor had the people themselves ever asked for help. He noted that the teachers

¹¹⁸ Although a family could always find a piece of land to build on the people within the kin group were affected by the state perspective. The kin group, itself, began to divide along the property lines that were recognized by the state. The land resources in the area were physically limited. There was uncleared and rough land, but improved, cleared land, good for farming, was scarce. One branch of the family, Alexander's heirs, had much less access to the grounds they needed to sustain their families. When they moved closer into Black Point, they had to begin the process of building their houses from the ground up, as their parents and grandparents had done. These families, large families at that, had no farmhouses, barns or outbuildings. A few of the families that moved were never able to gather enough resources to establish themselves fully in the central Black Point area.

¹¹⁹ National Archives of Canada, Halifax Records Center. ARDA file 22051. See also Black Point-Meat Cove Relocation Project. *Department of Public Welfare Social Development Division: Report on Meat Cove and Black Point Relocation Project*. p. 1.

¹²⁰ Interview with teacher

concerns were supported at the time by Jimmy Barbarita, the members of the Bay Development group and by other local leaders in the area.¹²¹

Problems in Black Point: The School Perspective

What were the teachers complaints? The Department of Welfare study stated that the teachers reported problems with:¹²²

- irregularity of schooling
- malnutrition and other health problems and
- lack of 'basic social habits' and personal hygiene.

Complaint: Irregularity of Schooling¹²³

The teachers reported that the Black Point children dropped out of school early, that they had difficulties with schoolwork, and that their schooling was irregular. School records, however, indicated that, in terms of variables like school leaving age and repetition of grades, the children from the Black Point families had scholastic patterns that were similar to the children from the other Highland families in the district whose parents first language was Gaelic.¹²⁴

¹²¹ Interview with George Mathews and Social Worker.

Interviewer: Can you tell me a bit about what you know about the history or background of the Black Point community?

George Mathews: No, I can't. Not really because we came in just at that point in the 60's-'64 or '65 when there was a great hue and cry from the teachers about the conditions of the children that were attending school in Bay St. Lawrence, because...

Social Worker: It had just been amalgamated. Prior to that, they had gone to the school in Capstick.

George Mathews: And then once they came into Bay St. Lawrence, in the new school there, the teachers and the principals became very concerned about the conditions of the children coming to school...It was Jim MacNeil, he was principal.

George Mathews: He and Dr. Mac Askill. Seems to me...there was...

Social Worker: Barbarita. Jimmy Barbarita. They were involved in that community development committee.

George Mathews: The Public Health Nurse was also involved.

¹²² Dept of Public Welfare (Study by Helen Ralston). *Black Point-Meat Cove Relocation Project-Evaluation Study*. p.3

¹²³ The profesionlas were also disturbed at the low levels of formal education that people had in the community. For an in-depth discussion of Gaelic education versus English schooling please read Chapter 2.

¹²⁴ For instance, H.H. MacDonald's family that lived in Bay Road Valley.

The education of the children in Black Point does not appear to have been much more 'irregular' than the education of most other children in the district.¹²⁵ The Department of Welfare study stated that prior to school consolidation, the children 'in the Black Point area obtained whatever irregular schooling they had either at the Meat Cove school or at the Capstick school.'¹²⁶ A study of the attendance records of the Capstick school for the 1960-61 school year, however, showed that the average attendance of the children in grades 1 to 5 from Capstick was 176.2 days and the average attendance of the Black Point children was 175.6 days.¹²⁷ In the 1960-61 school year, the average attendance of the children from MacKinnon-Fraser families who were attending the school in Bay St. Lawrence¹²⁸ was 179.1 days and the average attendance of the other students was 170.58 days.¹²⁹

Complaint: Malnutrition and Health Problems

The Department of Welfare study also noted that the teachers were concerned that the children in Black Point were malnourished. I have not been able to find any basis for this statement although this was also mentioned in the Halifax Herald's news account of conditions in the Bay district.¹³⁰ The teachers and professionals interviewed stated that malnutrition and ill-health were not

¹²⁵ As noted in Chapter 2, educational opportunities in Northern Cape Breton, in terms of the public school system, were fairly limited in the state's terms. The system had very little to do with traditional forms of knowledge and so from the local perspective there was often very little in school to hold most of the children. Many dropped out, especially the boys, as soon as they were able

¹²⁶ Dep't of Public Welfare (Study by Helen Ralston). *Black Point-Meat Cove Relocation Project- Evaluation Study* Manuscript published by Dep't of Public Welfare: Halifax, 1970. p.3.

¹²⁷ I did not average the attendance of the grade primary children because of the long walk for the young children from Black Point to Capstick. Parents in the district whose children had to walk a long way to school tended to start their children when they were older or to keep their primary and grade one children home in the winter when it was stormy. This was the case, for instance, for the families that lived on what was called 'The Island' in St. Margaret's Village.

¹²⁸ The children from the Black Point area would have to come to the Bay School if they wanted to complete higher grades than the Capstick school offered. In the early 1960's, a few of the MacKinnon-Fraser families moved down to the Bay: the Bonnars, the Frasers, the Buchanans.

¹²⁹ Many children in the Bay district tended to score lower than average on standardized achievement and I.Q. tests. This was especially true for the children from Gaelic speaking families whether they lived in Black Point or not.

¹³⁰ Halifax Chronicle-Herald April 15, 1965 *War on Poverty to Start Soon in Cape Breton* .

problems in the community. I interviewed the Public Health Nurse who had the most prolonged and direct contact with all of the families.¹³¹

Interviewer: In one news report it said that the children were malnourished. Yet didn't you say that food wasn't the problem...that people had enough to eat?

Health Nurse: Ya, I thought they did. And they looked it. I mean...they were basically healthy-looking children, you know and they were robust too. I remember one time we ended up with an epidemic of, what was it? Hepatitis. And of course everybody wondered what was going to happen. And it was at the Bay St. Lawrence School, we had quite a few cases there. It ended up not one of the Black Point kids caught it. So I mean they were healthy and robust. And I remember going down to M's house, you just almost had to be a mountain-goat; you went down over the rocks, down below; she lived way under the road. But when you get down there, she had 7 little girls and they were exactly like little girls you'd see in *McCall's* magazine or something. They had the gorgeous long hair and beautiful skin. They were beautiful! Just beautiful. And all of them really vivacious.

I also asked the people from the Department of Welfare about the teachers' complaints of malnutrition and health problems:¹³²

Social Worker: The teachers were concerned with the health problems..

Interviewer: What kind of problems...did they get sick more?

George Mathews: Well, one of the real problems was that they had lice more often than the other children....

Complaint: *Lack of 'basic social habits' and personal hygiene.*

The Department of Welfare study reported that the teachers were concerned with the lack of 'basic social habits' and personal hygiene.¹³³ The Public Health Nurse who made regular visits to the school commented:

Health Nurse: Well the problems were not with discipline or anything like that; it was the children weren't too clean, sometimes they'd have pediculosis¹³⁴, and their clothes, you know...the clothes would be on probably for longer periods of time. But they didn't have the clothes we do

¹³¹ Interview with Public Health Nurse

¹³² Interview with George Mathews and Social Worker

¹³³ Dep't of Public Welfare (Study by Helen Ralston). *Black Point-Meat Cove Relocation Project- Evaluation Study* Manuscript published by Dep't of Public Welfare: Halifax, 1970. p.3

¹³⁴ Headlice

today, you know, and they had no way of washing them easily. They certainly didn't have washers or dryers like we have today.

The researcher who wrote the Department of Welfare report had used the phrase 'lack of social habits'. I asked her in an interview whether there were any discipline or interpersonal problems. She said that when the children first came to school they had a 'lack of knowledge about how to use ordinary facilities like toilets and a lack of common hygiene.'¹³⁵

The Basis of the Complaints: Water Closets in the Wilderness

I could find no real evidence to indicate that the people in the Black Point community suffered from the 'social, psychological, and physical deprivation' that the Department of Welfare study assumed. The real basis of the teachers complaints, seem to be rather insignificant. When I asked the Public Health Nurse about social problems in Black Point, she was surprised I would even ask the question:¹³⁶

Interviewer: So the problems, say of the communities where you have the social problems of child abuse, neglect, drunkenness, you know, wife-beatings, delinquency, that whole pattern of social breakdown that people talk about...Did you sense that they were present in the homes in Black Point?

Health Nurse: No, no. Never. I doubt it very much. That's interesting--did you ever think there was?

Actually, Black Point was recognized in the Department of Welfare study as being 'a close-knit community with strong values of family love and group loyalty' where 'there was considerable evidence of great family love and affection

¹³⁵ 'Dep't of Public Welfare (Study by Helen Ralston). *Black Point-Meat Cove Relocation Project- Evaluation Study* Manuscript published by Dep't of Public Welfare: Halifax, 1970. p.3 In interview, the author mentioned that this was actually why the relocation had begun, at least why the teachers in the Bay community told her the relocation had begun.

¹³⁶ Interview with the Public Health Nurse. When I questioned any of the professionals involved with the people in the community whether there were social problems of this kind, they all seemed as surprised as the Health Nurse that I would even ask the question in these terms. I asked the teachers in the school, the principal, the social worker, the doctors, and the local councilor. I asked John Nicholson who did the Survey research, Helen Ralston who did the Department of Welfare research and George Mathews, the state official responsible for the relocation.

and of a willingness to help one's kin.¹³⁷ Ultimately, it seems local authorities reported the people in the Black Point, not because the physical health and well being of the children were actually threatened, but because the people living in the community did not conform to dominant social norms.

This is not to say the the concern of the local leaders was insincere. From the perspective of mainstream professionals, the people in Black Point were deprived. They believed that modern amenities and a certain way of life were essential to health and well being and the living of the 'good life.'

People's perceptions of personal cleanliness or education or health really depend on the particular social context that gives rise to them. For instance, without modern amenities like hot running water, showers, automatic washers and dryers, ideas about cleanliness for many people in Northern Cape Breton were different than those of people in N.Y. or Toronto; but this didn't make them dirty.

People in the community were no more 'dirty' than my family was, when, in the early 1970's, we also lived in Northern Cape Breton without running water or a bathroom. Nor are the Bedouins or the Innuite people dirty because they don't take a shower everyday. The idea of 'common hygiene', the invention of standards concerning cleanliness, are as much a function of the modern state as educational standards or building codes.¹³⁸

¹³⁷ Dep't of Public Welfare (Study by Helen Ralston). *Black Point-Meat Cove Relocation Project- Evaluation Study*. p. 22.

¹³⁸ See Michel Foucault (Edited by Paul Rabinow) *The Foucault Reader* New York: Pantheon Books, 1984. See also p. 198 in Foucault's *Discipline and Punishment* New York: Pantheon Books, 1977. In our social order, head lice are commonly associated with dirt and disease, but this was not always so. In the early 1970's, I had a job in the Bay district as a community organizer for CYC, Company of Young Canadians. At some point, the area between my fingers became extremely itchy and I couldn't figure out what was wrong. Then an area on my stomach became itchy. I went to the doctor in Neil's Harbour and he told me that it was likely eczema. After a week or two I had a few more itchy spots and I went back to the doctor and he thought that it might be nerves. He suggested that I might try a tranquilizer if it continued which it did. Before I went back to Neil's Harbour I started to talk to various people about my problem. I remember that I was in at Jim and Rita MacNeil's and Rita knew right away what it was. She said. 'You have the 'itch' I told her that I knew that I had the itch, I was very itchy, but I didn't know what was causing it. After a while it became clear to me that 'the itch' was the cause of what I had. I didn't know what it was but everyone else in the community did. The MacNeils knew and the MacKinnons knew, the MacDonalds, the Frasers and the MacInness. Every family in the Bay district seem to have had some experience with the 'itch'. Everyone told me that I could get medicine for 'the itch' at the doctor's office in Neil's Harbour. So back I went. He asked me what was wrong and I remember explaining to him that I had 'the itch'. He said that he didn't think so. He thought that perhaps it was nerves and I might want to try something to calm them. I certainly wasn't very calm after driving an hour to get to Neil's Harbour. But I did have the diagnosis of the whole district behind me. I told him: 'I have the itch. And I want medicine for 'the itch' and I want it now'. The 'itch'

The lack of modern toilets and bathrooms offended mainstream sensibilities. In some sense it threatened their security. For the local leaders who not only believed in the dominant social norms but who had grown up aspiring to achieve them, the attitudes and perspective of most people in the Black Point community were deeply disturbing. James Joyce (1914) noted that the lack of modern toilet facilities is one of the first things the colonial mind sets out to rectify, no matter where it finds itself.¹³⁹

The Jews in the wilderness and on the mountain top said: *It is meet to be here. Let us build an altar to Jehovah.* The Roman, like the Englishman who follows in his footsteps, brought to every new shore on which he set his foot....only his cloacal obsession. He gazed about him...and he said: *It is meet to be here. Let us construct a watercloset--Which they accordingly did do.*

The Harm that Good Men Do¹⁴⁰

There was a kind of religious zeal in the local and provincial professionals attempt to provide amenities like indoor plumbing to the people in Black Point and other communities like it. Actually the relocation was just one battle in a war being waged in the 1960's in the name of the poor. This 'war on poverty' was not waged by the poor themselves, though.¹⁴¹ 'Poor' people did not invent the the social categories that ended up defining them nor did they even agree with them. In fact, they were often outraged, as noted, at the way in which they were

turned out to be scabies. The doctor in Neil's Harbour probably didn't think that I would get 'the itch' for the same reason that the people from Black Point report that, they were always suspected and blamed for any outbreak of head lice or scabies in school.

¹³⁹ James Joyce *Ulysses* The Modern Library: N.Y., 1914. p.131

¹⁴⁰ Bertrand Russell used this phrase as a title, *The Harm that Good Men Do* (pp. 11, 152) He talked about the harm that people who are so blindly attached to their ideas about the universe that they can't distinguish what needs to be done from what doesn't. They interfere when they shouldn't and ignore people who really need to be helped. Ryan (1976) also noted that in our social process good people often end up doing great harm. In order to 'persuade a good man to do evil', he said, 'it is not necessary first to persuade him to become evil....It is only necessary to teach him that he is doing good.' William Ryan *Blaming the Victim* New York: Vintage Books, 1976.p. 20.

¹⁴¹ See for instance the research on regional relocation's at the time: Donald Clairmont and Dennis Magill *Africville* Toronto: Canadian Scribblers' Press, 1987. Ralph D. Matthews *"There's No Better Place Than Here"- Social Change in Three Newfoundland Communities* St. Johns: Peter Martin Associates, 1976. Gerald Sider *Culture and class in anthropology and history* Cambridge University Press: Cambridge, 1986. There were some native relocation projects that were implemented in this same spirit. See, for instance, Anatasia M. Shkilnyk *A Poison Stronger Than Love* New Haven; Yale University Press, 1985.

described in the mainstream media. Mainstream professionals, however, were filled at the time with a kind of passionate intensity.

According to metaphors that I collected from the Halifax Chronicle Herald and Cape Breton Post in 1964 and 65, the war on poverty in N.S. was being waged on 'dirt and disease' and on 'economic and social stagnation'. The headlines in the Halifax Chronicle Herald, in this 1964-65 period, were filled with these images and stories about battles that had to do with the 'cleaning and clearing of blighted areas and slums' and also of the people who lived in them.¹⁴²

The stereotypical categories that were created in the media and in the research were part of a 'dogma of immaculate perception', as Nietzsche put it. This is why despite the evidence to the contrary, professionals were able to identify the people in Black Point as being 'socially segregated and 'culturally deprived'.¹⁴³ The cultural deprivation theory¹⁴⁴ was widely accepted at the time

¹⁴² See, for instance:

- Halifax Chronicle Herald Sept.18, 1964 *Prov to Clean Africville Slum*
Halifax Chronicle Herald Sept. 29, 1964 *Poverty in Atlantic Provinces "Unpalatable"-Dodge*
Cape Breton Post April 19, 1965 *War on Poverty*
Halifax Chronicle-Herald March 6, 1965 *NFL (Newfoundland) Move Story*
Halifax Chronicle-Herald March 24,1965 *Poverty in Windsor*
Halifax Chronicle-Herald April 5, 1965 *Grants Approved for Studies of Five Black Communities*
Halifax Chronicle-Herald April 5, 1965 *Pearson's Anti-Poverty Throne Speech*
Halifax Chronicle-Herald April 5, 1965 *Federal Provincial War on Poverty meeting set*
Halifax Chronicle-Herald April 6, 1965 *CYC Created-The War on Poverty In CB*
Halifax Chronicle-Herald April 14,1965 *Incentives Urged for Whole Area*
Halifax Chronicle-Herald April 15, 1965 *War on Poverty to Start Soon in Cape Breton*
Halifax Chronicle-Herald April 16, 1965 *Pool Resources Area Urged*
Halifax Chronicle-Herald April 23, 1965 *Galbraith's Preachings May Help War on Poverty*
Halifax Chronicle-Herald April 24, 1965 *Letter to the Editor Misconstrued Report*
Halifax Chronicle-Herald May 20, 1965 *Pearson War on Poverty*
Halifax Chronicle-Herald May 21, 1965 *Federal Provincial War on Poverty Meet*
Halifax Chronicle Herald Dec.9, 1965 *Invernessers "People In Conflict"*

¹⁴³ See Oscar Lewis Five Families New York: Mentor, 1959. The cultural deprivation vs. cultural difference debate in the social science literature is extensive. One of the best is Nell Keddie's The Myth of Cultural Deprivation. London: Penguin, 1973. This book is a compilation of articles and includes Labov's essay about language that refutes Basil Bernstein's theory that suggested that working class language codes were restricted in comparison to middle class language codes that he called elaborate. Because language is so intimately connected to thought, Bernstein also suggested that working class children were not developing the capacity to think as clearly. See Basil Bernstein Class Codes and Control Vol.1&2 London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1971.

¹⁴⁴ See Oscar Lewis Five Families New York: Mentor, 1959. The cultural deprivation vs. cultural difference debate in the social science literature is extensive. One of the best is Nell Keddie's The Myth of Cultural Deprivation. London: Penguin, 1973. This book is a compilation of articles and includes Labov's essay about language that refutes Basil Bernstein's theory that suggested that working class language codes were restricted in comparison to middle class language codes that he called elaborate. Because language is so intimately connected to thought, Bernstein also suggested that working class children were not

and it justified the need for expert intervention on a personal and individual family level to alter the children's home environment. It discounted their parents right and also ability to make the best choices for their families.

The fact that the people in Black Point were also identified as being 'socially segregated' was as disturbing to mainstream professionals as the lack of bathrooms. It also justified state intervention on a political level in order to change the demographics of the district. A social worker who worked for George Mathews described the state's 'development mission' in the 1960's: ¹⁴⁵

A big part of the relocations had to do with the struggle against apartheid and segregation.¹⁴⁶ That was where the motivation came from...good

developing the capacity to think as clearly. See Basil Bernstein Class Codes and Control Vol.1&2 London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1971.

¹⁴⁵ Interview with Alexa MacDonald 1995. She continued:

I worked in the American 'war on poverty' in a few different cities. George Mathews talked me into coming back. He had developed an intense commitment to social planning that was quite different from what was going on in terms of urban renewal...I went into Social Planning. The Social Development Division of Social Welfare. Alan O'Brian had set up the Social Planning Department. He was the mayor in the final stages of Africville and quite instrumental. George Mathews was quite a conservative in many respects. He was a reactionary in some respects....when I look back on it; but he had a strong sense of the basic worth and dignity of people and an appreciation of rural roots and relationships. I always had the sense that he was trying to re-enforce the values of rural community. He had a basic commitment to a community development approach that was part of the liberal 60's thinking. And he did manage to get a hold of the resources. Often, though, the programs were circumscribed by the funding and there was also a kind of idealism that had to do with externally imposing programs. I saw some horrible examples of that. I went on the road with George Mathews. I don't ever remember going to community meetings in Bay St. Lawrence but knocking on kitchen doors and being met kindly; and the indigenous leaders already knew what he wanted in the communities. It appalls me how little I knew and how uncritical I was.....Most of my beliefs and insights really only started to happen after that experience in the aftermath of the Africville relocation. It was only afterwards that I developed a philosophical viewpoint. Through my association with Africville. People loved that community.

¹⁴⁶ See Donald Clairmont and Dennis Magill Africville Toronto: Canadian Scribbers' Press, 1987. pp. 138-140 Experts and local leaders and social services professionals assumed that the segregation of the communities like Africville or Black Point was socially unacceptable. It was assumed that the people living in Africville should be 'helped' to integrate into the larger society. Just as in Black Point, though, there was no research carried out to investigate the perspective of the people involved and the patterns of community culture which supported it. It was simply assumed that the people in the community were 'culturally deprived' and any resistance was part of the 'culture of poverty'. Clairmont and MacGill noted the fact that on a recommendation from an interracial human rights group that an in-depth study be carried out by a specialist to study the Africville community before any relocation decision was made. The government hired Dr. Alfred Rose, a sociologist from Toronto. On two separate visits he spent no more than two hours driving around the community. He read City staff reports on the community, magazine articles and a Dalhousie University study that talked generally about the condition of Black people in Halifax. He talked to other experts, officials,

intentions. It was a powerful thing and where a lot of people were coming from....assimilation and integration.

The themes of segregation and integration were essential to the reallocation. Segregation was part of Nicholson's analysis of the social process in the Bay district.¹⁴⁷ In reality, though, the MacKinnon families in Black Point were never forced to live in Black Point. They were only forced to leave it.

This is not to say that there was no prejudice in the district. It's just that the prejudice against the Gaelic language tradition was a function of the process of development as were the tensions that developed between the people living in these Northern communities.

In the end, as noted in Chapter 2, it was really the good intentions of the improvers and humanitarians that was the glue that held the whole development process together. These also prevented most everyone, including themselves, from seeing the nature of the contradictions inherent in it. Miliband (1969) noted that:¹⁴⁸

The trouble does not lie in the wishes and intentions of power holders, but in the fact that the reformers...are the prisoners, and usually the willing prisoners, of an economic and social framework which necessarily turns their reforming proclamations, however sincerely meant, into verbiage...Reform...is stunted, inadequate.....this kind of reform may help to mitigate some...of the worst dysfunctionalities and...this mitigation is indeed one of the most important of the state's attributions, an intrinsic and dialectical part of its role as the guardian of the social order...the reform always and necessarily falls far short of the promise...to create the 'great society', to eliminate poverty, to assure justice for all...the crusades regularly grind to a halt and the state comes under renewed and increased pressure...reform and repression...are not alternative options but complementary ones

and academics involved with the community. He talked to all of the leaders but none of the people. He had no real chance to understand the point of view of the people who actually lived in Africville or to understand how they sustained themselves and the nature of relationships that they cultivated. As one city official said it seemed that 'there was a good deal of prejudice injected into what he had been told, I did not feel that he knew the people of Africville.'

¹⁴⁷ Letter to Rev J. MacNeil Aug. 23, 1965. See holdings at the St. Francis Xavier Archives. John Nicholson. Nicholson mentioned this in interview and also in a letter he wrote to Extension at the time. 'Fr. MacKinnon, PP at Village (Bay) has read the report, thinks I went too heavy on 'segregation' but admits he has a 'vested interest'. Otherwise he concurs.'

¹⁴⁸ Ralph Miliband, Ralph. The State in Capitalist Society London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1969. pp. 270-71.

Problems in School- The Black Point Perspective

Ostensibly the schools in rural areas were consolidated to give the children living in those areas more educational opportunities, to integrate them into the larger society. In some sense it 'treated' everyone equally. It was the only institution in the district every child was compelled to attend no matter what their religious or family affiliation. Within the school, however, people,¹⁴⁹ who were sent as children from Black Point to the consolidated school in the Bay, reported that they were treated differently. In fact, they reported that they had never experienced segregation until they went there:¹⁵⁰

M. MacKinnon: They would treat us different...in the Bay school-- segregate us. That's exactly what they did. They had little clumps of...and they had excuses but they had the people in Black Point on one side..I mean they wouldn't probably admit it, but you know, we were on this side and then some other kids were on this side and then there was, always little...I mean most people will avoid answering this, I mean, they won't tell you this, but it's true....You were treated different. Like if it ever came to like head-check time or you know, like the health nurse come in, we were the first ones taken out of the room and checked and then, if they felt like it, they would check the other people that was there....They made you feel like you were an inch tall. That didn't ever make you feel good.

M.J. MacKinnon: I remember up at the school, when impetigo was started, they used to tell you you're the one's that started it. You're the ones that brought it here. You're the dirty 'Black Pointers'.

The children, however, from families who for one reason or another did not conform to social norms were identified and they were set apart spatially and socially within the school organization. In this respect the consolidated school was organized much differently from the one room schools in Capstick and Meat Cove. People reported that the consolidated school regulated, in much more detail than the one-room school, a wide range of behavior, from what it was acceptable to eat to what it was acceptable to wear.¹⁵¹

E. MacKinnon: We wore jeans. (to school in Meat Cove)

M. MacKinnon: You were allowed to wear jeans?

E. MacKinnon: Ya.

¹⁴⁹ Interviews with M. MacKinnon, W. MacKinnon, M.J. MacKinnon, E. MacKinnon, S. MacKinnon, O. MacKinnon, L. MacKinnon.

¹⁵⁰ Interview with M. MacKinnon and M.J. MacKinnon

¹⁵¹ Interview/ dialogue between M. MacKinnon and E. MacKinnon.

M. MacKinnon: How old, how old were you? (surprised) What time was that? Like, when we were going to school they made us wear dresses, and never used to let us wear the jeans.

S. MacKinnon: That was in the 1940's and 1950's. When did you get to school out here? (The new consolidated school in the Bay)

M. MacKinnon: The 1960's, I remember that we always had to wear dresses, even when I was in grade primary...even when it was really cold.

E. MacKinnon: I mean, Meat Cove school; they didn't care.

M. MacKinnon: In Meat Cove they didn't care?

E. MacKinnon: No, wear whatever you want.

S. MacKinnon: In Capstick school; they didn't care. (The children from Black Point went to the one room school in Capstick)

E. MacKinnon: It was mostly jeans, and we were wearing sweaters.

S. MacKinnon: You didn't have to worry about what you were wearing.

E. MacKinnon: Yes, I mean we wore dresses if we wanted; we could wear jeans if we wanted to.

The body itself was, as Foucault (1984) said, being 'manipulated, shaped and trained'.¹⁵² Modern institutions like the school or the factory are:¹⁵³

directed not only at the growth of its skills, or at the intensification of its subjection, but at the formation of a relation that in the mechanism itself makes it more obedient as it becomes more useful, and conversely. What was then being formed was a policy of coercions that act upon the body, a calculated manipulation of its elements, its gestures its behavior. The human body was entering a machinery of power that explores it, breaks it down and rearranges it. A 'political anatomy', which was also a 'mechanics of power', was being born; it defined how one may have a hold over others' bodies, not only, that they may do what one wishes, but so that they may operate as one wishes, with the techniques, the speed, and the efficiency that one determines. Thus discipline produces subjected and practiced bodies, 'docile' bodies.¹⁵⁴

¹⁵² Michel Foucault (Edited by Paul Rabinow) The Foucault Reader New York: Pantheon Books, 1984.pp. 180.

¹⁵³ Ibid. p.182. See also H. Gerth, and C.W. Mills From Max Weber New York: Oxford University Press, 1946. pp. 261, 263 From Max Weber The Theory of Social and Economic Organization. New York: The Free Press, 1947. (original German published in 1922 as *Wirtschaft und Gesellschaft*) Chapter 5 pp. 642-9.

Weber (1922) suggested that modern social institutions like the school or the factory have a military mode of organization.

The psycho-physical apparatus of man is completely adjusted to the demands of the outer world...The individual is shorn of his natural rhythm as determined by the structure of his organism; his psycho-physical apparatus is attuned to a new rhythm.

¹⁵⁴ Foucault's notion of the 'techniques of the body' was grounded in Mauss' ideas. See The Notion of Body Techniques (originally 1934) In Marcel Mauss Sociology and Psychology London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1979. p. 97-123 Mauss described his ideas about a notion he called *habitus* which worked on a physical and unconscious level:

The enforcement of rules like dress codes compels a certain kind of behavior and assumes a certain kind of organization of living space. The organization of the consolidated school with its rules and regulations and schedules was not geared to the social space of people who were maintaining a traditional household. The lives of people living in a house without an indoor toilet, central heating and electricity can be quite graceful and rhythmic. The kind of demands that the school and the school-bus schedule created, however, made life extremely ungraceful for people who were living without either the modern amenities or the wealth necessary to support them.¹⁵⁵

I have had this notion of the social nature of the 'habitus' for many years. The word translates infinitely better than 'habitude' (habit or custom), the 'exis', the acquired ability, and 'faculty' of Aristotle...These habits do not vary with individuals and their imitations; they vary between societies, education, proprieties and fashions, prestiges...(p.104)...In all these elements of the art of using the human body, the facts of education were dominant...The child, the adult imitates actions which have succeeded and which he has seen successfully performed by people in whom he has confidence and who have authority...The individual borrows the series of movements which constitute it from the action executed in front of him or with him by others. It is precisely this notion of the prestige of the person who performs the ordered, authorized, tested action vis-a-vis the imitating individual that contains all the social elements. The imitative action which follows contains the psychological element and the biological element.

Mauss called this a 'mode of social action' a 'technique of the body'. He used technique, he said, in the Greek sense of the word as an extension of the way that Plato 'spoke of a technique of music' or the dance. (Mauss pp. 101-02) Pierre Bourdieu also used Mauss' notion of *Habitus* in his work. See Pierre Bourdieu and J.C. Passeron Reproduction in Education, Society and Culture London: Sage, 1977 and Pierre Bourdieu The Outline of a Theory of Practice Cambridge Studies Cambridge University Press: Cambridge, 1977. p.89 Bourdieu (1977) said that modern institutions like the school:

seek to produce a new man through a process of 'deculturation' and 'reculturation'...[They] set...a store on the seemingly most insignificant details of dress, bearing, physical and verbal manners...Treating the body as a memory, they entrust to it in abbreviated and practical, i.e. mnemonic, form the fundamental principles of the arbitrary content of the culture. The principles embodied in this way are placed beyond the grasp on consciousness and hence cannot be made explicit; nothing seems more ineffable, more incommunicable, more inimitable, and therefore, more precious, than the values given body, made body by the transubstantiation achieved by the hidden persuasion of an implicit pedagogy...an ethic, a metaphysic, a political philosophy, through injunctions as insignificant as 'stand up straight' or 'don't hold your knife in your left hand'

Gregory Bateson made this same point in Steps to an Ecology of the Mind Ballantine: N.Y., 1972. p. 139.

The algorithms of theunconscious arecoded and organized in a manner totally different from the algorithms of language. and since a great deal of conscious thought is structured in terms of the logics of language, the algorithms of the unconscious are doubly inaccessible.

¹⁵⁵ People had to live the kind of lives in which they could buy their children the required school clothes and shoes. They had to live in the kind of houses that were equipped with the

There was a control inherent in adhering to the seemingly insignificant daily rituals of institutions like the school or factory. The concessions that these social systems demand, though, are ultimately political concessions.¹⁵⁶

The whole trick of pedagogic reason lies precisely in the way it extorts the essential while seeming to demand the insignificant; in obtaining the respect for form and forms of respect which constitute the most visible but at the same time the best hidden, because the most 'natural', manifestation of submission to the establish order...the State fashions us for its own use and this enables it to survive....the (small details are) public testimonies of recognition which every group expects of its members....that is, the symbolic taxes that are due...

The people in Black Point were not the only ones in the district who ignored these 'symbolic taxes'. They continued, however, to ignore them much longer than most people. They resisted paying the kind of tribute that the state system required. They began to be marked and their children began to be isolated because of it.¹⁵⁷

Engineering the Move: The Formation of the Interdepartmental Committee

In 1965, an Interdepartmental Committee was set up by the Provincial government in response to the complaints they had received from local

facilities to keep these clothes in the proper order. They had to be able to buy the required supplies and buy the children the proper food for lunches and snacks. People had to be able to meet the time schedule of the school bus which was even more demanding and precise than that of the school bell. Mothers, for instance, in the morning had to get five or six young children ready for school, take care of their pre-school children and infants, and, at the same time, start the wood stove, boil water for washing, make breakfast and pack lunches and get their kids fed and out the door with enough time that they didn't miss the school bus. Actually, the reports of malnutrition may be related to the lunch program or lack of lunch program at the school in the Bay. I questioned the teachers about the reports of malnutrition. They said that some of the children from Black Point did not bring lunches to school. The Black Point children could not walk home for lunch from the consolidated school like they did when they attended the one room school in Capstick. This meant that they had to bring lunch. Members of the Black Point community also report that they were ridiculed in the consolidated school by some of the children from more 'modern' homes for bringing homemade bread or *bannoch* and molasses for lunch. The fact that children were ridiculed for what they brought for lunch may have had something to do with some of them not bringing lunches.

¹⁵⁶ Pierre Bourdieu Outline of a Theory of Practice Cambridge Studies in Social Anthropology Cambridge University Press: Cambridge, 1977. p. 89.

¹⁵⁷ This is not to say that the people in the Black Point community didn't pay any social dues. They just paid in their own coin and usually in their own community.

authorities. The committee was composed of provincial government representatives from the Department of Public Welfare, the Department of Public Health, the Housing Commission, and the Adult Education Division of the Department of Education.¹⁵⁸ George Mathews, the Director of Social Development from the Department of Public Welfare, served as the chair. The mandate of the Interdepartmental Committee that met regularly from 1965 to 1967, was to solve what, from the state perspective, was 'the problem of Black Point.'

Relocation as the solution was decided on rather quickly.¹⁵⁹ Ultimately, the reins of power in the relocation were controlled by these officials who were quietly meeting behind the scenes. There was no one from the communities of Bay St. Lawrence, Black Point or Meat Cove represented on this government committee. The residents in these communities did not know that an Interdepartmental Committee had been set up to decide what to do about the situation in the district. In fact, no one seems to have known about this committee except for the local elite.¹⁶⁰ To this day its existence has never really been publicly acknowledged.¹⁶¹

¹⁵⁸ National Archives of Canada, Halifax Records Center. ARDA file 22051. *Black Point-Meat Cove Relocation Project. Black Point- Meat Cove Relocation Project (Submission to the Victoria County Council)* pp. 1,3.

¹⁵⁹ *Ibid.* p.3 . The relocation decision was not as severe a solution as some that were offered by local leaders in the Bay. George Mathews, from the Department of Welfare, reported in interview:

All of a sudden we, in the Department, began to get these complaints to the Minister about the situation down there. And really the original suggestion was to whether the Department of Social Services come down with a bus and round up all the children and take them away...

¹⁶⁰ The members of the Victoria County Council were informed because the Interdepartmental Committee made a submission to them asking for financial assistance.

¹⁶¹ 'Unofficial' news of this government committee appeared in the same article that also leaked news of Nicholson's survey results. See *Halifax Chronicle-Herald* April 15, 1965 *War on Poverty to Start Soon in Cape Breton*. The 'official' version, which was written with the cooperation of Father Joseph Campbell, from Sydney Extension, appeared a few days later on April 19, 1965 in the *Cape Breton Post*. The official story, which I've quoted earlier, emphasized the involvement of the community and the assertion that they had initiated the whole development process. The 'unofficial' report in the *Chronicle Herald* was distorted but in some ways it was more honest. It reflected what the 'officials' really believed and the stories they were sharing with their friends and colleagues behind the scenes. These 'stories' had much more to do with the policies and practices than the official stories they told in their public speeches.

A provincial government health and welfare group is scheduled to move into the Bay St. Lawrence area of Victoria County soon. Provincial government departments made a survey of conditions in the four communities ...but the report was not made public. The federal government announced it would send in a team as part of its declared war on poverty...

The people in Black Point did not know that a case had been brought against them or that they had become 'cases' social welfare officials were trying to resolve.¹⁶² They never even had an opportunity to speak in their defense. Although, from the state perspective, they didn't really need to. The officials who controlled the process considered themselves to be as impartial. The social welfare agencies of the state were supposed to exist to serve the interests of the people involved. From the state perspective the decision to relocate the people in the Black Point community was simply a matter of helping people learn how to help themselves, that is, of rehabilitation,

Sometimes, though, the line between rehabilitation and punishment seems very thin. The decision that was made in the Black Point 'case' was quite similar to decisions that are normally rendered in the judicial system. Relocation would control people's use of space so that their behavior could be modified. This is not to say that the members of the Interdepartmental Committee intended to punish the people in Black Point but their ideas were extremely biased. Partly this had to do with the dialogue that was taking place on many levels between the local representatives of the state system and and the state authorities in the Department of Health and Welfare.

Casually, over tea and scones, the ideas of the local authorities and the ideas of the state authorities, different branches of the same tree, cross pollinated and the 'taken for granted reality' that both groups shared was regenerated. The people on the committee, for instance, all had access to Nicholson's survey data and his interpretation of it.

Nicholson 'warned' the state officials that he showed it to, to keep it private. So 'unofficially', like gossip, it was passed around from one development agency to another.¹⁶³ No one at the community level ever had access to it even

¹⁶² As noted at this time most of the families in the community had never been involved with the welfare system.

¹⁶³ RG 30-2/6/ 1317-23A Holding at St. F.X. Archives. See Correspondence John Nicholson and Rev. J.N. MacNeil. Nicholson's research has never been open to public or peer scrutiny. John Nicholson, however, released it to certain people. For instance the priest in the Bay read it and he sent a copy to Rev. MacNeil, at Extension. He asked MacNeil not to release his study in a letter of Aug. 23, 1965:

Enclosed is the only copy of Bay St. Lawrence Survey-- I would appreciate having the original back if you would be so kind, also your critique. You will notice "Warning" page at the front-- self explanatory after you read the contents. Fr. MacKinnon, P.P. (Parish Priest) at Village (St. Margaret's Village) has read the report, thinks I went too heavy on 'segregation' but he admits he has a 'vested interest', otherwise he concurs...Please remember us in your prayers and good works, as we shall you in ours. Sincerely John J. Nicholson.

though, in the end, it was used to justify the relocation decision.¹⁶⁴ In fact, no one at any level, has ever been able to question it, because it does not officially exist.

Objective Bias

It was the 'unofficial' evidence that never really appeared in the project description that built the case for relocation. People in the district never heard it being built, though. Partly, this had to do with the fact that the evidence resounding in the official consciousness at the time was only heard in whispers in the hallways not in official speeches or reports.

For instance, the traditional marriage patterns of the people in the community were not mentioned once in the thick ARDA file held in the National Archives. Yet, breaking traditional patterns of relationships by breaking up the community was probably more of an issue than improving housing conditions. One of the Social Development Workers in the Social Services Division of the Department of Welfare drove up to Black Point and Meat Cove with George Mathews.¹⁶⁵

I don't ever remember George Mathews saying anything to me that was critical of people...The only thing I remember was that there was this tiny little community....which was supposed to be quite inbred and that the inbreeding was a cause of concern-- as to how long it could perpetuate without it becoming a serious problem.

The traditional marriage patterns in Black Point seem to have been of major concern to the mainstream professionals whom I interviewed. Why doesn't this

Nicholson's survey circulated through development circles. Father MacNeil returned the original. He wrote Nicholson that he had 'slightly edited' the original and then 'took the liberty to run off a dozen copies.' He sent two of these copies to Nicholson and then allowed various people access to the others. See for instance RG 30-3/29/900 Holdings at St. F. X. Archives. Letter Sept. 21, 1965 from James MacNeil to Rev J.N. MacNeil. In this letter James MacNeil, Chairman of the Joint ARDA Task Force, asked if Rev. MacNeil would send him 'information obtained...from the study by Nicholson' to use in planning. He reassured Rev. MacNeil that 'until the study (was) released this would be kept confidential.' In a letter dated Nov. 18, 1965, to Nicholson, Rev. MacNeil told Nicholson, 'I have allowed James MacNeil, chairman of the ARDA Joint Task Force to see the report and have given permission for him to use some of the statistics. I believe it will find its greatest use in helping is and ARDA devise some sort of program in that area.'

¹⁶⁴ Dep't of Public Welfare (Study by Helen Ralston). *Black Point-Meat Cove Relocation Project- Evaluation Study* Manuscript published by Dep't of Public Welfare: Halifax, 1970.

¹⁶⁵ Interview with A. MacDonaugh

issue appear in the government records? The CBC documentary that was aired across Canada in 1964 brought up this issue. There were rumours of inbreeding, incest, mental and physical deformity.¹⁶⁶ It was taken for granted that the health of the community was threatened because of these patterns.¹⁶⁷ Was there any basis for these fears? No research was ever undertaken nor were any studies carried out to determine whether a problem existed.

As noted in Chapter One, the cousin marriages that are so abhorred in this generation were once quite conventional. In fact, in the Highland tradition, they were the social convention. Until fairly recently, this was as true in the Bay district in both Catholic and Protestant families as it was in Highland Scotland. The particular close cousin marriage pattern of the MacKinnon Fraser families set

¹⁶⁶ These rumours still persist. In the early 1990's, I taught an undergraduate UCCB (University College of Cape Breton) course 'Qualitative Methods in the Social Sciences' in Northern Cape Breton. The class was small. One was a teacher, another a principal, one a waitress, two registered nurses, two fishers (women), and a forester. As part of the class people decided to do a survey on stratification in the area. They asked people about where they would want to live and why, who they would dance with and why, whether some people were better than others, thought they were better, etc. Questions were asked of people in Sydney, Ingonish, Neil's Harbour, and Cape North. There was a consistent pattern in the responses. Meat Cove and Black Point (even though it doesn't exist physically) continue to be stigmatized. The phrases used to describe the communities were 'backward, fighting, riots, inbred craziness, bunch of animals, troublemakers, inbred, rowdy, incest, sex, hicks, uncivilized.' People from the area who were questioned also believed that all of Northern Cape Breton was stigmatized. They believed that people outside Northern Cape Breton thought that they were 'drunks', poor stupid, country folk, hicks' They thought that the reputation of Meat Cove affected the reputation of all people in the Northern district. Many also thought that the media were responsible for the widespread reputation of Meat Cove and the whole area.

¹⁶⁷ These concerns were briefly mentioned in an internal study for the Department of Welfare that was carried out by a sociologist to assess the project in progress a year or so after the first families moved into Bay St. Lawrence. See Dep't of Public Welfare. *Black Point-Meat Cove Relocation Project- Evaluation Study* Manuscript published by Dep't of Public Welfare: Halifax, 1970. At the time the researcher did not investigate the basis of them in her work but personally she questioned their validity. I interviewed the sociologist who wrote the Department of Welfare study:

Interviewer: You mention in your report that there was a perception that inter-marriage between the groups in Black Point and Meat Cove was weakening these communities.

Sociologist: By the outsiders.....But I think the whole thing was a bit of a myth. The local leaders in the Bay community, the 'old stable' Bay community, harboured some strange myths. I don't think...that in the past, they had been any more into inter-marriage (in Black Point and Meat Cove) than they had been in the Bay community...But people in the Bay community became very suspicious of the Black Point community being relocated there and they had a whole stereotypic vision of the lifestyle and values of the Black Point community. Okay, now the Catholic community in the Bay was very closed and very conservative....There was a lot of kind-of internal condemnation..condemnation is too strong a word, though — they had developed a rather superior attitude of their own kind of value system. And the attitude of Black Pointer's leading of 'a loose life' a little bit.

the kin group apart in the Bay district but, as noted, MacPherson (1968) reported close cousin marriage was frequent in some Highland districts in Scotland during the same period. The local leaders may have condemned the endogamy of the MacKinnon Frasers but they themselves were personally rooted in the same tradition. Jim MacNeil, the principal of Highland school, who originally complained about the conditions in Black Point, and his wife Rita Capstick, were first cousins, for instance.¹⁶⁸ Dr. Ron Stuart, former Provincial Health Minister, practiced in the area during the relocation years commented:¹⁶⁹

The cousin marriage wasn't really a health problem but there were certain minor problems in the population— asthma and bronchitis, heart disease; and in Meat Cove, but not in Black Point, diabetes. It was the cultural differences that set the people apart. Gaelic was associated with lower class and country people....Aesthetics had a lot to do with it, too. The housing didn't look that good...especially for development in terms of tourism. Also they were isolated geographically. I looked upon Black Point, Meat Cove as the most remote. People in those communities had a different approach to medicine. There was alcoholism in the southern end in Ingonish, but very little, at the time, in the North. There was a kind of equalitarianism. What was impressive was longevity, the lack of serious illness, the sense of communal nurturing, and the houses in which elderly people were taken care of. There was a common theme running through Africville and North of Smoky at the time and it had to do with the attitude of the white middle Class. There was a ghettoization of that community.

The marriage patterns that held people together in Highland communities often set them apart from the people outside of these communities.¹⁷⁰ The stigma

¹⁶⁸ Rita's mother was Annie (Brown) Capstick. She was Jack and Peter Brown's sister from the Brown family that lived down at the Beach in Bay St. Lawrence. Jim MacNeil's mother was another sister from the same family.

¹⁶⁹ Interview with Dr. Ron Stuart.

¹⁷⁰ Barth noted that in Europe fishing people made up one of many pariah groups that also included gypsies and 'dealers in horseflesh'. See Fredrick Barth Ethnic Groups and Boundaries London: George Allen & Unwin, 1970. Dorian specifically discussed the stigmatization of Gaelic fishing communities. Nancy Dorian Language Death- The Life Cycle of a Scottish Gaelic Dialect Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1981. See also Jane H. Nadel Stigma and Separation: Pariah Status and Community Persistence in a Scottish Fishing Village Ethnology Vol. 23, 1984. p104

The intense endogamy of fishing villages in Scotland has been widely noted...From the start the village was highly endogamous, the descendants of the original settlers marrying each other until the web of family alliances became virtually impenetrable...Ferrydon and its people were stigmatized. That is, they like other fisherfolk in the north and east were...objects of satire, exploitation, revulsion, and occasionally, well-meaning charity...By the middle of the nineteenth century, endogamy had become both an actual mechanism for village closure and a symbolic representation of Ferrydon's social encapsulation within the region.

that they carried marked them, Nadel (1984) noted. They were perceived as being 'inbred and weak-minded, dirty, coarse, impulsive, bellicose, inebriated'.¹⁷¹

A number of recent studies have suggested that cousin marriage, even close cousin marriage, can promote the social well being of a group without significantly affecting its physical well being.¹⁷² The scientific work that has been done makes it clear that cousin marriage is nothing to be ashamed of.

Marriage conventions prohibiting cousin marriage, though, are an essential part of the state ideology of progress. Perhaps this is because endogamous marriage patterns help maintain and strengthen traditional relationships of kin-group, that is, of family and community.¹⁷³ It is really not the blood lines but the social illusion of 'bad blood' that weakens and undermines people who have been marked in this way.

The Invention of Slums

From the mainstream perspective Black Point was a ghetto, a rural slum. Professionals like Mathews believed that the whole way of life of the people in the community, the relationships they had together, the houses they lived in, had more to do with desperation than choice. In 1968 in a paper at a Municipal Welfare Seminar in Sydney, Nova Scotia on housing for the poor, George Mathews discussed living conditions in communities he had been working to relocate like Black Point and Africville.¹⁷⁴

¹⁷¹ Ibid.

¹⁷² See, for instance, Joseph Shepher *Incest: A Biosocial View* London: Academic Press, 1983. James B. Twitchell *Forbidden Partners*. New York: Columbia University Press; 1987. p. 129.

¹⁷³ Edward Westermarck *The History of Human Marriage*. Vol. 2, London: MacMillan and Co.; 1921. See especially Chapters 8 and 9. p. 235. It is also no accident that Westermarck would condemn cousin marriage as injurious for the common people but not for the 'well-to-do' classes'. The mainstream bias against cousin marriage does not seem to extend to the aristocracy. Or, at least, they are not affected by it in the same way. There was, for instance, never any relocation project implemented to 'help' the royal family in England or other countries in Europe integrate into the larger society so that they would stop associating with and marrying other members of the aristocracy to whom they were related.

¹⁷⁴ RG 30-3/1240-44 Holdings at St. F. X. Archives. *Housing for the Poor*. Paper by George Mathews. p.1. He continued:

It seems to be our way of life today to protest and march whenever the public sector tries to make an attempt to rectify a bad situation. Yet these same persons would not march to see that better housing is provided for the families for which you have a responsibility.

Even Jim MacNeil, the principal and teacher who originally 'reported' the families to the authorities, was zealous in his mission to help the children in the community. Elizabeth

Some situations, I know, must turn your stomachs when you see the conditions under which people are living. I don't believe, nor do I think that you believe, people live this way by choice. They live this way because they have been forced into a situation that offers no solution and no hope that things will be any better. This is important when we consider just how we are to solve this problem. In an area where public housing is to be built there is always a terrific hue and cry against it because families will be moved in

It is clear that Mathews was convinced relocation and housing projects would help 'poor' people improve their way of life. He honestly believed it was the personal responsibility of social welfare workers and officials to impose these. Mathews reported that he thought all social concerns, official and unofficial, would be addressed by removing the families from their homes in Black Point and relocating them into modern houses in more centrally located communities. 'It was housing', Mathews said in interview, 'housing pure and simple'.

From the perspective of the members of the Interdepartmental Committee, the housing in Black Point did not measure up to even the minimum social standards required by the state and this justified the state's intervention. The committee report stated:¹⁷⁵

It is inconceivable that we allow the terrible housing conditions to exist that were revealed by our study.¹⁷⁶ Families of eight and nine live in a one room shack. Water has to be brought some distance and even minimum sanitary facilities are not available. Therefore, one of the prime objectives of this project will be re-housing of these families in minimum standard housing, sponsored under the Nova Scotia Housing Commission.

MacNeil, Jim MacNeil's sister-in-law, reported that 'Jim felt the same way as I do. I know in my heart that they did it for the betterment of the community. We have to look ahead to the generations. It was for the children.'

¹⁷⁵ Op. cit. National Archives of Canada, Halifax Records Center. ARDA file 22051

¹⁷⁶ The members of the committee drove through the communities. They did not visit the families. They visited with the families of the local leaders, as noted. They had the Public Health Nurse do profile studies of the families and the conditions of the homes.

The notion of 'slum', though, like the notion of 'poverty' or of 'dirt'¹⁷⁷, has more to do with the dominant social process than with any objective social reality.¹⁷⁸ Peter Marris (1981) noted that:

The word 'slum' is like the word 'dirt': evocative, disapproving, an indefinable except in the context of our expectations of what should be...Characteristically, housing is condemned as a slum when, in the eyes of those who make policy, its appearance and use contradicts the requirements of society. The perception of anomaly depends...on the context...The response to slums is equally situational— to remove the eyesore from that place, and to prevent it reappearing in any similar context, by some form of slum clearance or rehabilitation.

In some sense the people in the Black Point community were ghettoized by the attitudes of the people who were supposed to be helping them.¹⁷⁹ The state really invents social anomalies by defining certain standards as norms—e.g. standard and sub-standard levels of housing, income, education or sanitation. Then it controls the behavior of the people who are subject to its authority by instituting programs of social and psychological rehabilitation to correct the anomalies it has defined.¹⁸⁰

None of this is to say that economic disparity doesn't exist but that social problems have as much or more to do with power relations as with material condition. This is probably why the new houses that were built for the people in Black Point didn't really appear to be very much different than their old ones. (See Appendix J) This may also be why after only a very few years, public housing projects, even if they are different in the beginning, take on the forlorn look of the old housing that they replaced.

A Difference in Perspectives

Pepin (1969) called the houses in Black Point and Meat Cove communities shanties. To the people who lived inside them, though, they were

¹⁷⁷ See Mary Douglas *Purity and Danger* Harmondsworth, England: Penguin, 1970.

¹⁷⁸ Peter Marris *The Meaning of Slums and Patterns of Change* in the United Nations Centre for Human Settlements (Habitat) *The Residential Circumstances of the Urban Poor in Developing Countries* Praeger Special Studies: N.Y., 1981. p. 68.

¹⁷⁹ Dr. Stuart commented on this in an interview with him that I quoted earlier.

¹⁸⁰ Michel Foucault (Edited by Paul Rabinow) *The Foucault Reader* New York: Pantheon Books, 1984. (See also p. 198 in Foucault's *Discipline and Punishment*) pp. 60-61.

home. None of the people in the Black Point community reported that they felt that their living conditions or their housing was deplorable. They reported that they were interested in improving them but, that, other things came first. At the time, acquiring modern amenities and keeping up appearances were not as important as keeping up the relationships in their families.

C. MacKinnon reported that one of the social workers thought that she should try to keep her small house cleaner and more tidy. C. had 12 young children at the time. She would have had to severely limit the children's personal freedom to keep her house as orderly as the young single social worker thought it should be. This made very little sense to her. 'We always put the children first', she said. C. MacKinnon reported:¹⁸¹

One time the social worker told me to put all the children out....to bundle them up and put them outside in the morning so that I could keep the house clean....I told her, 'Isn't my house made for my children too'.¹⁸²

W. MacKinnon, who was a child in this family, described in detail her house in Black Point and her experience growing up there:¹⁸³

When I left Black Point, I was eight or nine. I remember a lot of things. I remember the closeness of the family. I remember the birds, the animals, the sunshine, the water, the smell of the traps, the smell of the fish, waking up to the birds singing in the morning. I still miss that today.... I remember sitting around at supper time, telling stories and singing songs and people coming to visit, and them playing the fiddle. I remember lots of things.

I remember our house. The layout of it--the kitchen, the living room, the bedroom. The wash stand. Mom had a vanity, and a pitcher for water, next to the stove. We had the hot water tank built right into the (wood)stove itself. Under it was the stand with the basin for shampoo and soap and all that stuff. There was a kitchen (wood) stove with a warming closet, to keep the food hot. Mom would often put Dad's supper in there to stay warm until he came home.

¹⁸¹ Interview with C. MacKinnon

¹⁸² As noted the large families seem to have been intentional. That is, they were not necessarily simply the result of ignorance. Children and old people were perceived to be a blessing, not a curse. C. MacKinnon, who raised 12 children, remembered when she had only one child at home she would try to get other children to stay over with her:

I remember hoping that the kids would come to eat the bread with us. We only had the one and so I'd make the sugar candy and sweet biscuits hoping that M. and S's. kids would come and that N. (a little girl) wouldn't go home.

¹⁸³ Interview with W. MacKinnon

I remember the kitchen table-- sitting around the kitchen table. It was a big round table. We took the table from Black Point. I remember the table but I can't remember what happened to it. When we moved down they gave it away to someone. I guess they must have wanted another table or maybe there was no room for it in the new house. (The modern kitchen was very small.) But I loved that table. It was a round table with a big oak pedestal. It was huge.

We had two double beds in our bedroom. There was two bedrooms. Dad and Mom's on one side and two double beds for the girls which would have been. J. and J. , and M. and M., and myself and L., and E. and C. R. (the only boy) had a bed of his own. D. H., wasn't born at the time. He was born down here. S. was two months. And R. (the only boy) had a space for himself. You came in through the kitchen door, and there was a stove and the wash stand. There was two windows facing the ocean.

The house in Black Point was smaller than the house in the Bay but there was more space. It was more open. The kitchen, dining room and living room were open. But the bedrooms were small. They seemed bigger to me because I was a child. There was a loft too. We were always warm because between the two bedrooms Dad had another stove. A second stove in back...and we always had plenty of wood.

We bathed in a tub. It was a round tub and most times we shared the water. The outhouse was part of the barn. But Mom also had a chamber pot. It was this special place in the barn for the outhouse... We used to do the wash with wash board and scrub board. We didn't have inside plumbing, but then my mother had one of them old fashioned wringer washers....Dad bought it..

For breakfast we ate porridge, pancakes, homemade bacon. Mom would pack sandwiches for school and cookies. Suppertime was always a big meal. We would have fish, roast, potatoes and bread. Everything was homemade back home. There was less junk than now. For sweetening we'd use sugar, brown sugar, molasses, maple syrup. Homemade maple syrup and maple sugar. Mom was the main one who cooked. She made homemade bread, cakes, cookies, and pies. We had a cow and we made homemade butter and cheese (curds). We had a garden, but not where we were situated. We had a garden down by Peter MacKinnon's. In the field there. Because where we lived it was kind of rocky. It was really rocky, so the garden was down there; and Daddy had potatoes and turnips and carrots and the usual. The cow was down in the pasture, down below the house. The pasture went from where we lived all down to L. and M. (another aunt and uncle), where they used to live. And it was broken up there. There was a pasture down below M.s (her uncle)...Maybe we were poor then but we didn't know it. We were happy and our house was made way better than the one we are in now. (The new houses were plywood without any siding. This

woman's house in Black Point was made of boards with wooden shingles on the outside)

It was not the actual physical conditions of the houses or that lack of social amenities that really distressed authorities, though. Actually, the local professionals had all grown up without toilets and electricity and there were many houses North of Smoky that appeared physically run down to the mainstream eye. The Public Health Nurse noted that 'there was deterioration all through Victoria County...It was just the temper of the times and I don't think that in itself it was unique to Black Point.'¹⁸⁴

What was disturbing to state authorities was the will of the people in the kin group, their independence, the way they chose to live. It was not just their poverty in mainstream terms. There were plenty of poor people in Nova Scotia. The problem was that the people in the MacKinnon-Fraser kin group didn't feel poor. They didn't feel as if they were deprived.¹⁸⁵

Interviewer: So, from your point of view, there were problems in the community with the poverty and the housing?

Social Worker: Well, it's not so simple. There were problems, like there were other poor communities, but they would have sanitary facilities and that. With this community...it's really more complex...**It's not that they did not have them; it's that they couldn't see the need of them.**

The social and material exchanges that were valuable from the local perspective were not worth anything in terms of the larger society. The work that was involved in maintaining the traditional way of life,¹⁸⁶ the planning that

¹⁸⁴ Interview with Public Health Nurse

¹⁸⁵ Interview with George Mathews and social worker from the Department of Social Services.

Interviewer: Can you tell me some of the positive aspects?

Social Worker: The love of their children was a real positive thing.

George Mathews: And family cohesion, like were more protective, right to the nth degree. You never got any antagonism of one family toward another.

Social Worker: If one family had a problem, you know, you burned-out, they just took them in. So what if it was 10 people? This family cohesion was really...

George Mathews: If they hadn't have had that, of course the community would've disintegrated many years ago.

¹⁸⁶ In the 1950's and 1960's, for instance, people living in the Black Point area, cut their own wood and salted and dried their own fish. Most grew their own potatoes and turnips. Many kept a cow and a pig and also made hay for those creatures. All the families made their own lobster traps. This meant knitting heads, cutting and bending the bows, and drilling and sawing the sills and lathes. The people knew how to butcher their pigs, birth their calves, make their own wood sleds and even their own flats for fishing.

people had to do and the skills they had to master, were not recognized as work by mainstream professionals.¹⁸⁷ This probably had to do with the fact that it had little to do with the context of wage labour. Traditional patterns had more to do with subsistence than either production or consumption.¹⁸⁸ George Mathews and a social worker from the Department of Welfare discussed their perspective:¹⁸⁹

Social Worker: Part of it comes from....I think they didn't work as long.

George Mathews: They weren't as industrious. Some of them weren't.

Social Worker: They fished a little, you know they got by, but it wasn't the same structured way of living; the long-range planning that people in Capstick do. This just wasn't there. It was a more day to day....You could go in and there were no groceries. You know, you'd have your groceries, at least, do till Friday type of thing; but they just lived like on a day to day....You know there was no long-range planning, there was no weekly planning. They bought groceries, they did everything on a day-to-day, spur of the moment...

One of the most basic problems from the state perspective was the fact that the people in the Black Point were not 'motivated by the work values nor the social pressures that operate in modern technological society to make persons seek maximum material standards.'¹⁹⁰

¹⁸⁷ Dep't of Public Welfare (Study by Helen Ralston). *Black Point-Meat Cove Relocation Project- Evaluation Study* Manuscript published by Dep't of Public Welfare: Halifax, 1970. Traditional nutritional or domestic knowledge was not recognized as knowledge either. For instance, the Health Nurse and a nutritionist from the Department of Health organized nutrition classes to help the women in the community learn how basic domestic skills like cooking and sewing. It was presumptuous of these mainstream professionals to conclude that the women in the community were ignorant of 'basic skills'. When I interviewed C. MacKinnon, who attended some of these classes, she described to me the details of how to rend the oil from cod-livers. She baked all of her own bread and knew how to put up and store food for the winter. She also knew how to sew and make clothes for her family. The government decided, however, that none of the women in Black Point knew about 'basic homemaking skills' like sewing or nutrition. So they send down a nutritionist and homemaker to teach the women in the community the 'basic skills' that they were supposed to have lacked. C. MacKinnon said that she thought she might learn something so she was eager to attend the classes at first. She reported, however, that the women from the community found that the teacher knew less than they did about basic homemaking. So they ended up teaching her. C. MacKinnon remembered that a few of the women from Black Point had to show the young teacher how to cut out material without a pattern to make clothes. She said that after the first few classes she and the others just stopped going.

¹⁸⁸ Feminist authors have often pointed to the process in which women's work de-valued in industrial society because they are not part of the formal economy or 'labour market'. See Maria Mies *Patriarchy and Accumulation on a World Scale* London: Zed Books, 1986 and Maria Mies & Vandana Shiva *Ecofeminism* London : Zed Books, 1993. (Available Halifax: Fernwood Publications, 1993)

¹⁸⁹ Interview with George Mathews and social worker.

¹⁹⁰ Dep't of Public Welfare (Study by Helen Ralston). *Black Point-Meat Cove Relocation Project- Evaluation Study* Manuscript published by Dep't of Public Welfare: Halifax, 1970.

Relocation: A Discipline of Space and Time

By moving the people in Black Point into modern housing, the state was really attempting to appropriate the cultural space in which people lived. The relocation was implemented to train the people, as Mathews said, to behave differently by 'imposing modern housing on them'.¹⁹¹ Or as the Department of Welfare Study noted, to effect 'cognitive, attitudinal, and behavioral' changes in the members of the community.¹⁹² The primary purpose of the project was to completely re-construct the cultural framework of the people so it would support the development of a 'new ethos' grounded in industry and industriousness.

As a 'dividing practice', as Foucault (1984) called it, the relocation was supposed to tame people, to train them to submit to the state's authority and to adhere to the straight rows and drills that characterized mainstream organizations of the land¹⁹³, of the fishery,¹⁹⁴ of the school and of the factory. It was really a spatial discipline that had to do with the enclosure and rationalization of space.¹⁹⁵

Discipline proceeds from an organization of individuals in space, and it requires a specific enclosure of space....Disciplinary control is unquestionably connected to the rise of capitalism....Once established this grid permits the sure distribution of the individuals who are to be

p.23. In the 1960's the 'appearance' of poverty, in small rural communities like those in Northern Cape Breton or Newfoundland or urban communities like Africville seemed to threaten the liberal illusion of social equality and freedom of opportunity. It threatened the idea that there were no real social class or status divisions in the dominant order and that everyone was free to chose how they wanted to live and what part they wanted to play in the social order. The relocation as an attempt to force the people in Black Point to change the nature of their material reality actually had more to do with making the appearance of their disadvantage less noticable than with actually making them less disadvantaged.

¹⁹¹ Interview with George Mathews.

¹⁹² Op. cit. Department of Welfare Study p. 10

¹⁹³ The long straight rows and drills of modern agriculture came with mechanization. When the settlers first arrived in Northern Cape Breton, they often planted in hills in and around and between the rocks and the stumps similar to the way squash is sometimes grown in home gardens.

¹⁹⁴ The long straight rows of buoys and traps that characterize lobster fishing came with motors and mechanized haulers. The old people, who knew the bottom and who hauled by hand learned and fished in all of the good spots. Only one or two of the oldest fishers continued this traditional pattern in the Bay district. Their buoys rarely went in straight lines.

¹⁹⁵ See Michel Foucault (Edited by Paul Rabinow) The Foucault Reader New York: Pantheon Books, 1984. pp. 17, 21(See also p. 198 in Foucault's Discipline and Punishment)

disciplined and supervised. In a factory, the procedure facilitates productivity; in a school, it assures orderly behavior; in a town it reduces the risk of dangerous crowds, wandering vagabonds or epidemic diseases...Dividing practices constitute... the new disciplinary technology.

There is a direct relation between the way that people live and the spaces that they live in. Changing the kind of spaces in which they lived would tend to change, as Bourdieu (1977) noted, the way they 'embody the social structures of their world'.¹⁹⁶

It is in the dialectical relationship between the body and space...that one finds the form...which leads to the em-bodying of the structures of the world...inhabited space-and above all the house- is the principal locus for the objectification of the generative schemes.

The relocation was supposed to train the children in the community, to adapt to a whole new way of life. The records of the Interdepartmental Committee on Black Point and Meat Cove noted:¹⁹⁷

The present communities are non-viable, there is no reason for their existence and yet sixty five children under sixteen years of age live in them. The primary purpose of this relocation is to move them to an area where educational opportunities¹⁹⁸ are greater and where they will have an opportunity to experience an entirely different way of life.¹⁹⁹

Mathews' cultural framework made it impossible for him to believe that the people in Black Point might actually chose to use space the way they did. The aspects of life in Black Point that the people in Black Point miss the most are the

¹⁹⁶ Pierre Bourdieu Outline of a Theory of Practice Cambridge Studies in Social Anthropology Cambridge University Press: Cambridge, 1977. p. 89. Bourdieu has written detailed and precise descriptions of how Algerian peasants' houses were in some way a physical expression of their cultural position in the world.

¹⁹⁷ Op. cit. National Archives of Canada , Halifax Records Center. ARDA file 22051 pp. 2,3.

¹⁹⁸ The formal educational opportunities, in terms of the public schooling were no greater in Bay St. Lawrence than they were in Black Point. The relocation project had to do with 'education and training' in the broadest sense of the words. There was, for instance, no concern for the children in Capstick who lived only a mile or two down the road.

¹⁹⁹ After the children were moved state officials assumed that further intervention would be unnecessary because the economic pressures of the 'free market' would help them adapt further. The eventual spatial re-organization of the state in terms of the centralization of most of the rural population was also assumed. The report continued:

This will be a transition period for them because the occupations of their fathers will be unable to absorb more than a few of them and therefore they will have to move to where greater employment opportunities exist. (to more urban areas)

very ones identified by mainstream professionals, like Mathews, as being the most problematic. For instance, many of these people brought up the fact that often two or three children in each family had to share a bed.²⁰⁰ To the people in the community, though, this all was part of the joy of living.²⁰¹

People shared their bedrooms and their beds with their immediate family and they shared their houses and their land with their extended family. Space in the community was really used differently than it was in the larger society. It tended to be much less specialized, more undifferentiated. People rarely had specialized places for specialized functions.

Mathews, though, thought it was terrible that, 'In lots of cases there were grandparents and parents, grandchildren all living together.'²⁰² It was difficult for

²⁰⁰ In Black Point households, a 'modern' conception of privacy did not exist. See Philip Aires Centuries of Childhood. New York: Alfred Knopf, 1962..

Interviewer You were saying that there was a problem with beds...did they have a beds enough?

Health Professional: No....well, the father and mother, you know..they had their bed. But sometimes the children, there were a lot of children in the same bed. Sometimes they had cots.

²⁰¹ A husband and wife remembered their childhood's:

E. MacKinnon- I was never cold....never hungry. I mean we were crowded alright, but still we were happy. Our mother and father they did everything for us; they shared everything with us. I wouldn't ask for a better life than what I had out at Black Point. In Black Point all of my sisters was sleeping with me too. We were sharing the bed. We were never cold. We bathed in the wash tub.....I can remember it all pretty good....We had no bathroom so at night we used a bucket or a pot, whatever you want to call it. (Laughter) And then my mother used to clean it out with that stuff- oh what's it called? I cleaned it out lots of times, myself. And we heated with wood.

S. MacKinnon- Wood stoves

E. MacKinnon- Ya. Wood stoves. When I come in from outside I was cold, but when I got in the house, I got warm....There was always lots of heat coming...My mother cooked the food. Home-made bread and butter and molasses. For breakfast eggs, bread, butter.....I remember having porridge.... cornmeal porridge, oatmeal porridge. Uh, milk - lots of milk.....My grandfather had cows, right? Lots of milk, we always had lots of milk. Then we had a garden....garden.....pig.....chickens.

S. MacKinnon- We had ducks. The old man had hundreds of them at times. Well, he didn't have a hundred, but I mean he had enough that you had to herd them anyway.....one time someone set them off. (Laughter).....Well they came down here, and yes that was something. Take them down to the shore to let them swim. Then they had to go after them. Take them in the boat.....(Laughter)

²⁰² Edward Hall. The Hidden Dimension New York: Anchor Books, 1969. (pp. 2, 103, 104, 179, 183) Hall noted that people's use and conception of space depends upon the patterns of their culture and their language. People in different cultures, Hall suggested, 'inhabit different sensory worlds'. Even in the West, he said, ideas about space have changed through time. Hall suggested that the modern house that is organized spatially with specialized spaces for specialized functions is related to the way people in western society have come to think about themselves. He said that there is a 'close identification between the image that man has of himself and the space that he inhabits'. Hall noted that, in terms of the modern western perspective, people who 'fail to classify activities and artifacts according to a uniform, consistent or predictable spatial plan... 'live in a mess' or a constant state of confusion.'

him to understand that from the local perspective any one who had to sleep alone, especially in the winter, was to be pitied not envied.

From the Black Point perspective the other people in the kin group, had a right to share whatever 'space' they needed to sustain themselves. A teacher in the Bay district remembered:²⁰³

I remember one family in Black Point that had a lot of children and their house burned in the middle of the winter in the few days of bitterly cold weather. While the government was trying to get together some sort of aid and figure what to do...A. D. and C. MacKinnon just opened the whole house to the whole family. The family was there for quite a while until finally the government came through with some sort of housing. I talked to C. afterwards and asked her how she had managed with all the children and sending them off to school and she said, 'I had to line them all up. I gave each of them a biscuit and a hard boiled egg and a dime.' Then she said she didn't want to see them 'till after school. So it was just the babies to tend to.'

Some of the houses in Black Point were larger than others, but most of them were full.²⁰⁴ There always seemed to be enough room for a few more at the table or in the bed. The shares of all the kin members might not be equal but there always was enough to go around, no matter how small the portion. From the traditional community perspective, this was as natural as the rain. From the perspective of the state, however, this stretched resources that were already quite limited.²⁰⁵

The Welfare State and Welfare

Most families in Northern Cape Breton in the 1950's and early 1960's, were poor by national standards, but as I've mentioned, they did not perceive of themselves that way. Actually the families in the Black Point did not receive

²⁰³ Interview with teacher who was a resident of the Bay community. This family had 12 small children and the family they took in had seven. They lived in a two room house.

²⁰⁴ Interview with S.L. MacKinnon. S.L. MacKinnon, one of Peter's sons, said 'Pa always had enough food but he was always giving it away. There were always so many in the house. There'd be 18 or 20 sometimes in the winter....People even living on the porch'.

²⁰⁵ Professionals might admire the generosity of the MacKinnon-Frasers but they rejected the way of life and cultural patterns that gave rise to it. See Edward Hall. The Hidden Dimension New York: Anchor Books, 1969. (pp. 2, 103, 104, 179, 183) North Americans, Hall said, are culturally biased. They believe that the ideas of other ethnic groups who have a different spatial context to be conceptually inferior to those of the white middle class.

welfare until after the relocation process was set in motion.²⁰⁶ M.J. MacKinnon observed: 'Like when I was a kid, I went to every house. If anyone was poor we never knew it, eh. People had plenty to eat.'²⁰⁷ The Health Nurse reported:²⁰⁸

I'm not sure when they went in welfare. I thought even at the time of the move, there were very few of them on welfare. They were very proud about that you know. I remember even when we got free drugs, I remember old Peter dressing me right down. I could see that they hadn't lost their dignity. Like, I was trying to, at that time, we put patients in the hospital, we would put them there until they got established on their drugs, while they were taught how to look after themselves and things like that. And I remember, and of course when they were in there, they'd got all their free drugs. And I remember saying to Mr. MacKinnon, who you'd know, because those drugs were expensive in those days, and I remember saying to him, you know it was an advantage that if he were in the hospital he would get the drugs. And oh boy, did he ever dress me down. This is the one thing that stood out to me, with the Black Point people was how they retained their....they might have left some other things out, but they never lost their dignity, you know, their self-discipline and their dignity.

Most of the Black Point families were struggling but basically managing to piece together their subsistence without giving up their family and community culture. They had to adapt to development in mainstream terms, though.²⁰⁹ In the

²⁰⁶ Minutes and Proceedings of the Victoria County Council. Until the early 1960's, welfare assistance to families that needed it was given by the County Councilor. If a family needed help they would contact the Councilor who would get funds from Council. The Councilor would give the funds to the local store where the family shopped and the family would be able to get the groceries they needed. Funds were also given for medical emergencies or expenses like drugs.

Interview with S.L. MacKinnon and C. MacKinnon:

C. MacKinnon- Welfare- No there was no such thing in them days. But they did have what they called Aid....

S.L. MacKinnon- Not the kind they have now though.

C. MacKinnon- (laughter) No not the AIDs but the Aid and you went to the store and could get tea and sugar and flour.

S.L. MacKinnon- In those days what you made in the winter had to last the whole year There was no such thing as unemployment.

²⁰⁷ Interview M.J. MacKinnon.

²⁰⁸ Interview with Public Health Nurse

²⁰⁹ The MacKinnon-Fraser families in Black Point all shared a common public identity as 'Black Pointers'; they were perceived to be cut out of the same mold. In reality, though, the families had adapted differently than others to the development process, as noted throughout. A few of the families, Archibald's heirs for the most part, were more established in the Black Point community. These families owned most of the property in Black Point and they had grown up in the community. They believed in progress and they were adapting to it like many of the other families in the Bay. Two of these families moved from Black Point before the relocation. One or two of the families, though, were finding it more and more difficult to

late 1950's and early 1960's, the men in the community had to go away to work in the pulp woods to accumulate enough stamps to collect UIC, unemployment insurance, through the winter.²¹⁰

This itself put pressure on their families and made it much more difficult to maintain traditional patterns;²¹¹ that is, to plant the gardens, to take care of the cow and the pigs, to get enough dry firewood, to have enough water hauled, to properly bank the house with spruce boughs, to make enough hay, dig the potatoes before the fall rains came, and to get the salt fish dry.

During the relocation process, the Public Health Nurse became the liaison between state and the community.²¹² At this time she informed people in the community about provincial welfare assistance and encouraged them to take help. R. MacKinnon reported:²¹³

It was in the sixties. B. (her Husband) used to go away to go to North River and Iona to work and he would travel home on Saturday; and they told usthe men shouldn't do that. It was introduced by Mrs. MacDonald and she said they were getting it in all the other communities and there was no reason we shouldn't get it. It was just before the relocation we got welfare in 1966-67.

R. MacKinnon decided to take the help that the state offered her family because she trusted the Health Nurse. This was not the kind of help, however, that the people in Black Point were accustomed to in their own community.²¹⁴ R. MacKinnon described her feelings about having taken welfare assistance:²¹⁵

live after they gave up their homes on the hill when the schools centralized. These families completely moved out of the area for months at a time to work in the pulp woods in Baddeck.

²¹⁰ As noted, in 1957, fishers were covered by the UIC legislation. But often the men could not get enough stamps from fishing to qualify because of the short lobster season and the depletion of the fin fish stocks. They had to go away because fishing was so poor and because there was also no credit system at the store.

²¹¹ Most of the families in Black Point were large. When the men went away to work, the women were left alone with many young children. This meant that they had to do all of their own work as well as the work that the men usually did.

²¹² She took on this role when the Interdepartmental Committee on Black Point asked her to work with them during the relocation process.

²¹³ Interview with R. and B. MacKinnon. In the early 1960's the social service system in Nova Scotia was centralized, and funding was handled by the province instead of the municipality. The County Council and local Councilor ceased to distribute funds. Instead, payments were issued by check to individual families from the Provincial Department of Welfare.

²¹⁴ There seemed to be no stigma attached to receiving help within the traditional Highland community. Help was freely offered and just as freely received. People within the kin-group

I'm not sorry. But I think now that we should have done without it. I know we could have made it on our own. I'd advise anyone on welfare not to take it because it will come back to haunt you. It's social...It degrades people. It makes you feel dependent because you don't earn it. You don't work for it.

The welfare system does degrade people, but not because they don't work for the money they receive. It degrades them because it makes them believe that they should have worked, that their poverty is something to be ashamed of, and that people who need help are somehow to blame for their condition.

In 1966, after some of the families in the Black Point area were offered help and convinced to take welfare, they were identified as 'a welfare community' in the media and in the research.²¹⁶ This was used as fuel to fire the relocation process despite the fact that the welfare payments themselves were minimal and people in the community couldn't possibly be dependent on them for real support.²¹⁷ In 1968, for instance, the families, which each had an average of 8 children, received an average of only \$325 per year, or \$27 per month. In other words about \$32.50 per year per person (10 people in a family) or about \$2.70 per person per month.²¹⁸ Welfare levels have always been kept at a bare minimum or even lower so that the people are 'encouraged' or rather forced to get off it.

had to help each other survive. The welfare of each individual in the group was perceived to be the responsibility of the group. As noted in Chapter 1 a person who was destitute was perceived only to be seeking or asking his portion from the community. See James Hunter The Making of the Crofting Community. Edinburgh: John Donald Publishers, 1979. See also Ommer, Rosemary E. Primitive Accumulation and the Scottish Clann in the Old World and the New Journal of Historical Geography Vol. 11 (1986). This seemed also to be the pattern in many small pre-modern social formations. See Majorie Shostak Nisa New York: Vintage Books, 1983.

²¹⁵ Interview with R. MacKinnon

²¹⁶ See for instance Dep't of Public Welfare (Study by Helen Ralston). *Black Point-Meat Cove Relocation Project- Evaluation Study* Manuscript published by Dep't of Public Welfare: Halifax, 1970. p. 56. See also Halifax Chronicle-Herald Nov. 17, 1970 'Points for Black Pointers'

²¹⁷ Op. cit. National Archives of Canada , Halifax Records Center. ARDA file 22051 p.1 *Black Point-Meat Cove relocation Project* . For instance, in the submission that the Interdepartmental Committee made to the County Council the level of welfare assistance was not made clear. It appeared, for instance, as if the families in Black Point were dependent on welfare payments to sustain themselves.

²¹⁸ Dep't of Public Welfare (Study by Helen Ralston). *Black Point-Meat Cove Relocation Project- Evaluation Study* Manuscript published by Dep't of Public Welfare: Halifax, 1970. pp. 20, 45-6. I am not including the old people in each family in these calculations, so actually each person received even less money in welfare payments.

In fact, in the modern social process, public assistance has always worked to limit the alternatives of the people that it was supposed to help.²¹⁹ The price of welfare in the modern social process is freedom. People who are entitled to welfare are dis-entitled by the state to make choices for themselves or their families. Their basic freedom to choose for themselves, how they want to live, where they want to live, or even who they want to live with, is all taken away from them. Welfare, ultimately, is a tool of pacification, not liberation.²²⁰ It is a tool used to keep people in their places, though, sometimes, as in *Black Point*, it is used as a lever to force them to move to others.²²¹

The Mechanics of Relocation: The Wheel is Set Spinning

After the relocation decision was made by the Interdepartmental Committee, Mathews needed to convince the people to move and he needed to persuade the government that funding should be allocated to move them. Mathews reported that he believed in the community development process and that he was committed to a consultations with the community. He also reported, though, that he did not want to organize public meetings with community

²¹⁹ See Karl Polyani *The Great Transformation*. Boston: Beacon Press, 1957. (originally published in 1944) pp. 77-105. Also Karl Polyani *Primitive and Modern Economics* Anchor Books (Doubleday): New York, 1968. The saying 'once on the rates always on the rates' originated in 18th century England with the inception of public assistance that was supposed to alleviate the poverty that grew up hand in hand with the factory system. Polyani discussed how pauperism was a modern development that came with the rise of the factory system. He said that 'it was in the first half of the sixteenth century that the poor first appeared in England; they became conspicuous as individuals unattached to the manor 'or to any feudal superior' and their gradual transformation into a class of free labourers was the combined result of the fierce persecution of vagrancy and the fostering of domestic industry.' p. 104 *The Great Transformation*. This was not to say that people weren't poor before the factory system, but that their poverty didn't define or identify them. In the 17th and 18th century, a number of Poor Laws began to be passed to deal with the problem. Polyani discussed the degradation caused by the Speenhamland Law of 1795, which guaranteed a minimum income. The income, though, was very minimum. Employers used it as a way to keep wages low. Eventually, the poorest people were even more impoverished than they were before. The law was finally repealed, but only because of the 'indolence' of the poor who needed assistance. The law that was supposed to alleviate the suffering of the poor actually ended up contributing to it. Its repeal, however, was even worse for the families who had come to depend on it to survive.

²²⁰ See Herbert Marcuse *One-Dimensional Man* Boston: Beacon Press, 1964. For instance pp. 48-54.

²²¹ In some sense, the 'useless' in society are disposed of by being placed in 'holding' programs like welfare or even UIC, where they can be 'treated' and 'rehabilitated' in re-training programs like upgrading and vocational counseling before they are returned to 'normal' society.

members until he could be assured of the outcome.²²² He had Isabel MacDonald, the Health Nurse, work with the families to explain how the move would help them. Mathews himself took care of getting the funding.

At first, he attempted to 'negotiate an agreement with the Federal Department of Fisheries'.²²³ The second phase of the ARDA Bill C-152 had not yet been passed²²⁴ but politicians and the press were already discussing how to use it. Mathews understood from them that it would fund relocation and that the criteria for eligibility 'involved families who were disadvantaged because of their physical location or geographic location.' When the negotiations with the Department of Fisheries proved unsuccessful, so Mathews contacted ARDA.

While he was waiting for a reply from the people at ARDA, he also approached the Minister of Public Welfare. The Minister agreed, Mathews said, 'to make available the sum of \$2,000 to help a family move from Black Point to another area.'²²⁵ Now Mathews had \$2000 in funding, but he needed to find the right family.

Mathews and the committee agreed that the outcome of the project would depend really on getting one family in the community to agree to move.²²⁶ The Interdepartmental Committee used the profile studies on the Black Point families that Isabel MacDonald, the Health Nurse, had provided, to select, as Mathews wrote, 'a family upon which it was decided to move'. The committee, Mathews said, 'asked 'Mrs. MacDonald....to approach this family.'²²⁷ Meanwhile, the Public Health Nurse continued to work with the other families. C. MacKinnon remembered:²²⁸

²²² Op. cit. National Archives of Canada , Halifax Records Center. ARDA file 22051

²²³ Op. cit. National Archives of Canada , Halifax Records Center. ARDA file 22051 p.1 They had been involved in implementing the Household Resettlement Program in Newfoundland.

²²⁴ It was passed on April 19, 1966.

²²⁵ Op. cit. National Archives of Canada , Halifax Records Center. ARDA file 22051 p.1

²²⁶ Op. cit. National Archives of Canada, Halifax Records Center, ADRDA file 22051 p.1-2 See also Noel Iverson & Ralph Matthews Communities in Decline. St. Johns, Newfoundland: ISER, 1968. Iverson and Matthews (1968) reported in their study of the Newfoundland relocations that as soon as one family in a community made the decision to resettle, a kind of 'relocation fever' set in. They said that, one community, Tacks Harbour, was reported to have been put on the relocation list by mistake. It's name was similar to another community. No one in the community wanted to move at first. But once the relocation process began everyone in the community ended up resettling. This was true even if everyone in the community was opposed to the move at first

²²⁷ Op cit. National Archives of Canada , Halifax Records Center. ARDA file 22051 p. 2

²²⁸ Interview with C. MacKinnon.

The first one that talked to me about it (the relocation) was Mrs. MacDonald. When she saw me washing with a tub and washboard, she said 'You don't have to be doing that. There's a better way of life.'

The Relocation Meetings in the Community

At this point, the first community meeting was held. Only four families from Black Point attended. They were outnumbered by the various community and government leaders who were also present: 'the Parish Priest, Father MacKinnon; United Church Minister, Reverend Mr. Burleigh; the Councilor for the area, Mr. MacAskill; principal of the school, Mr. MacInnes; Mr. Roland MacDade, Housing Commission; Mrs. MacDonald, Public Health Nurse; Miss Mary MacPherson, Department of Public Welfare; and Mr. George Mathews and Mr. Joe Curry, Social Development.'²²⁹ Mathews reported that 'this meeting encouraged the committee' They agreed, he said, 'that things were ripe and that the project had to move and quite quickly at that.'²³⁰

To this day, no one in the district realizes that the decision to move the families in Black Point was made by the Interdepartmental Committee before any community meetings were held.²³¹ The people in the Black Point community did not know about the complaints of the teachers or the existence of the Interdepartmental Committee. C. MacKinnon remembered that at the meeting the officials had written on the board: 'If you don't have the money...we do'.²³²

²²⁹ Ibid. p. 3

²³⁰ Ibid. p. 3

²³¹ Op. cit. National Archives of Canada, Halifax Records Center. ARDA file 22051 p.1. For instance, a submission was made to the Victoria County Council before any community meetings were held asking for financial assistance from the Council to help with the relocation.

This committee has met regularly over the last two years and it would appear that the resolution of some of the problems facing these two communities are at hand, if financial assistance can be provided, to relocate the residents of these two communities in other areas and in adequate housing.

Notice that there is no mention of what the people in the communities wanted. Although Meat Cove was included in the project with Black Point, the government focused on Black Point from the beginning. Just before any meetings were held with community members from Black Point or Meat Cove, a report of the Interdepartmental Committee stated:

A considerable amount of time has been spent on this project in the last four months. This has been necessary because of the complicated nature of the project and the necessity of having all the stages clearly defined in the minds of the agencies and the people that are concerned in the relocation of the families from these two areas. At the present time, only the area of Black Point is being considered.

²³² Interview with C. MacKinnon

There were many other promises made. There were also threats. Alec Capstick, a local member of the Victoria County Council during the relocation years, believed it was 'the threat of the park coming (that) convinced the people to move out'.²³³ When I asked George Mathews about the threat of a park takeover, though, he reported that the park actually had nothing to do with the relocation decision.²³⁴

At the time, though, the threat of the park take-over was a real one for everyone in the Bay district. In fact, Extension and the Improvement Committee had been discussing a park extension for years.²³⁵ In a letter dated September 21, 1965, two years before there were any relocation meetings, ARDA Task Force

²³³ Interview with Alec Capstick. He continued:

We don't know how behind the scenes things work. But it (the relocation) was the only thing that was preached to us at Council and I got sick of hearing it. I never was in favor, but one vote was no good

Alec Capstick may have believed in his heart that relocation of Black Point made no sense, but he ended up voting for it. There may have been a certain amount of political and social pressure involved but the Council vote was unanimous. See also ARDA file 22051 p. 3 Report on the Meat Cove and Black point Relocation Project Holdings at National Archives of Canada , Halifax Records Center. The submission to the council (From Mathews Committee about Black Point) was referred to the welfare committee of Council for study and at a subsequent session the committee recommended and Council agreed unanimously to cooperate with the Department of Public Welfare in the relocation of the families in Black Point.'

²³⁴ Interview with George Mathews.

Interviewer: Do you think it had anything to do with the park? The government coming in...?

George Mathews: No, that was not anticipated at that time.

Interviewer: It wasn't?

George Mathews: No. That was a later development, a much later development. Although in the latter years, in the very last going-off, it became a very hot issue, but it had nothing to do at all with the park.

²³⁵ Interview with John Nicholson. Nicholson reported that the members in the Improvement Committee were interested in the park extension:

One fellow held out for development like Ingonish was developed. He wanted the road extended all the way round Who was it? Jimmy Barbarita? Wanted to extend the park all the way. Well, the others were in favor of that, providing they did it like Ingonish so most people kept their private land. So actually they were going to do that. Alan J. (MacEachern) would have done that.....Other areas of concern for development were housing, fishing and an economic center, health, TV and radio reception.

The other thing was schooling. That was one thing they were very conscious of. To bring the kids from Black Point was difficult. The roads and that. Then there was the shell housing. The third area was economic...an economic center. They decided to build up Bay St. Lawrence or St. Margaret's because they realized that they could not have a wharf in every place. If they could combine this effort of housing then everybody could take advantage of that. Another area was health. They had great respect for Isabel MacDonald and she was really trusted by them. Another area of concern.... in several meetings was radio and television. They wanted CBC antenna. They accomplished things in all these areas.

Chairman, James MacNeil, wrote to Rev. J.N. MacNeil, the Director of Extension, about the possibility of park extension 'as one of the two solutions for the area.'²³⁶ National park extension was part of the Extension agenda. The people in the Bay district who had worked with St. F. of X. Extension--Norman MacInnes, Jimmy Barbarita and Jim MacNeil--generally supported the National Park Extension, at least at first. Most residents, however, were very much opposed.²³⁷ In the Black Point or Meat Cove area, there was also talk of a provincial picnic park. At the time, this was perceived to be even more of a possibility.²³⁸ The Health Nurse reported:²³⁹

The idea I had was if the people moved out they would have made it a provincial park. You know, one of those parks you go to have your lunch and that. It is a beautiful spot, overlooking the ocean, you know. There was mention of that. That's right. But it wasn't the national park that was going to move in and take over their territory, but the provincial park might be built... And I think some people thought they would get some work too.

The Health Nurse also noted that there were people in the Black Point community who 'were much opposed' to the move and who spoke out against it.²⁴⁰ A series of relocation meetings were held over the next few years to convince them to move.

The Carrot and the Stick: The Stick

Two local teachers who had grown up in the city and had some experience with the community development process attended one of the relocation meetings. One of them reported:²⁴¹

²³⁶RG 30-3/29/900 Holdings at St. F. X. Archives. Letter Sept. 21, 1965 From James MacNeil to Rev J.N. MacNeil.

²³⁷ So were some of the local areas in other areas like Cape North and Dingwall.

²³⁸ S. Williams from Capstick reported that his wife was thinking about opening a campground in Capstick in the late 1960's. They were told by municipal officials in Baddeck that the province was planning to open a campground in Black Point.

²³⁹ Interview with Public Health Nurse

²⁴⁰ Interview with Isabel MacDonald Health Nurse. 'I don't remember the meetings clearly. I do remember that there were those who were much against it at first. And they spoke up. But I think when they suddenly realized they were up there and the (first) people had left, it was different for them I suppose.

²⁴¹ Interview with T. Rasmussen.

It seemed like it was around Christmas that this was going on; and we went to one meeting. It was a community meeting that involved Black Point, and maybe Meat Cove, but it was mainly Black Point people that were there. I don't really remember if any Meat Cove people were there or not. I don't think so. There were people from away. Maybe the County Nurse was there and somebody named Mathews or Matheson or something like that and several representatives from the government. It seemed to us that it was an outrageous sort of meeting where they were saying, 'O.K., here is the carrot and the stick. If you don't take the carrot you will get the stick. And there will not be any carrot offered next week 'sort of approach.' It was pretty blatant....telling the people that the park was going to take them over if they didn't do what they were told and that they were right now being offered very generous terms. And later they would be forced to move without terms. And that it was all cut and dried. If they were smart, they would cooperate and get something out of it. The promise was that there would be more jobs, and that they would get a nice home. The government would appreciate the fact that you were moving right out now. It was the general sort of say anything as long as you get them to move. So some people went along with that.

The carrot and stick approach was an explicit part of the development discourse at the time. An ARDA report at the time noted:²⁴²

Induced migration for social objectives includes the use of pushes to encourage moves away from an area that is over-populated relative to its resources, and pulls to attract moves to an area which can absorb migrants...Often, extensive changes in an individual's perceptions, knowledge, attitudes and skills-- summarized in the term 'human development'--are needed to enable him to respond to either the pushes or pulls of a planned program of mobility.'

The community development process as described above was coercive by definition. Weinstein (1972) analyzed the concept:²⁴³

Coercion can be defined 'as a high degree of constraint and/or inducement...promises as well as threats and benefits as well as harm may be associated...Coercion is the technique for gaining obedience in which the punishments are threatened...a technique of indirect motivation....of

²⁴² J.A. Abramson Rural to Urban Adjustment. ARDA Research Report No. 1 Ottawa: The Queens Printer, 1965. pp. 2,3. See also Pierre-Yves Pepin Life and Poverty in the Maritimes Ottawa: ARDA, 1968

²⁴³ See Michael Weinstein *Coercion, Space, and The Modes of Human Domination* in J. R. Penncock and J.C. Chapman (Editors) Nomos XIV Coercion New York: Aldine, 1972. pp. 63-80 pp. 65,66, 69,70, 73, 74

inducement or persuasion, in which rewards are given for compliant behavior.

From the state perspective, however, the coercion that was involved in the development process was justified because it was perceived to be 'in the best interests' of people who were unable to understand their own interests.²⁴⁴ In fact, resistance on the part of people involved was simply taken as proof of the need for state intervention. Iverson and Matthews (1968) wrote about the people who were relocated in the Newfoundland outports:²⁴⁵

Permanent economic marginality conditions a people to make adjustments which are inimical to urban-industrial requirements of growth, mobility, and change. Adaptation to impoverishment is antithetical to doctrines of progress; economic stagnation breeds social conservatism. Hence, (they) look back, not forward. They are tradition oriented. Many go back to their old fishing grounds after they move.

The Carrot and Stick: The Carrot

There may be good reasons, though, why people often decide to go back to their old fishing grounds. Research reports published by development agencies like ARDA indicated that the farmers and fishers involved in moving from rural to urban areas usually ended up integrating into the lowest levels of mainstream society.²⁴⁶ People's lack of 'adjustment' after resettlement, however, was

²⁴⁴ See also RG 30-3/13/ 1234-9. Holdings at St. F. X. Archives. *Cape Breton Regional Planning Commission* (Brief on Regional Housing Policy and Need) p.2

Despite the fact that out-migration from the region has been high during the past decade, and despite the depressed attitude of the inhabitants, the population can be said to be generally 'in love with' the region as a whole. Time and time again it has proven to be most difficult to encourage persons to relocate...It will be seen that a vast and complex psychological barrier to relocation, redevelopment and rehabilitation does exist in the region...It is obvious again that massive assistance, financial and technical has to be applied to overcome the psychological objection... and this is where the governing bodies must play a comprehensive role, in promoting new ideas and outlooks.

²⁴⁵ Noel Iverson & Ralph Matthews *Communities in Decline*. St. Johns, Newfoundland: ISER, 1968. p. 87 In the 1950's the Household Resettlement Program in Newfoundland allowed people to move individually. This meant that there was much less compulsion involved. Essentially only those who wanted to relocate ended up moving. In the 'war on poverty' relocations in Newfoundland only a decade later everyone in a particular community had to consent to the relocation and then the whole community was 'closed'. Much more resistance was encountered.

²⁴⁶ *Ibid.* p.68

completely discounted by development planners because ultimately the move was perceived by the authorities to be the means towards integrating the the families, especially the children, into the larger society. Alec Capstick who served on the County Council remembered Mathews' submission to Council and the discussion that followed:²⁴⁷

Well, I remember objecting to a lot of it; you know, moving them, especially moving them later to Baddeck. And they always said, they would preach to us, they repeated, George Mathews and the other ones, that it would improve the children and the children's children, that in the future they'll benefit a way ahead, that their children would be educated and in an area where they would be better off and know a better way of life. There'd be opportunity to work like in Baddeck, they used to have at the time, the pulp business. And more. You know the golden dream and everything.

Mathews' decision 'to move on' a family who believed in the 'golden dream' and to convince this family to relocate first was strategic. The family he chose had been considering moving from the community anyway. This had to do with the fact that the harbour in Bay St. Lawrence was better for fishing. At the time, Barbarita was encouraging all of the Black Point fishers to move down so they could get bigger boats.²⁴⁸ The Department of Welfare researcher noted that the parents in this particular family 'were very ambitious and oriented towards career mobility.' They had started to attend the services in the church in Cape North²⁴⁹ and they seemed to be looking for a future outside of Black Point and the patterns of culture they had grown up with. For this family, the relocation

The findings of this study concerning the occupational mobility of migrants from farms to city are not inconsistent with data from similar studies in other parts of the world. Other studies have shown the farm-reared migrants tend to move into the lowest categories and most poorly paid occupations in the city and show little upward mobility over time. Although job shifting was common among the respondents, particularly during the first one or two years, the majority of these shifts were horizontal ones within the same level of occupation...67 percent were still in the same level of occupation as their first job after migration.

Development planners talked about the fact that many people in rural areas have not 'shown the aptitudes for fitting' into the economy of our society...Many have 'limited intelligence and ability and will not survive in a (modernized) farm economy any better than in any other phase of the Canadian economy'. These people, he says, need to be re-trained even to work in unskilled jobs but 'people with (these) shortcomings can somehow be happy on sub-grade incomes although at the same time they will give sub-grade production.'

²⁴⁷ Interview with Alec Capstick

²⁴⁸ The Bonnar families moved down to the Bay around 1960 was related to the Fisheries Co-op.

²⁴⁹ Interview with one of the elders in the Cape North Church.

program was. as B. MacKinnon put it, 'purely a housing project. Money came from the government and then we had to pay the money back.' ²⁵⁰

B. MacKinnon's belief in the relocation process and his decision to move ultimately affected the other families in the community. The Department of Welfare researcher who worked in the community during the relocation process noted:²⁵¹

This B. MacKinnon, he was I think the son of old Peter and, in fact, it was Peter who once said to me in that living- room, that's where I had this patriarchal image of him, he said, I think I'm going to have to tell the boys they should move...B. MacKinnon had already moved but the rest were still holding back and he had a significant impact on encouraging them to move.

The people in the community report, though, a number of threats and promises that were used by the professionals and welfare officials, like Mathews, that finally made them agree. These were:

- the threat of a park takeover.
- the threat of being completely dis-possessed because 14 of the 18 families in the community did not have a recorded deed.
- the threat the road to the community would not be plowed or maintained even for the school bus.
- the promise that the government would give the families a relocation grant to be used as a down payment on a new house.
- the promise that the government would arrange for the financing and building of new houses.
- the promise of jobs, the promise of increased educational opportunities for the children and also for the men in terms of Department of Manpower upgrading and literacy courses.

²⁵⁰ The first six houses that were built in the Bay were constructed on a Co-op plan and the people had monthly mortgage payments.

²⁵¹ Interview with Helen Ralston. Relationships in the community were still quite traditional at the time. S. MacKinnon reported that the elders in the community still had a certain kind of authority:

The old man (Duncun) always had the last say (in the immediate family) Like if you wanted to do something you would talk to the old man first. But if old Peter MacKinnon would say you can't do that, then the old man too would say you can't do that. He would have the last say. old Peter MacKinnon.

M. MacKinnon recalled the relocation discussions in her family:²⁵²

I remember Dad and Mom going to these big discussions about something and we couldn't go. We didn't know what was going on then. They (the government) used us as a ploy to get them to move from Black Point. They said, 'Well the roads won't be plowed, there'll be no school for the kids to attend and it will be to your and your kids advantage to move.' The park was the reason given. They said the park was coming in and that if you didn't move, if you didn't accept the help that they were willing to give you, like the relocation grants or whatever, that you wouldn't receive anything (because they didn't have deeds) I mean, at that time, there was no money around that you could build a house and move it, just easily. So they all decided to take the little bit of money for the down payment.... there seemed like, well, we always had people visiting, but it seemed the discussions then were more deep...I knew something was up.

The relocation meetings, like the ARDA community development meetings, really had more to do with limiting people's alternatives than they did with giving people an opportunity to create them.²⁵³ C. MacKinnon talked about her family's decision to move: 'They didn't force us to leave', she said. 'They told us that the park was going to take over. Rather than be kicked out they said, move: and we'll help you.'

Mathews' strategy had worked. Most people in the community did not recognize the level of coercion that was involved because they trusted that

²⁵² Interview with M. MacKinnon.

²⁵³ Even the local elite had very little power in the relocation process once it got going. This was true even though they had initiated it. As noted earlier, they really had limited power in the development process George Mathews commented:

You know I think there was a lot of mistrust in the Bay because they had ARDA. They had done some ARDA programming for about two years previous, in a very extensive way in that whole north area. And they developed a plan, the community people had developed a plan, and it didn't even get listened to. But, then all of a sudden, we were coming down and saying there are other ARDA funds and we'll assist with this relocation. So that we met resistance from the more sophisticated group, like Jimmy Barbarita and so on, who had worked on the total ARDA plan for the community. ARDA was set up originally to get community involvement in planning for the economic viability of areas considered to be disadvantaged. Of course, they set up the machinery down there under the Dept. of Agriculture, who were responsible for ARDA, and they had done all this planning with the teachers, the doctors and all of those people who were community leaders. And it never got a play at all from them, you know. And then all of a sudden we in the Dept. began to get these complaints to the Minister about the situation down from the teachers...and we got ARDA assistance for the relocation.

Mathews and the other officials who were present were going to help them.

²⁵⁴The officials believed it themselves.

In the modern social process, as was noted earlier, compulsion is often disguised as 'help'. First, the people in Black Point were diagnosed as needing help and then they had to be convinced that they needed and had better accept it. A sense of inadequacy but also an appetite for change had to be produced within them.

The modern state, Foucault (1984) suggested, in taking on a 'helping role' has achieved a 'new economy of power'.²⁵⁵ The help that was offered to the people in Black Point was actually an instrument designed to change and shape them, and their children, to the state's standards and norms.²⁵⁶

Help...has...become an instrument of the perfect—that is, elegant—exercise of power. The defining characteristic of elegant power is that it is unrecognizable, concealed, supremely inconspicuous. Power is truly elegant when, captivated by the delusion of freedom, those subject to it stubbornly deny its existence. 'Help'...is very similar. It is a means of keeping the bit in the mouths of subordinates without letting them feel the power that is guiding them. In short, elegant power, does not force, it does not resort either to the cudgel or to chains; it helps. Imperceptibly the state monopoly on violence transforms itself along the path of increasing inconspicuousness, into a state monopoly on solicitude, whereby it becomes not less powerful but more comprehensively powerful.

²⁵⁴ Their trust was unusual. In Highland communities, legal authority was not something that people generally had much faith in. The legalities of the state and its property laws had forced them off their traditional lands in the Highlands. But the people did trust the Health Nurse. She spoke some Gaelic and she visited and had tea with them in their houses. This was where trust was established in Northern Cape Breton. A certain level of trust in the state system but also fear of it were essential to the development process.

²⁵⁵ Michel Foucault (Edited by Paul Rabinow) *The Foucault Reader* New York: Pantheon Books, 1984. pp. 60-61 (See also p. 198 in Foucault's *Discipline and Punishment*)

The notion of repression is quite inadequate for capturing what is precisely the productive aspect of power, taken above all as carrying the force of a prohibition...If power were never anything but repressive, if it never did anything but to say no, do you really think one would be brought to obey it? What makes power hold good, what makes it accepted, is simply the fact that it doesn't only weigh on us as a force that says no but that it traverses and produces things, it induces pleasures, forms knowledge, produces discourse. It needs to be considered as a productive network which runs through the whole social body...one might call (this) a new 'economy of power', procedures, which allowed the effects of power to circulate in a manner at once continuous, uninterrupted, adapted and individualized throughout the entire social body. These new techniques are both much more efficient and much less wasteful.

²⁵⁶ *Helping* by Marianne Gronemeyer in Wolfgang Sachs *The Development Dictionary* London: Zed Books 1992.p. 53.

In the end the people in the community believed that they had freely consented, that they had simply accepted the help that was offered by the state. But their consent was never freely obtained nor was it informed. For instance, as I mentioned earlier, they were told that the relocation project was just a housing project to help the people in the community get better housing. They did not know that whether the park came in or not, the state's intent from the beginning was to get them to move so they could close their community down .

State officials recognized that the people in the community might be unhappy once they relocated and might want to return to Black Point to live. Preventing their return to the community was part of the planning. Mathew's submission to ARDA suggested that in order to 'prevent any return to the areas...old houses will be burnt by the Department of Lands and Forests immediately.'²⁵⁷ Mathews also discussed the closure of the community in his submission to the County Council for funding.²⁵⁸

The move to a new community by a family must close the door to their former community and its complete elimination as a community. In order to accomplish this the Province or Municipality will take title to the properties on which these families reside...This land could be resold privately or arrangements made to sell it to the Department of Northern Affairs to extend the National Park.

The Mechanics of Relocation: Funding the Project

Mathews' work had convinced a few families to accept the government's 'help' to relocate but he had yet to secure the funds he needed to move them.²⁵⁹ Mathews made a submission, as noted, to the County Council and also to the Housing Commission. The Housing Commission agreed to help finance the houses. They suggested that mortgages be arranged:²⁶⁰

²⁵⁷ ARDA file 22051 National Archives of Canada , Halifax Records Center. *ARDA Agreement* Mathew's proposal to ARDA made it clear that the state w

²⁵⁸ Op. cit. ARDA file 22051 p. 2 *Report on the Meat Cove and Black point Relocation Project* National Archives of Canada , Halifax Records Center. p.4.

²⁵⁹ Op. cit. ARDA file 22051 p. 2 *Report on the Meat Cove and Black point Relocation Project* National Archives of Canada , Halifax Records Center.

²⁶⁰ Ibid. RG 30-3/13/709 St. F. of X Archives *Copy of a memorandum passed by the Provincial Cabinet on September 19, 1967.* The Nova Scotia Housing Commission was also authorized to 'make grants in aid of cooperative housing' up to the amount of \$400 per house to help defray costs for providing water, sewage and drainage facilities.

on a cooperative basis but in a different manner than the usual co-op housing group...a co-op housing group....would be formed and incorporated but the committee [The Interdepartmental Committee] would assume responsibility for the construction of the homes.²⁶¹

Once the cooperation of the Housing Commission was secured, Mathews²⁶² needed to work out the specifics of funding with ARDA. On March 3, 1967, Mathews wrote George Smith, Provincial Director of ARDA, to enlist his help and the help of the ARDA sociologist, Pat Fogherty, in preparing the ARDA proposal.²⁶³

On April 27, 1967, Smith received a letter from R.R. McIntyre, ARDA Director of Rural Development of the Department of Forestry and Rural Development.²⁶⁴ This letter noted that there were certain problems that needed to be addressed before ARDA could fund the relocation project. The ARDA agreement, he said, 'provided for certain rehabilitation assistance' but that portion of the program hadn't been used yet and no guidelines had been formulated. The other problem, he said, was that it would be difficult to rationalize funding for a particular project because 'negotiations were proceeding for a comprehensive plan for the whole area'.²⁶⁵

²⁶¹ It was necessary that the state assume charge of the construction because the housing co-op was not really a co-op. The people in the co-op had neither initiated it nor organized it.

²⁶² Mathews left Mr. Gerald Lewis of the Housing Commission to coordinate this part of the project.

²⁶³ ARDA file 22051 National Archives of Canada , Halifax Records Center *Letter dated March 3, 1967* In this letter marked 'private, confidential' Mathews suggested a meeting with Pat Fogerty, ARDA Regional Sociologist, 'to discuss all the implications and information that should be included on a proposal form for a project of this kind'. He wanted to make sure the proposal would be "prepared in such a way that all the questions that might be asked from Provincial ARDA and the Federal ARDA people could be answered on the original proposal form.'

²⁶⁴ In the second phase of ARDA, the Department of Forestry was involved in the ARDA funding as well as the Department of Agriculture.

²⁶⁵ ARDA file 22051 National Archives of Canada , Halifax Records Center *Letter dated April 27, 1967* James MacNeil, ARDA Task Force Director, was directly involved in formulating this comprehensive plan. (James MacNeil was Jim MacNeil's sister's brother-in-law. Jim was the Principal of the Bay school and the person who first complained about Black Point. Elizabeth, his sister, who also lived in the Bay was married to James' brother Joe Alec MacNeil.) Extension had been hired by ARDA to do the research that would inform this plan. The improvement committees that Extension were facilitating were part of the process of getting suggestions from local leaders about what their particular areas needed. As noted, these committees had little power beyond the power to suggest. If these suggestions, like relocation or the extension of the park, were politically expedient then officials at various levels in the state bureaucracy might begin to act on them in various ways. Any real decisions seemed to be made by government officials who negotiated the terms behind the scenes.

Relocation as Part of a Comprehensive Plan for Northern Cape Breton

In the end, the Black Point relocation was funded on the Federal level not because it was the only 'non-viable' community in the area, but, because from the state perspective all of Northern Cape Breton was non-viable. In a letter dated May, 4 1967 from George Mathews to George Smith, the Director of ARDA, Mathews said that he had spoken to James MacNeil Director of the ARDA Task Force. MacNeil agreed that the relocation was 'certainly not inconsistent with the rationalization and relocation plans for that area'.²⁶⁶

On December 13, 1967, Mathews submitted to the Federal ARDA office, the ARDA proposal, he had been working on for months with the Provincial ARDA people.²⁶⁷ When it reached the Federal level, though, the proposal wasn't accepted as it was.²⁶⁸ The Federal ARDA people suggested that the project be rewritten as a 'pilot research project' because more extensive relocations and resettlements were envisioned for Northern Cape Breton.

The Provincial ARDA office received a letter from the Federal ARDA office in January, 1968, shortly after Mathews submitted the proposal explaining the benefits of making the Black Point project a scientific study and the people in the community the subjects of that research:²⁶⁹

Decisions seemed to be made before the proposals were formally submitted and the meetings to discuss them were actually held. The bureaucracy and its web of procedures could then either be used as a stumbling block or as a vehicle depending on the officials involved, their personal or political interests, and the outside pressures that were brought to bear on them.

²⁶⁶ ARDA file 22051 National Archives of Canada , Halifax Records Center *Letter dated May 4, 1967 From George Mathews to George Smith Director of ARDA.*

²⁶⁷ ARDA file 22051 National Archives of Canada , Halifax Records Center *ARDA Agreement* dated December 13, 1967. Mathews officially submitted the project as 'ARDA project 22051, the 'Black Point-Meat Cove Relocation Project'. He signed it as the Director of the Social Development Division of the Department of Welfare. It was also signed by Fred MacKinnon, Deputy Minister in the Department of Public Welfare and it was approved for the Province by George Smith, Director of ARDA Nova Scotia.

²⁶⁸ ARDA file 22051 National Archives of Canada , Halifax Records Center *Letter dated Jan. 11, 1968 From Donald Ross to R.R. MacIntyre Director of Rural Development Department of Forestry and Rural Development'* He said that : 'The project , as submitted by Nova Scotia, pursuant to the ARDA Agreement, contains items which cannot be allowed.'

²⁶⁹ *Ibid.* Ross suggested that an evaluation process be built into the project. This is how the Department of Welfare Study was funded and written. Mathews reported in a Feb. 19, 1968, letter to Fogarty, the Regional Sociologist for the Department of Forestry and Rural Development, that Extension had agreed to do the evaluation. A young sociologist Helen Ralston was ultimately hired. This was one of her first jobs, she reported. She said that she was hired because she agreed to do the job for much less money and she was new and had 'no

The Meat Cove-Black point Relocation Project seems to provide an opportunity on a relatively small scale to mount a pilot program for relocation, counseling and rudimentary adaptive services which would enable us within the context of Nova Scotia conditions, to more realistically plan for more major scale relocation programs. We feel, with a slight restructuring of the present program, that this would provide both the Province and ourselves with much more specific knowledge of the problems to be faced and the issues to be worked out in such a program in Northern Nova Scotia.²⁷⁰

The Stage Theory of Relocation

When the Black Point-Meat Cove Relocation was re-written, it became an ARDA experiment, a model to test 'the stage theory of relocation'.²⁷¹ The relocation to Bay St. Lawrence and Baddeck was seen as the first stage in a larger process of relocation. These communities would serve as temporary resettlement centres so the people could adjust before they moved onto the second stage, relocation to the city.²⁷² D.R. Campbell, Director of Plan Formulation, wrote a letter to J.P. Francis, Ass't Federal Deputy Minister of Planning on September 29, 1969, about this aspect of the Black Point project:²⁷³

The question of resettlement centres promises to be one of considerable significance for the formulation of future plans in various parts of the country. The Newfoundland 'catchment' zones and possible developments on the Prairies primarily concerned with the native population would both entail acceptance of the theory that people should be helped to move from their original location at point A to point B (a resettlement centre) as part of an eventual move on the part of them or their children to point C (an

axes' to grind. The Department of Welfare Study was extremely un-critical and it may also be that Ralston was hired because, as a young sociologist who was also a nun, she was perceived to be less dangerous and more easily manipulated than sociologists who had specific experience with Atlantic relocations.

²⁷⁰ There were other areas, besides Northern Cape Breton, that were mentioned in relation to relocation and the restructuring of the population. These areas were Northeast New Brunswick, Northern Manitoba and Mactaquac.

²⁷¹ Parzival Copes The Resettlement of Fishing Communities In Newfoundland Ottawa: Canadian Council on Rural Development, 1972. See his discussion of the stage theory of relocation on p. 113-117 of his book.

²⁷² This was an example of a self-fulfilling, social scientific prophesy. The theory assumed the urbanization of the rural population. The project that was implemented on the basis of this theory actually worked to create the reality that was assumed in the first place.

²⁷³ ARDA file 22051 National Archives of Canada, Halifax Records Center *Letter dated Sept. 29, 1969.*

only partially known ultimate destination.)...As a concept it seems very attractive. Particularly when one cannot see anything else to do, and can see horrible problems in moving people from their immediate social and cultural milieu directly to the totally alien.

The idea of developing resettlement centres grew out of the 'growth centre or point concept', one of the key elements in the relocation discourse at the time. Richardson (1969), an economist, explained the concept in the Orwellian 'Newspeak' that was so much a part of it.²⁷⁴

Large population centres have high market potential and are socially and culturally more attractive to managers...However the growth pole implies more than the localization of key industries.. In promoting polarization, a highly developed infrastructure, provision of central services, the demand for productive factors from the zone of influence, and the spread of 'growthmindedness' and dynamism over this zone are all important..The growth centre would transform social attitudes over the zone of influence...In other words, the growth point, especially in a backward or stagnating region, is a point of entry through which dynamism and a growth mentality can be injected into the region.

The language of this discourse obscured the violence inherent within it. Development in these terms, victimized the people involved and left them feeling, as M. MacKinnon noted, as if they were 'used'.²⁷⁵ Ball (1987) has suggested that:²⁷⁶

The language of the social scientist--the policy scientist, planner, expert or manager--is increasingly dominant in what passes for political discourse, debate and discussion...Debased language drives out the more valuable currencies of communication. Only by conflating concepts can policy makers speak of near--genocidal campaigns as 'pacification programs' and the like.

The discourse of the social scientist and the development planner is often abusive. It demeans and degrades the people who become the subjects of

²⁷⁴ Harry Richardson *Elements of Regional Economics* London: Penguin, 1969 p. 102

²⁷⁵ M. MacKinnon said: 'They used us to get what they wanted'. M. A. MacKinnon said 'They moved us here, they should move us out of here. We just got the shaft.' Development of the growth pole was like economic rape, with the state acting as procurer for business.

²⁷⁶ See for instance Terrance Ball *Authority and Conceptual Change Nomos XXIX Authority Revisited* (Edited by Penncock and Chapman) New York: New York University Press, 1987. pp.39-58.

experimental procedures, the objects of administered well-being and control.²⁷⁷ This process can never work to liberate people because, as Bateson (1972) pointed out, people are not hammers and nails.²⁷⁸ People learn by being used and manipulated. When they are managed as if they are commodities they lose something that is most precious to any creature, their essential dignity.

The Co-op Housing Plan

On May 9, 1968, a proposal called the *Pilot Action Research: Black Point and Meat Cove Resettlement Project* was officially submitted to ARDA by George Mathews.²⁷⁹ It was signed by the Provincial ARDA representatives and submitted to the Federal ARDA offices; on June, 7, 1968 it was officially approved.²⁸⁰ At this time, \$97,900 was allocated from the Provincial and Federal governments. Each was responsible for an equal share of \$48, 950.²⁸¹

Table 19-- ARDA Funds for the Black Point Relocation

ARDA Agreement (From April 1, 1967 to March 31, 1970)

Item	Total	Local	Provincial	Sharable	Federal
Staff, travel,	37,900	--	18,950	37,900	18,950
Administration					
Land Acquisition	16,000	--	8,000	16,000	8,000
Grants and	44,000	--	22,000	44,000	22,000
Allowances					

²⁷⁷ Jurgen Habermas (ed. Steven Seidman) Jurgen Habermas on Society and Politics Beacon press: Boston, 1989, p291.

there is a contradiction between...goal and...method...inherent in the welfare state. The legal administrative means through which welfare state programs are implemented are not a passive medium with no properties of its own....there is deformation of the lifeworld that is regimented, dissected, controlled and watched over....

²⁷⁸ Gregory Bateson Steps to An Ecology of the Mind. San Francisco: Chandler Publishing, 1972.

²⁷⁹ ARDA file 22051 National Archives of Canada , Halifax Records Center *Black Point and Meat Cove Resettlement Project No. 22051* An earlier draft of the project had been cleared with the ARDA Policy and Planning Directorate on January 11, 1968.

²⁸⁰ ARDA file 22051 National Archives of Canada , Halifax Records Center *ARDA Agreement May 9, 1968*.

²⁸¹ Ibid. See also the superseded ARDA agreement. The original proposal had asked for a total of \$26,500, with the Province and Federal governments each paying \$13, 250.

The funds must have been promised earlier, because in May, 1968, six families from the Black Point community were already involved in building co-op houses in Bay St. Lawrence. The public perception has been, as one resident put it, that 'welfare built the houses for those people'.²⁸²

In reality, though, these families, like most of the others that moved, did not receive a very high level of support from the government. Each family that moved received a resettlement allowance that ranged anywhere from \$1500 to \$2000.²⁸³ This money was simply used as a down payment for alternate housing. These first six that moved were given resettlement grants of \$1500 that went towards financing the co-op houses that were being built.²⁸⁴

The families were also financially responsible for a number of other things, among them the cost of buying land, having it surveyed, and having the title transferred.²⁸⁵ Mathews, however, coordinated, organized and made all the arrangements for the project, including acquiring land and taking care of legalities. All of the families were required to sign quit claim deeds, but only a few of them received any compensation for their land. The state did not recognize their hereditary rights in the community because they had no deeds or titles to prove it.

The themes of dispossession and possession were common to all of the war on poverty relocations of the 1960's because there was an emphasis on property.

²⁸² Interview with member of the Baddeck community.

²⁸³ They also received a very small moving allowance. As Mathews noted, however, this was not a real expense because the families were able to use pick up trucks that members of the kin group owned.

²⁸⁴ Ibid. The government did assist the families, however, in outfitting the new houses with the essentials, such as, beds, fridges and oil-wood stoves for heating and cooking.

²⁸⁵ Ibid. *Department of Public Welfare Social Development Division Report on Meat Cove and Black Point Relocation Project* p.4. The government helped organize buying the property in the Bay and also the construction of the houses. But the families were responsible financially for:

1. Having their property surveyed and purchased
2. Excavating for the foundation
3. Pouring their own foundation under supervision
4. Digging their own wells
5. Putting in their own septic system (under supervision)
6. Making provision to build their chimneys

The families also had to work on putting up the houses after a long days fishing which entailed getting up at four in the morning. The grounds around the houses were bull-dozed so that nothing was able to grow in the rock and the rubble. The families were responsible for paying for getting fill and spreading it and getting topsoil to establish a lawn. There was no assistance from the government in any of these areas.

Alexa MacDonough, who worked with the Department of Social Services at the time, described the process:²⁸⁶

The fact that they had no deeds made the relocation of the people easier. They were viewed as second class citizens and there was the sense that they ought to be grateful because they didn't have any rights. The whole thing focused on compensation for property. We're giving you more than your entitled to. The whole social fabric was destroyed and their sources of income. That was why people could have existed before independently and then when they were moved they couldn't. The physical relocation fractured the human relations.

Part of the Interdepartmental Committee's strategy was to fracture these relations. Mathew's intentionally started the relocation by trying to convince the families that were actually the most economically secure, and needed the least help, to relocate. These families were also an important part of the support system in Black Point. A Bay resident noted:²⁸⁷

The first group....I had the impression that certain families were helping other families quite a bit. There was a support system. But then the people started to break up. Once the more able people moved out the people left there immediately had a much more reduced standard of living and a harder time.

Once the first six families left and the support system in Black Point began to break up, there was much more pressure on the other people in the community to move.

The Will of the People

In the late summer of 1968, just as the houses were nearing completion, a press release concerning the project was issued.²⁸⁸

²⁸⁶ Interview with Alexa MacDonough. She was describing the process in Africville, but it was essentially the same in Black Point and Newfoundland.

²⁸⁷ Interview with resident of Bay St. Lawrence.

²⁸⁸ ARDA file 22051 National Archives of Canada, Halifax Records Center. *Press Release*. R.R. MacIntyre, the Federal Director of Rural Development, originally suggested to George Mathews that a press release be drafted when the project was officially approved in early June, 1968. In late June, George Smith, the Provincial Director of ARDA, asked Mr Cottingham, the Federal Projects Officer for the Atlantic Region Department of Forestry and Rural Development, to draft it at the request of George Mathews.

This project..will permit some twenty-two families to relocate into community of their choice...It was the people of the two communities who decided that to remain was to stagnate, but to move was impossible without assistance. The Department of Public Welfare realized the needs of the people, but, at the same time recognized that a firm, well-planned program needed formulation. As one official of the Department put it: 'It was important that we first have a program to offer the people of Black Point before approaching them and getting them all stirred up. If you arouse people to the point where they want to do something for themselves, then you must have the means to assist...'²⁸⁹ There was then set in motion a glowing example of cooperative action between departments, and agencies of government at the municipal, provincial and federal levels.²⁹⁰

The government continued to create the illusion that the relocation was initiated by the people in the community. The Black Point-Meat Cove relocation project was officially opened on Nov. 5, 1968.²⁹¹ News reports appeared in the Cape Breton and Halifax papers:²⁹²

²⁸⁹ The quote used in this press release came from George Mathews' submission to the County Council about the relocation project. Mathews seemed to sincerely believe in what he was doing. See also ARDA file 22051 National Archives of Canada , Halifax Records Center. *Report dated Oct. 12, 1968.*

²⁹⁰ Simone Weil *The Need For Roots* London: Ark, 1952. (1987)p. 135. Weil pointed out that one of the customs that we have inherited from the Romans is self-praise:

The Romans...never committed any acts of cruelty, never granted any favours, without boasting in each case of their generosity and their clemency.

²⁹¹ Various officials were invited to the opening ceremonies representing the ARDA and the Federal Department of Rural Development, the Department of Welfare, The Housing Commission and the Victoria County Council. George Mathews was there. Pat Fogerty, the ARDA Sociologist for the Atlantic Region came for Ron MacIntyre, Director of Rural Development. Percy (Pinky) Guam, Minister of Welfare was there, as was Cliff Banks and the County Councilor. See Photo.

²⁹² *Halifax Chronicle-Herald* Nov. 6th 1968 Housing Relocation Started
See also: *Cape Breton Post* Nov. 6, 1968 *Minister Opens Housing Project:*

Welfare Minister Gaum said Tuesday that a housing re-location program in Victoria County could well be one of the most useful and productive exercises in the field of welfare ever attempted in Nova Scotia...Mr Guam said that a great many families in Nova Scotia are living in houses 'away off the beaten track'. They are long distances away from churches, schools, stores, medical services and hospitals. Location, he said, may not be too important in summer, but in winter when roads are bad the situation is not the same. He said the problem with housing was obvious. Houses are like people, he said, they get old and have to be replaced.The department of Welfare, he said, has been experimenting for the past two years in a number of areas attempting to improve housing stock generally. The effort has taken 3 directions: 1. encouraged Headstart programs 2. community development in which a welfare worker gets to know the people and helps them in what they want to do 3. relocation of families in housing in communities where they will be near facilities in relation to schools, churches and medical services. Mr Guam said the present re-location of six homes was a start, although the idea is not new, having been undertaken in Newfoundland. In fact, he said, re-location of homes without government help has been going on in

Halifax Chronicle-Herald Nov. 6th 1968 *Housing Relocation Started*
 Better housing cannot be imposed on people unwilling to accept it or who are disinterested in it, Provincial Welfare Minister Percy Guam cautioned. Mr. Guam was inaugurating the first phase of a relocation program whereby 24 families in the Meat Cove and Black Point areas will re-settle in this northern Victoria County community. The initial move involved 6 families from Meat Cove...(note error) There is much talk, most of it justified, about poor housing, but he emphasized 'that no improvement can be made in housing until the people themselves want, ask for, and cooperate in getting improved housing.' He further stressed that neither government nor individuals should impose solutions on others...MLA for Cape Breton Nova also said 'the most important people are the people helped, the families who have worked with us from the beginning to get better housing for themselves and their children.

The First Six Families Leave Black Point

The people in these six families, the first to leave Black Point, reported they felt more of a sense of loss than gain when they moved into their new homes. A member of one of these six families remembered the move:²⁹³

I remember it all well, we all went down in J. D.'s (MacKinnon's) truck with all this stuff-- well, they had made a couple trips before that, but they got all the kids in the back of the truck and we drove down. It was pretty exciting at first, we were driving down in the truck and we got to the house. But there was something strange...Actually after we moved down here I cried so much that they; Dad and Mom, let me go back up and live with them Uncle B. and Aunt L. in Black Point for two summers. I felt really bad, really sad. I used to cry to go back up and back up to Black Point. I don't know. I think it was just too hard for me to be away from the place I loved--Like if you don't feel secure you don't want to stay in the place that you are. So I lived with them rather than to be down here. Like Mom and Dad seemed, like sad about the move. They weren't happy, for sure, and they didn't seem excited like someone moving to a new home and a new place. Maybe that's why I felt so strange. I don't know....I think they sort of resented the move. They weren't happy. They had to do it. It wasn't something they wanted to do. It was something they had to do. They didn't have any choice in the matter. They didn't seem happy at all when we were moving. I mean not like me if I was moving right now. If I

Nova Scotia for 100 years. The Victoria County project the Minister termed a team project between, ARDA, Victoria County Municipal Council and Nova Scotia Housing Commission and the Department of Public Welfare.

²⁹³ Interview with M. MacKinnon.

was moving into a house that was supposed to be a lot bigger and a lot more roomier I'd be really excited with the move, but they didn't seem happy. The move wasn't positive, that's for sure--like we lost something.

The Maintenance of the Meat Cove Community

Many people in the district, especially those in Meat Cove, believed the people in Black Point had a choice about moving because in the end they weren't forced to resettle. A Meat Cove resident reported:²⁹⁴

Well, Meat Cove was supposed to be relocated too but the people refused to be moved. They just didn't go. It wasn't forced, like I went to the meetings down there. They described the buildings they were going to build for you, the cost of buildings, and being able to fish close to where you wanted to fish. You didn't have to sign up for it. They didn't force you to move. It was suggested.

The government, however, never put the same kind of pressure on the Meat Cove families. There were a few different reasons for this. The fate of the Meat Cove families was not a part of the Interdepartmental Committee's original mandate for action.²⁹⁵ They had included the Meat Cove families, who were physically more isolated than those in Black Point, to make the program more attractive to ARDA. If both communities were closed, the provincial and federal governments would not have to spend money on providing services for the families at the end of the road. This would be more cost-efficient from the state perspective. It would also leave the area open for the National Park. One of the County Councilors involved with the relocation reported:²⁹⁶

The only reason Meat Cove was targeted was because of the park. Black Point was the issue that was presented to the authorities in Victoria County. But the people in Victoria County had nothing to say about the people in Meat Cove--it's another county. They didn't know what the welfare situation was or anything like that. Meat Cove was no business to

²⁹⁴ Interview with A. Fraser.

²⁹⁵ In fact, the teacher in Meat Cove, unlike those in the Bay, actively opposed the relocation. The Meat Cove children never went to the consolidated school in the Bay. They continued to attend the one room school in Meat Cove. The teacher there certainly made no complaints about the children. As the Department of Welfare report noted, he was worried about being displaced by the relocation project.

²⁹⁶ Interview with Alec Capstick

the people in Baddeck. They concentrated on the people in Black Point and they had their own policies.

Historically, Meat Cove was a much larger community and much more of a center in the area. This was not true in the 1960's, but some of the cultural patterns of the people living there were much more in line with those in the larger local community.²⁹⁷

I was not aware of as much pressure being put on Meat Cove people. I was more aware that the Meat Cove people were worried that the government had plans to do this. But they felt very resistant and that they wouldn't get away with it....that they owned their own land and were here to stay and this was their home.

All of the families in Meat Cove had registered deeds and titles, so they were considered to possess property and also to have the rights that property was perceived to confer. The four families who lived in Meat Cove had also been given more access or 'property rights' in the fishery. They all had lobster licenses and salmon berths. The elder in Meat Cove, Simon George MacLellan, spoke Gaelic, but he was also literate in English. The people in Meat Cove generally had an advantage in terms of their relations with mainstream social institutions because of their involvement with the Catholic Church. For the most part, the residents in Black Point had received a primarily Gaelic education. They were cultured people, but they were cultured in a different medium.

As the cultural medium of the local community changed from Gaelic to English the people in Meat Cove were not as vulnerable as those in Black Point. They had titles and licenses, and more capital of all sorts--linguistic, cultural and monetary--to support them in their exchanges outside the local community. From the state perspective, the people in Meat Cove had more rights because they had more investment, even though it was the state that had invested them with these in the first place. From that perspective the fact that they had 'real estate' made them a higher class of people. I asked George Mathews and one of the social workers involved with the project, why the families in Meat Cove weren't moved:²⁹⁸

²⁹⁷ Interview with one of the teachers who were involved with the families in Meat Cove.

²⁹⁸ Interview with George Mathews and Social Worker.

George Mathews: They were on their own land too... you know, they weren't squatters like the Black Pointers.

Social Service Professional: And they were a different caliber, George. They just were.

George Mathews: They fished more...

Social Service Professional: ...We really weren't as worried about them.

The Meat Cove Mine

In the late 1960's, negotiations were also under way to open a zinc mine in Meat Cove that would create 125 new jobs in the area.²⁹⁹ There was talk in government circles of a harbour facility being built at Meat Cove that was large enough for a 5000 ton bulk carrier. The people at ARDA seem to have been unaware of the possibility of Meat Cove Zinc but Allan MacEachen, the MP for Inverness, knew about the negotiations.

MacEachen, however, had never been informed of the relocation project. His input had never even been asked for. He had no idea that the ARDA project had been proposed much less approved.³⁰⁰ When he finally found out about the relocation, the staff from his office got in touch with the people at ARDA's regional office.

The families in Meat Cove had requested funding from his office to improve the harbour facilities in that community.³⁰¹ Since they owned their own land they weren't as easily threatened as the people in Black Point. The staff at

²⁹⁹ Ibid. *Letter from Dr. J.P. Sijpkens to Mr J. Brown Regional Director Public Works.* June 9, 1970. See also Cabot Archives File #536 *Zinc Deposit Meat Cove.* 'In 1953 Cape Breton Metals obtained a concession covering mineral rights for the northern half of Cape Breton Island.' Minerals were discovered in Meat Cove and sample drillings looked promising. Through much of the 1950's, local people worked in the mine. Some were hired to haul in supplies and plow the road; some to do some building and carpentry; and some of the women to cook. After a few years, the work stopped but the letters indicate that in 1964 there was renewed interest in exploring the possibilities of opening the Meat Cove Mine. Peggy MacLellan from Meat Cove, who was hired as cook, ended up marrying Bill MacIsaac, a geologist from Antigonish who worked for the mine company.

³⁰⁰ Ibid. *Telegram in the ARDA file dated Oct. 24, 1968.*

³⁰¹ ARDA file 22051 National Archives of Canada, Halifax Records Center *Letter dated September 12, 1968 from MP Allan MacEachen to Jean Marchand, Minister of Forestry and Rural Development.* During the fall of 1968, the families in Meat Cove contacted the Chairman of the local Inverness Liberal Association, Walter Moore, to ask him to write to their MP, Allan J. MacEachen, and request repairs be made to Public Works slipment on the beach at Meat Cove. Most of the families in Meat Cove were active in the Liberal Party, which was also the party in power at the time. This suggestion was not unreasonable. The people in Meat Cove knew about the relocation but they also knew that the Department Public Works was still contemplating assisting a mining company in the 'development' of facilities in Meat Cove.

the ARDA office advised the staff at MacEachen's office, though, that 'it was their understanding that Project 22051 was meant to phase out these two settlements, (Black Point and Meat Cove) and that further federal investment on capital facilities would not appear to conform with the intentions of the project.' The staff at the Minister's office then advised Mr. Moore, the local Liberal Chairman, of this. He wrote back reporting that 'he was unaware of the intentions of the Province to phase out Meat Cove, and wondered if these people would be forced to move.'³⁰²

Up until this point, the whole relocation was based on the illusion of consent--resigned consent, engineered consent--but consent nevertheless. The staff at MacEachen's office once again contacted the staff at ARDA. J. P. Fogarty, the Regional ARDA Sociologist, wrote to Mrs. Sequin from MacEachen's office:³⁰³

I informed her that a voluntary exodus was already in process, and my understanding was that the people of both settlements had made a decision themselves to move, and that she could confirm this by writing to Mr. George Mathews.

At this time, some of the officials in the state bureaucracy must have started to feel a bit uncomfortable. It was clear, though, that it was not in the interests of the state to remove the people in Meat Cove if there was the possibility of industrial development or the possibility of destroying the illusion that the relocation was based entirely on the will of the people involved.³⁰⁴

The decision not to apply more pressure on the Meat Cove families really had less to do with the will of the people, though, than with the needs of the state. For instance, the Department of Welfare Report reported that, in 1970, after

³⁰² ARDA file 22051 National Archives of Canada , Halifax Records Center

³⁰³ Ibid. *Letter from J.P. Fogarty* dated Jan. 7, 1969.

³⁰⁴ For awhile the people in Meat Cove stopped painting their houses or fixing them up, as the people in Black Point had done before them. This is not, however, to say that there is nothing that people can do to change state policy. The people in Northern Cape Breton mounted a strong protest campaign to stop the National Park from moving in and expropriating land the way they did in Ingonish. The reason the campaign was successful had to do with the fact that many of the local leaders were fighting it. They were familiar with the terms of the battle and they knew on what fronts to wage it. They were also supported by most people in the area. The local MP's and MLA's, whose jobs depended on the votes of the people in the community, supported the local leaders. The expansion of the 'Park' was stopped and so was the relocation of most of the Northern Highlands. See *Holdings Cape Breton Highlands National Park* in the Cabot Archives.

the federal government announced their plans to extend the Cape Breton Highlands National Park, the people in Meat Cove were all 'resigned' to relocation. It was only after the plans for the National Park fell through that the people in Meat Cove really had the freedom to choose where they wanted to live.

The Baddeck Move

By the fall of 1969, the Department of Welfare had decided to move four of the families remaining in Black Point to Baddeck rather than Bay St. Lawrence.³⁰⁵ George Mathews reported that these four families were moved to Baddeck because decision makers thought that there were more employment opportunities for them there.³⁰⁶

There was another factor involved in the move to Baddeck and this was that there were a number of men in the group who did not have fishing licenses for lobstering. This is the main source of income for the fishers in the St. Lawrence area. It was, therefore, inadvisable to relocate these men in Bay St. Lawrence where the main livelihood of the people is dependent upon fishing. The Municipal Welfare Officer became involved and he located firm employment positions in and around the Baddeck area working in the woods. As all of the men had worked in the woods before and were prepared to do so again, this offered good possibilities.

³⁰⁵ *Department of Public Welfare Social Development Division Black Point- Meat Cove Relocation Project (nd).*

There had been some discussion of one of the families relocating to Baddeck as early as the first community meeting in 1968. This family had lived in Baddeck for a few winters in order to get work through the winter in the pulp woods. In the summer, when there was no woods work, the family returned to Black Point to work in the fishery. This family did not own their own home in Black Point. They had owned a house and land on the Hill. When all of the families moved down to Black Point after school consolidation, they hadn't been able to build a home of their own in that community. When this family came home to fish in the spring and summer they lived in with relatives. A few of the families had established a pattern of working in the woods in the winter and then coming home to fish in the spring and summer.

³⁰⁶ *Department of Public Welfare Social Development Division Black Point- Meat Cove Relocation Project (nd). Letter from George Mathews to Paul Gervason, Department of Regional Expansion. Dated Feb. 17, 1971. Also Interview with George Mathews:*

Interviewer: How did some families get moved to Baddeck?

George Mathews: Well the reason for the move to Baddeck was those four families, none of the men had fishing licenses.....They had been working part-time in the woods cutting pulp and so on in the winter, so it was considered that there was a better opportunity for them to get employment in Baddeck, because of the number of...pulp cutter operations there and because the woods were in much better shape.

Limited Entry Licensing

From the state perspective, the four families that were moved to Baddeck were not 'real' fishing families or 'stakeholders' in the fishery because they had not obtained permanent lobster fishing licenses when limited entry licensing was introduced into the lobster fishery in 1967.³⁰⁷

Fishing families in the Bay district reported that many people in the district failed to get permanent licenses, even though they were eligible, because of the way in which the Department of Fisheries implemented its new policy.³⁰⁸ The staff in the Department of Fisheries sent around notices indicating that anyone who purchased a lobster license in the current year would be eligible for a permanent lobster license in the next. Some of the fishers in the district, however, could not read the notices that were sent around. Others did not fully understand the state's intention. Although they had spent most of their lives as fishers they failed to purchase a lobster license in that one qualifying year.³⁰⁹ Subsequently, when they went to get a license they were refused access to the fishery. In this way they were dispossessed of their rights to the fishery. On a local level limited entry licensing has worked to eliminate the places that many fishing families in the Bay district occupied for years.

The relocation of the four Black Point fishing families to Baddeck was the part of a new management paradigm that was based on privatizing the ocean commons, centralizing fishing operations, and eliminating the smaller fishers, because they were perceived to be inefficient in market terms.³¹⁰ It was the forerunner of a wave of policies that have been sweeping people off of the sea as

³⁰⁷ Cynthia Lamson and Arthur Hanson (editors) *Atlantic Fisheries And Coastal Communities* Halifax: Dalhousie Ocean Studies Program, 1984. p. viii

³⁰⁸ Ibid. pp. 242-45 From 1930 -1969, it was the Department of Fisheries that handled marine management. In 1969, Fisheries was incorporated into the Department of Environment. It wasn't until 1979 that the Department of Fisheries and Oceans was organized as a completely independent body.

³⁰⁹ For instance, one of the MacKinnon-Fraser families that had been working in the pulp woods in the winter came home in the summers to fish. They didn't get a license that particular year because they were fishing on someone else's boat. In the past, they had owned their own boat and they had planned to again but that year they fished out of a family member's boat. Regulations didn't require that they have their own license and in a money scarce economy the cost of a license was a consideration.

³¹⁰ *Department of Public Welfare Social Development Division Black Point- Meat Cove Relocation Project* (nd). From the state perspective, there were too many small fishers and the fishery needed to be rationalized. The overall plan is not to relocate all families in Bay St. Lawrence but to provide some alternative sites in Baddeck. At the same time each family will be looked at to see what its potential might be in respect to an alternative to fishing.'

effectively as the 15th and 19th century enclosures and clearances swept them off the land.³¹¹

The Department of Welfare considered that Baddeck was a good place for the four families who had been displaced by fisheries policy from the fishery, because the pulp industry was booming at the time. In terms of the pilot project to test the stage model of relocation, Baddeck was larger than the Bay and it might better prepare these families for relocation to the city.³¹²

The Mechanics of the Baddeck Move: Investing in Development

The Baddeck relocation was problematical, though, from the very beginning. The Department of Welfare couldn't find any land in the village of Baddeck. People refused to sell any land because of the strong prejudice in that community against people from 'down north'.³¹³ The Department finally found a piece of land about five miles outside of the village.³¹⁴

³¹¹ See Karl Marx (edited by Friedrich Engels) *Capital* Chicago: Great Books of the Western World, 1952 (original 1867) Part 8, Chapter 27, p. 361.

³¹² Dep't of Public Welfare (Study by Helen Ralston). *Black Point-Meat Cove Relocation Project- Evaluation Study* Manuscript published by Dep't of Public Welfare: Halifax, 1970. pp. 63,4. The Department of Welfare Study mentioned that:

The waters off Bay St. Lawrence will not provide an adequate income for the inshore fishers presently fishing there. At the same time, it is recognized that relocation of those members of the Meat Cove and Black Point sub-communities who have fishing licenses in the St. Margaret's Village/Bay St. Lawrence settlement is a necessary first step towards the migration of younger adults or of the on-coming generation to urban and industrial areas elsewhere in Nova Scotia or Canada. Where the head of a household is capable of vocational training and willing to migrate permanently to a place of job-training and employment, it has been suggested by leaders in the receiving community that the relocation program be implemented elsewhere in the province. (This was written before the Baddeck move was implemented)

³¹³ Interview with J. Buchanan J. Buchanan spent his high school (grade 12) in Baddeck. When asked what it was like, he said that the kids and people thought they were superior. 'They were snots. They didn't want to have anything to do with people from 'down north' but it was the 'Wreck Covers' (the people in Capstick) that ruined the Gaelic in the community. They laughed at anyone who spoke it.'

³¹⁴ *Department of Public Welfare Social Development Division Black Point- Meat Cove Relocation Project* (nd). *Letter from George Mathews to Paul Gervason, Department of Regional Expansion. Dated Feb. 17, 1971.*

This Department, with the cooperation of the Department of Lands and Forests and ARDA, purchased a parcel of land approximately five miles from Baddeck. We had searched for sites in the village of Baddeck but there was nothing available. This was the only site in the area for sale at a reasonable price.

Segregating the families on a piece of land so far distant from the community was strange because the whole purpose of the relocation was supposed to be integration and assimilation. George Mathews reported:³¹⁵

Even though the attempt was not to place them, in any one, like we didn't just select one area, as you well know the first houses (in the Bay) are scattered throughout the community and that was the plan right from day one; not to put them in any one location so that the community would...then become an identified group within the assisting community. And that's the unfortunate part of the Baddeck...We couldn't get any land anywhere, even lots in which to build. If we could have secured lots in the Baddeck area, where we could have separated these families, we would have been much better off.

Integration into the mainstream for the Black Point families in Baddeck was a process of ghettoization. These families were dispossessed of their rights to the traditional grounds of their community culture that could sustain them. At the same time their rights of possession were limited from the beginning to the grounds where they were moved. They certainly were given no place that was of any value in the village of Baddeck.

There is a real question whether the relocation served the interests of the people who were moved to Baddeck from Black Point. There is no question, however, that it served the interests of some of the people who were doing the moving. Ian MacLeod, the Municipal Welfare Officer, sold the land for the houses in Baddeck, according to one of the local County Councilors. A close relation of MacLeod's was reported to be the carpenter who was hired to build the houses.³¹⁶

The relocation project also provided employment for a great many people.³¹⁷ In fact, the amount spent on the administration of the project, on the

³¹⁵ Interview with George Mathews.

³¹⁶ Interview with A. Capstick.

A. Capstick: We hired Ian Macleod (Municipal Welfare Worker) in 1967. He was involved in the relocating program.

Interviewer: Was it his land in Baddeck they bought?

A, Capstick: Yes, he was always the guy to go out and make a deal anyway. This is not to suggest that there was anything illegal going on. A design for the Baddeck houses was obtained from the Community Planning Division of the Department of Welfare and the construction of the houses was put out for tender. See ARDA file 22051 National Archives of Canada, Halifax Records Center

³¹⁷ See Halifax Chronicle-Herald Jan. 13, 1965 *Second ARDA Phase Ready*. The article noted how ARDA was also going to help the helpers: 'Another part of the program, authorities said, was the 'establishment of a specialized corps of rural development officers

salaries and the expenses of professionals, was almost as much as the amount spent on the people in the community.³¹⁸

The Closing of the Community

In the end the relocation in Black Point really had more to do with the interests of the state and the business ethos that it supported than it did with the needs of the people in the communities.³¹⁹

It suited all three levels of government to move those people out of there...The Provincial government was worried about providing educational and highway services. The County of Victoria was...worried about the size of the welfare bill...and the federal government had a long range view of expropriating that whole area into the national park. All of a sudden all three levels of government wanted those people out of there and they moved them for reasons that were not...entirely related to the needs of the people.

In 1970, the four Baddeck houses were built. These houses were built even more cheaply than the first houses constructed in the Bay because the Housing Commission had refused to be involved with the relocation after the first six houses were built in Bay St. Lawrence. They made this decision, according to Mathews, because 'the income of the families was considered too low and did not meet their minimum criteria'.³²⁰ The Department of Welfare had to take full

across the country to guide the various projects, encourage effective community and area leadership in the solution of their socio-economic problems. Thousands will be needed.' The War on Poverty was also a boon to social scientists. See Alvin Gouldner The Coming Crisis of Western Sociology London: Heinemann, 1974. pp. 342-350. Gouldner criticised the functionalist school of sociology whose theoretical stance supported the status quo and was used by the state to maintain it.

³¹⁸ ARDA file 22051 National Archives of Canada, Halifax Records Center ARDA agreement dated Jan 23, 1970. In January 1970, a second ARDA agreement was submitted for the years 1970-72. The amount spent on the people in the community for resettlement allowances and land acquisition was \$32,300 and the amount spent for administration, salaries and travel was \$30,000.

³¹⁹ CBC-TV Halifax Documentary *The Wrong Move*, produced and written by Claude Vicory. First aired on Nov. 17, 1986. Interview with Linden MacIntyre

³²⁰ Ibid. Letter Feb. 17, 1971

At the beginning of this relocation project we had the cooperation of the Nova Scotia Housing Commission in respect to a cooperative loan to the first six families to build their homes. This was at a time when the Housing Commission was very flexible in respect to the income level of groups applying under the cooperative scheme. They also considered that the group from Black Point were a very special group and would be considered as such. The homes, therefore, were built under the mortgage loan

responsibility for the construction of the Baddeck houses and also had to make provisions for the rest of the families.

In 1970, there were still seven families for whom no relocation arrangements had been made. For the most part, the families who resisted relocation and who remained the longest in Black Point were associated with Alexander MacKinnon's branch of the family.³²¹ No matter how people felt, though, in the end everyone was resigned to leaving the community and in the end everyone consented to the government's terms.

One of the remaining seven families had no lobster license and they relocated in Dingwall instead of Bay St. Lawrence. Another family was very involved with farming. They had moved down from the Hill during the relocation process and purchased the MacEachern farm in Black Point. With the relocation grant and the sale of their farm in Black Point they had money enough to buy a small house in the Bay. They didn't, however, have land enough to support any real farming.

Three families had acquired lots in the Bay before the Baddeck families left. When the Nova Scotia Housing Commission decided not to cooperate in building the houses, though, these families were left to make their own arrangements. These families moved into trailers in the Bay. They had to finance these themselves. The government gave the families only \$2000 each as a relocation grant, so they reported that they had very little money with which to buy land and put a down payment on a trailer.³²²

granted by the Nova Scotia Housing Commission. The water and sewer were covered in the mortgage and the families used their relocation grants to reduce the principal of their mortgage loans.

³²¹ Peter MacKinnon, Archibald's son and one of the elders in Black Point, moved in with his youngest son who had moved to the Bay as part of the Co-op Housing program.

³²² Interview with E. and S. MacKinnon.

E. MacKinnon -They never gave us enough money. I mean it ended up we had to go to Baddeck. When we moved down from Black Point, down to the Bay, we were paying 75 dollars a month for the trailer. We got a loan out to pay for our trailer. And we couldn't make the payments from fishing, so we had to go to Baddeck...

S. MacKinnon - We bought the land down here.

E. MacKinnon -From H's wife.

S. MacKinnon -I paid \$75 dollars for the land....100 X 150. And I paid \$30 dollars to get it run to get the deed. They never give us the land... or the trailer.

E. MacKinnon - The government gives us \$ 2,000.00 and that's it. For our homes. They shouldn't even have moved us out of there. If they were wanting to better us or ourselves, they should have done it up there in BP. It would have been better. I would have been...happier.

A husband and wife recalled what they felt like when they realized that the Black Point community was being closed. Like many other people in the community, they would like the opportunity to go back:³²³

E. MacKinnon: My last memory was my father-in-law sold his land to the Lands and Forests. That was my last hope of living in Black Point. It was terrible. That was so sad. I can still remember looking out the window and seeing them passing the cheque to the old man and I knew then there was no hope for me ever living in Black Point...Not unless the government decides to give us back our land.

S. MacKinnon: No, sells us our land.

E. MacKinnon: Yes, sells us our land. We'll buy it.

S. MacKinnon: After I moved here, the old man was still there. I used to go up there all the time. I used to go up there and stay up there with the old man all night. Me and E. (his wife) wouldn't come home till Sunday

By the summer of 1971, only two families remained in Black Point. In 1972, these two families moved into homes that the Department of Public Welfare had helped build for them in Bay St. Lawrence.³²⁴ Now, no one was left in Black Point. A hundred years before, Archibald and Ann Fraser MacKinnon and Alexander and Katherine MacKinnon picked rocks in Black Point and hauled them out with their oxen. Now, all that remained were the fields going back to spruce.

S. MacKinnon - There wouldn't have been no problems.....There wouldn't be no break and enter and stuff like that now eh. If they would have left us there.

³²³ Interview with S. and E. MacKinnon

³²⁴ See ARDA file 22051 National Archives of Canada , Halifax Records Center. *Letter Nov. 30 1970 re: ARDA Project # 22051*. The families that moved into the four government houses in Baddeck and the two in the Bay did not have as the same kind of formal financial arrangements as the first six. But they were supposed to reimburse the state for their help. For instance, in a letter of 1970 George Mathews noted the financial arrangements for the Baddeck families. The houses would cost \$4800. Each family would receive a relocation grant of \$2000 from ARDA and also a Manpower Grant. When everything was added up, Mathews expected to have a 'shortfall of approximately \$8000.'

Each family will receive a Manpower Relocation Grant. These will range from \$1500 to \$2200. All the families have agreed to pool this money and apply it equally on their homes. The balance of funds required will be met by the Department of Public Welfare and a special fund will be set up in the Municipality of Victoria. Each family will be asked to reimburse the Municipality in an amount equal to the difference between the total cost of the road and the houses and any incidental expenses such as lawyers fees, etc., on a monthly basis geared to their own ability to pay. The interest on the balance will be set at 4% per annum. This fund, as the money is returned to it, will then be used by the Municipal Welfare Department to build additional homes for poor people in the municipality.

Chapter 5: The Houses are All Gone Under the Sea

Prologue

The Story of John Dann

In the fall of 1978, two young men from the MacKinnon-Fraser kin group, David Fraser and John Dann MacKinnon, set out in a small boat to handline for cod in the Bay. In the late afternoon, the wind began to pick up. Their boat was the only one left out so they hauled their lines in and headed for the channel. Suddenly their engine stalled and they couldn't get it restarted.

Without power, their boat began to drift and rock in the waves. The tide was running out and it began carrying them with it. They could still see the shore, but the wind and tide were driving them away from it. John Dann was a strong swimmer; he wanted to try to swim for it. David hesitated but then they both jumped in. David knew right away, though, that he wouldn't be able to make it. He grabbed for the gun'ale of the boat and was able to climb back in. He watched John Dann struggle with the wind, the waves and the tide. The tide carried John Dann away and there was no way that David could reach him.

At dusk, people on shore were beginning to get worried. They could see that one of the boats was missing from its mooring. The word spread, and soon a group of people gathered on the wharf. Someone put in a call to the Coast Guard in Sydney. Their boats were too far away to be of any help. The nearest search and rescue helicopter was in P.E.I. It would be a while before it came. There were some larger fishing boats in the Bay that could handle the swells. Some of the men decided to go out and search.

David had just enough power in the boat's battery to keep his running light shining in the dark. Before long, Hector MacKinnon spotted the light and then David's boat. There was no sign of John Dann, though. The ocean was getting too rough for the boats so all anyone could do was to wait for the chopper. When it came, we could hear it flying back and forth and we could see its light sweeping the water. Suddenly, after two hours, though, it was gone. With it went any hope we had for John Dann. All we could hear now was the roaring of the wind and sea. John Dann MacKinnon who was not yet 20 was never found.

Most likely, John Dann's fate would have been the same, whether the chopper had come back or not. In the fall, the water is cold in the Cabot Strait. But, there was just a chance that he had been carried ashore to one of the narrow beaches, or maybe to one of the rock outcrops along the coast. The chances were slim, though. The Coast Guard must have decided it wasn't worth the effort.

I wonder what kind of calculation goes into making a decision like that. Around the same time, I read in the news of a massive search and rescue operation for a politician's son who had become lost, in the mountains out west. The ground and air search went on for weeks, and weeks and weeks.

John Dann, Alexander MacKinnon's great grandson, had little opportunity to learn the intellectual disciplines, and the skills associated with either the Gaelic or English language cultures. The 'ways of knowing' of the old people in either tradition might have protected and supported him, and helped him survive.

Some people say he was foolish to have gone out on such a windy day in a small boat without safety equipment to risk his life for a few mackerel or cod. But what kind of choices did he have? What kind of choices had he ever been given?

The Houses are All Gone Under the Sea

A committee was appointed by the Council and by the Social Services too...They drove up, and they figured when they came back that the people should have housing, and should be helped. The people were interviewed a couple of times. But, to my knowledge, they never wanted to go....not anyone I ever talked to. **Alec Capstick: County Councilor**¹

Some people just felt it was cut and dried, that they had no choice, and others felt threatened. **Teacher in the Bay**

The professionals who implemented the Black Point relocation did not ask the people in Black Point what they wanted because they thought the people living there were 'backward' and uneducated.² The relocation was designed to free them from traditional patterns of culture that were perceived to be holding them back. To force them to be free.³ After relocation, the Black Point people were not allowed to use the land for gardens, for pastures or for firewood.⁴

And then I remember that the government tore down the houses and the people wanted to go back and see them and maybe use the houses in summertime. It's beautiful up there and they were used to fishing up there. And all of the people had a tremendous sense of the woods and of being free...they had a tradition of being self-sufficient.⁵

The relocation had less to do with freedom and self-sufficiency than it did with dependency and control.⁶

The government told them (the Black Point people) that they didn't own their land. But then made them sign Quit Claim Deeds, which seems

¹ Interview with Alec Capstick, County Councilor.

² Dep't of Public Welfare (Study by Helen Ralston). *Black Point-Meat Cove Relocation Project- Evaluation Study* Manuscript published by Dep't of Public Welfare: Halifax, 1970. They lacked the education, the researcher said, to adapt to modern technological society.

³ See Chapter One. This is a line from Rousseau's The Social Contract.

⁴ Interview with teacher who attended the relocation meetings.

⁵ In the 1980's, some of the MacKinnon-Fraser families bought horses and they needed pasture for them. Others needed wood for their stoves. In the 1980's the Department of Lands and Forests leased some of their lands. Some of the MacKinnon Fraser families ended up leasing pasture land and woodland in Black Point. These families have probably paid the state more money for their leases than they received in relocation grants.

⁶ Interview with teacher who attended the relocation meetings.

strange to me. If you didn't own land or have claims on it you wouldn't have to sign anything.

When the people in the MacKinnon-Fraser kin group signed their names to those quit claim deeds they lost more than their land. They lost the grounds of their family culture. Because people believed that they didn't have legal title to their land, though, they felt they had no choice.⁷

E. MacKinnon: I liked the trailer alright but I liked it better up in Black Point. But it didn't matter what I wanted. When we got our trailer I didn't want to move it down in the Bay. I wanted to move it up in Black Point. If I had'd a known we had squatter's rights I would have.

Domination has to do with control, and with the way some people get other people to act the way they want them to. It has to do with power, and the imposition of will. In the modern social process things often don't seem what they are, though. Compulsion, like a snake hidden in the grass, strikes people unexpected and unaware; sometimes they are bitten, but sometimes just tempted by the rattle and the shine of the snake's skin. Many people never even figure out what has happened to them, although most everyone knows that something is wrong.

The Engineering of Consent

The stories that the state authorities told the people in Black Point were not all true, but like Plato's 'noble lie', they were supposed to be invented for the good of the Republic, and in the best interests of the people living in it:⁸

Truth should be highly valued...a lie is useful only as a medicine to men, then the use of such medicines should be restricted to physicians; private individuals have no business with them...If any one at all is to have the privilege of lying, the rulers of the State should be the persons; and they, in their dealings either with enemies or with their own citizens, may be allowed to lie for the public good. But nobody else should meddle with anything of this kind....

⁷ Interview with E. MacKinnon.

⁸ Plato (translated by Benjamin Jowitt) The Dialogues of Plato New York: Random House, 1937, p.651

In Plato's imaginary Republic, though, the ultimate goal of the state was Virtue—the disinterested pursuit of wisdom.⁹ In the modern state the ultimate goal is the Market—the unhindered pursuit of profit.

The myths of any state are formulated by the group that is most dominant. This group tends to believe the stories told to them, the same stories they will continue to tell their children.¹⁰ This is not particularly surprising, because these people do not suffer under these illusions, they profit from them. What is surprising, though, is that almost everyone else comes to believe them too.¹¹

The whole structure of economic and political domination...depends in Western type political regimes (democracies) on the support or at least the acquiescence of those who are subjected to it. The subordinate classes in these regimes and 'intermediary' classes as well, have to be persuaded to accept the existing social order and to confine their demands and aspirations within its limits. For dominant classes there can be no enterprise of greater importance and there is none which requires greater exertion on a continuous basis, since the battle, in the nature of a system of domination, is never won.

In the modern system, the dominant classes rule through 'democratic institutions, rather than by way of dictatorship'.¹² These institutions rose out of the discourse of men like Bacon, Locke, Smith, and Rousseau. These men supported the interests of a new group, one that opposed tradition and traditional authority. From their perspective, their authority was a function of their superior knowledge. Their position and power were justified by it. For Locke and Rousseau, the right to govern, depended on the the consent of the people they

⁹ In Plato's imaginary Republic a persons 'place' reflected their capacities exactly. The fit was perfect. In his imaginary Republic, there was no constriction or limitation because of gender, race, class or sexual persuasion. Anyone could become a Philosopher King or 'Guardian of the state. There was no injustice in the society at all because, it was an ideal, an eidos, more real than 'reality' itself. Plato, who wrote The Republic, knew that ideas could not exist in this 'world of shadows' without being distorted. Socrates, who Plato used to narrate the dialogue, had always refused to write down his own ideas, knowing how words can be distorted as well.

¹⁰ Ralph Miliband The State in Capitalist Society London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1969, p.73. As Miliband (1969) noted professionals, politicians and governments all seem to view the state system as:

most closely congruent with 'human nature', as uniquely capable of combining efficiency, welfare and freedom, as the best means of releasing human initiative and energy in socially beneficent directions and as providing the necessary and only possible basis for a satisfactory social order.

¹¹ Ralph Miliband The State in Capitalist Society London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1969. pp. 178. 183

¹² Ibid.

governed and on persuading them to choose other people who were more expert, to make decisions for them. Traditional authority was dead or dying, but, as De Toqueville warned, tyranny simply found a new medium, one that was eminently more plastic.¹³

In Northern Cape Breton, it was the educated professionals who were the 'experts in legitimation'¹⁴. This group, the teachers, the researchers, the public health nurse, the priests, the doctors, the politicians, the journalists, and the social welfare workers, were able to establish ideological hegemony because they controlled the 'means of mental production', that is, all of the cultural and civil institutions of the state society.¹⁵ Their role in the social process was to provide 'the required balance between coercion and consent.'

From the mainstream perspective, the 'engineering of the consent' is essential to the maintenance of the state system, as Rousseau (1762) noted in the 18th century,¹⁶ and Lippman (1922) noted a few hundred years later:¹⁷

The creation of consent is not a new art. It is a very old one which was supposed to have died out with the appearance of democracy. But it has not died out. It has, in fact, improved enormously in technic, because it is now based on analysis rather than on rule of thumb....A revolution is taking place, infinitely more significant than any shifting of economic power.

Edward Bernays (1952), one of the fathers of public relations, suggested that the 'engineering of consent is the very essence of the democratic process, that is, the freedom to persuade and suggest.'¹⁸

The phrase means, quite simply, the use of an engineering approach—that is, action based only on thorough knowledge of the situation and on the application of scientific principles and tried practices in the task of getting

¹³ Alexis De Tocqueville Democracy in America New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1953. Vol. 2.

¹⁴ This was a phrase that Gramsci used. See Antonio Gramsci Selections from Prison Notebooks London: New Left Books, 1971.

¹⁵ Karl Marx used this phrase. See Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels, The German Ideology New York: International Publishers, 1947. (original in 1846) p. 39. See chapter 2.

¹⁶ Jean-Jacques Rousseau The Social Contract and the Discourses London: Everyman's Library, 1913. (original in 1762) Book 2 Chapter 7. p.35.

¹⁷ Lippmann, Walter. Public Opinion. New York: Macmillan, 1932. p.248. This book was first published in 1922.

¹⁸ Edward Bernays Public Relations. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1952 pp. 159-160. Bernays first used the term in an article published in 1947. This article was included in this book.

people to support ideas and programs. Any person or organization depends ultimately on public approval and is therefore faced with the problem of engineering the public's consent to a program or goal...The freedoms of speech, press, petition, and assembly, the freedoms that make the engineering of consent possible are amongst the most cherished guarantees of the Constitution of the United States. Theoretically and practically the consent should be based on the complete understanding of those whom the engineering attempts to win over. But it is sometimes impossible to reach joint decisions based on an understanding of facts by all people. With pressing crisis and decisions to be faced, often a leader cannot wait for the people to arrive at even a general understanding. In certain cases, democratic leaders must play their part in leading the public through the engineering of consent to socially constructive goals and values.

Only the 'leading members of the society', though, have the power to decide what those socially constructive goals should be. They also decide what constitutes the expert knowledge on which these goals are based. Like Bernays, they have been trained within the system to believe in the ideology that supports it. In fact, their firm belief in the business ethos of the state maintains it.¹⁹

¹⁹ Miliband (1969) and Chomsky (1988) both criticized the use of the civil institutions of the state to legitimate the state's authority by manufacturing or engineering the consent of the people within its boundaries. See Ralph Miliband The State in Capitalist Society London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1969. p.262 (also pp. 179-264) Miliband noted that politically the state appears to be in a neutral role. The 'engineering of consent', then, often takes place in the 'unofficial' or non political sectors of the state society.

(T)he cultural hegemony of the dominant classes over the subordinate ones...For the most part...the 'engineering of consent' in capitalist society is still largely an unofficial private enterprise, in fact, largely the business of private enterprise. This incidentally, also helps to account for the belief that indoctrination and brain washing happen elsewhere, since these are believed to be the peculiar prerogatives of the state, particularly the monopolistic state...the purpose of an authoritarian system of control over culture i.e. a system in which a monopoly of the means of communication by the ruling group is a necessary part of the whole political system as 'to protect, maintain or advance a social order based on minority power' But...the (same) purpose may well be better served without such a monopoly...For indoctrination to occur it is not necessary that there should be monopolistic control and the prohibition of opposition

See also Noam Chomsky and Edward Herman Manufacturing Consent New York: Pantheon Books, 1988. p. 2. Chomsky and Herman used what they called a propaganda model to discuss the way in which the mass media controls the political economy.

A propaganda model focuses on the inequality of wealth and power and its multilevel effects on mass-media interests and choices. It traces the routes by which money and power are able to filter out the news fit to print, marginalize dissent and allow the government and dominant private interests to get their message across to the public...The elite domination of the media and marginalization of dissidents that results from the operation of these filters occurs so naturally that media news people frequently operating with complete integrity and goodwill, are able to convince themselves that they choose to interpret the news 'objectively' and on the basis of professional news values...the constraints are so powerful, and are built into the system

The professionals involved with the relocation believed that manipulative tactics used to 'win' over the people in the community were justified because the relocation would serve a necessary social function in terms of the people in the community and also the society at large.²⁰ The Black Point relocation project was a pilot project, an experiment in social planning. As Milgram (1969) pointed out, people in mainstream society are trained not to listen to the feelings and the ideas of people who are the subjects of scientific control and social experimentation.²¹ It was easy to ignore what the people in Black Point wanted. It was easy to lose touch with the violence inherent in the means used by professionals to achieve, what, they thought was a socially constructive end.

Their rationale was similar to Machiavelli's idea, that, in politics the end that is desired always justifies the means that are used to achieve them.²² There was, however, a difference. Machiavelli and his Prince had no illusions. They did not believe that their subjects lived in a democracy.

in such a fundamental way, that alternative bases of news choices are hardly imaginable.

²⁰ This idea is rooted in the western tradition and the purposive rationality that supports it. See for instance: Aristotle. (Translated by Richard McKeon) The Collected Works. New York: Random House, 1941. The Metaphysics Book V: Chapter 5 p.756-7. Aristotle, for instance, believed that the use of force or coercion was justified if people, were judged, like children or the infirm, to be in need of guidance or 'help' in doing what was judged to be 'necessary'. Something painful is often judged to be 'necessary', he said, in order 'to get rid of, or be freed of evil; e.g. drinking medicine is necessary in order that we may be cured of a disease'.

²¹ Stanley Milgram Obedience to Authority New York: Harper & Row, 1969. Milgram conducted an experiment in which paid subjects were told that they were going to be involved in research to study the effect of punishment on learning. This was not what the experiment was about, however. The subjects, who were the 'teachers' were paired with people who were supposed to be the 'learners'. The 'learners', however, were really actors. The 'teacher' in the pair was instructed to give the 'learner' a low level of electric shock if they did not give the correct response to a question. The real purpose of the experiment was to see how obedient the 'teachers' were to the authority of the researchers who had hired them. The 'teacher' was told by the people conducting the experiment that the people would not be seriously hurt. The 'learners', however, responded as if they were being hurt by the shocks. The shocks appeared to get stronger and stronger and the 'learners' began to beg the teachers to stop. A few people refused, almost from the beginning. to hurt the so-called, subjects. Most stopped before the end of the experiment, by the time the 'learners' started to plead. A few, however, refused to listen to the 'learners' pleas. They reported later that they believed, at the time, it was in the learners best interest. They believed that the scientists conducting the experiment were the experts, the authorities. They knew what they were doing and that the hurting must be 'necessary'. Most people continued, for some period of time, to hurt the 'subjects' because they had been told to, despite the obvious violence.

²² Niccolo Machiavelli (translated by Leo Paul S. de. Alvarez) The Prince. Texas: University of Dallas Press, 1980. Machiavelli has a bad reputation but his book is about how to be a statesmen. Some of his assumptions are similar to those of the development discourse.

Arendt (1958) pointed out that in the modern social order the notion of traditional authority has been replaced by a concept that conflates violence with authority.²³ Social scientists 'concern', she said, 'is only with functions, and whatever fulfills the same function can, according to this view, be called the same.' The exercise of authority, then, becomes anything that is done to make other people obey. By 'functionalizing' authority, social scientists have created a mistaken, but socially useful, identity between the notion of authority, and the notions of coercion and violence.

Development: Coercion and the Good Life

The movement through space, of a small group of people by a larger and more dominant group, always has had more to do with domination with liberation. The Black Point relocation was really no different. It's just that in the democratic state, the social process is like a masquerade ball in which coercion is dressed up to look like consent.

According to the O. E. D. the word coercion is derived from the Latin words, *arca* (box or coffin), *arcere* (to shut in), and most directly from the Latin verb, *coercere* (to surround). Coercion carries with it the sense of spatial constraint.²⁴ The relocation of the people in Black Point was an attempt to control the way that the people acted by effectively controlling the space that they lived in and also the way in which they used that space.²⁵

Coercion is a technique of indirect rather than direct motivation. One is coerced through another's control of the available spaces for action or release. In fact, one can frequently be compelled to perform a series of actions that are means of the realization of another's plan merely because the other can exclude him from certain spaces or confine him to a narrow

²³ Hannah Arendt *What Was Authority? Nomos 1: Authority* (edited by Carl J. Friedrich) Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1958. pp. 81-112.

²⁴ Oxford English Dictionary Editors *The Oxford English Dictionary* Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1989.

²⁵ Michael Weinstein *Coercion, Space, and The Modes of Human Domination* in J. R. Pennock and J.C. Chapman (Editors) *Nomos XIV Coercion* New York: Aldine, 1972, pp. 63-80, p. 66, p. 69.

Weinstein suggested that coercion is a particular mode of domination that refers to the control of space.

In its general form, coercion consists in transforming private, communal, group and cultural spaces into organizational spaces in which people perform actions directed towards the fulfillment of other people's plans, or refrain from performing actions subversive of the realization of another's plan.

space at will. Wherever coercion is exercised spaces become organizational. In other words, the actions of one or more individuals are made into means to the realization of the plans of others.

The Black Point relocation was an attempt to limit people's space and also their choices.²⁶ From the mainstream perspective the people in the Black Point community needed to start to make certain choices that were necessary for the 'living of the good life'. Coercion, however, by its very nature is 'essentially destructive of the good life' because people simply became the means to other people's ends.²⁷

Coercion as the imposition of restraint in the spatial dimension of human existence banishes for life all of those situations in which human beings find a release..Coercion.....is the very opposite of self-restraint. Instead of freeing the person to experience release, it abolishes the conditions, through which the person finds release. Instead of developing the person's autonomy it destroys independence...Coercion...reduces a person to an object of scientific control. Coercion and consent are opposed to each other

This kind of development is a matter of seduction not rape. And in many ways, as Friedenber (1975) noted, this just makes it worse.²⁸ People end up abused, but they turn their blame and anger inward against themselves or each other. There are not many people left alive in Northern Cape Breton who have

²⁶ *Ibid.*

²⁷ Michael Weinstein *Coercion, Space, and The Modes of Human Domination* in J. R. Penncock and J.C. Chapman (Editors) *Nomos XIV Coercion* New York: Aldine, 1972. pp. 63-80 p. 70

When private spaces become organized, the free activities of contemplation, relaxation, and solitary experimentation are no longer part of life. When communal spaces are organized the unmediated relation of people to their community becomes impossible, When group spaces are organized, the free activities related to intimacy and the spontaneous exploration of satisfying interchange disappear from human existence. When cultural spaces become organized, genuine symbolic expression and authentic aesthetic experience become impossible leaving barbarism...Organizational spaces are means to the creation of products or the performance of services, and, more important means to the enhancement of power, wealth and status of decision makers.....

²⁸ See E.Z. Friedenber, E.Z. *The Disposal of Liberty and Other Industrial Wastes* Doubleday & Company: New York, 1975 p.81.

The dignity of the exploited may be protected to some degree if the victor does not play games with them and induce them to consent to their degradation. Seduction is in some respects even more insufferable than rape.The rapist at least does not expect to stay for breakfast and does not pretend to admire his victim's cooking.

the twinkle and lightness of being, that is so much a part of the Gaelic elders' presence.²⁹

In this last chapter, I would like to look briefly at the points of impact of the relocation of Black Point on the people in the MacKinnon-Fraser kin group in the context of the development process as it has continued to unfold.

Points of Impact- From Kinship to Class--Relationships in the Bay Community

When they moved to the Bay, the Black Point families had legal title to the lots of land their houses were built on but for a long time they had no real ground of their own. It takes time for anything that is transplanted to put down new roots.

Agents of the state system forced the Black Point families to give up their community, but they could not make them a part of the communities to which they moved. The rational-legal perspective of the professionals really had very little to do with the local context of relationships in either Black Point or Bay St. Lawrence.³⁰ The people in each community had their own history, and their own way of doing things.³¹

They're mostly Catholics and we moved down and we're all Protestant; different religions...Although we lived such small distances apart it's as though there's different values between the two communities. But the move is what brought the prejudice on...especially with all the bad publicity. The people from the Bay are now very resentful towards the people from Black Point...moving down and sort of taking over their little space; that's when more fears and prejudice came about. I mean no one likes to get their space invaded.

²⁹ See Chapter Two for a discussion of Mauss' concept of *habitas* and Foucault's notion of 'docile bodies'.

³⁰ This lack of respect for the context of relationships in a community has led to whole communities dying in Cape Breton. Often the land that is needed to keep them alive is bought out by people who only live on it for only a few days in the summer. This may have to do with the fact that 'community' is not a 'unit of analysis' in the research. This is not to say the notion is missing from the dominant discourse. In fact, rhetorically the notion of family and community is most useful. In terms of policy and practice, though, there is little respect for the kind of relationships that are involved in maintaining a community. Development in mainstream terms can only work to efface community and family because they only have a sentimental hold on the modern heart and mind.

³¹ Interview with M. MacKinnon

Although there were differences between the people living in the two communities the social problems between the people really had more to do with the process of development than with inhospitality. The MacKinnon-Fraser families who moved down on their own, in the late 1950's or early 1960's, before the relocation process began, reported that they had been able to integrate into the Bay community. A. Bonnar reported:³²

There wasn't as many people from Black Point in the Bay here then. There was Billy Bucks boys there. Billy's wife was my mothers sister. So we were all first cousins. And two Browns, I used to hang around with them. And Henry, and them fellows, we all got along good...if we had any fights at all was with the guys from Sugar Loaf. The Bay guys always stuck together. We were kind of a hard bunch. Not only us but the guys before that, and people before that. We stuck together.

There was, however, a profound difference between the experience of these Black Point children, the ones who moved into the Bay before the centralization of the school, and the relocation and those that moved in after.³³ As noted, prejudice against the Gaelic language culture was cultivated by the social systems and structures instituted by the larger society and the relocation only exacerbated it.

Physically, people were forced to move closer together but in many other ways they moved further apart. The relocation worked to separate the people from the two communities into two defined groups because it positioned them, against their wills, within the same social space. E. MacKinnon and S. MacKinnon reported:³⁴

E. MacKinnon: ...They look down on us because they think we're stupid. It must be because of the moving.....that's the only thing I can think of...

S. MacKinnon: I remember I was in a place and this girl came in and a girl from Black Point, and a boy from down in the Bay there came in too. 'You

³² Interview with A. Bonnar. Billy Buck- William Buchanan, was not a MacKinnon Fraser, but he had been raised in Black Point, and had lived there himself. had married Marcella MacKinnon, one of Peter MacKinnon's daughters. He was also living in Bay St. Lawrence and he had been elected to the County Council.

³³ The children of the families that moved down to the Bay, during the relocation process but before the actual relocation began, reported that they were not as readily accepted in the community as those that moved before. The children in these families were called names and it was at this time that the prejudice began to be especially associated with the name MacKinnon. Interview with M.J. MacKinnon. H. MacKinnon.

³⁴ Interview with E. and S. MacKinnon

know', he said, 'you know when the drift ice turns black?' he said. 'When?' she said. 'When the Black Pointers are around.

E. MacKinnon: And what is 'Black Pointer'? I don't understand that myself, what they mean by it. Some are ashamed to be Black Pointers because of the way people treat them. I don't know why they are 'cause I'm not. It doesn't matter how people treat me, I'm from Black Point and I'm proud to be from Black Point.

E. MacKinnon: To the Bay, the Black Pointer makes all the problems all the troubles....

The people in the Bay held the relocated MacKinnon-Fraser families responsible for any of the changes taking place in their community.³⁵

I'm not saying I'm blaming it on them exactly but you just wonder....It's hard you know...When this was totally a Catholic community, when times when the priest and sisters were in here. I think it was a very strong...Maybe it's a sign of the times. You know the things you hear going on this day and age, around now. Maybe you can't say it's because of other people moving in... but you just wonder. And people saying it's such a beautiful community yet there's lots of things we can't have. Can't have the hall open here for certain reasons and you can't have this and you can't have that. You can't plant a tree out there, it's gonna be ripped up. You can't you know. It's been hard for the people here.

These social problems, however, had never existed in either community before. Social problems that are now identified with the area never existed in the district, until it began to be developed in mainstream terms. Alcoholism, juvenile delinquency, drug dependence, family breakdown and violence, welfare dependency, vandalism. These problems developed in Northern Cape Breton along side of the development of mainstream systems.

The development process put the people in the whole area under a kind of social pressure that they had never experienced before. The people in Black Point were the victims of resentment and prejudice directed against them by people who were also victims. A social worker from the Department of Social Welfare reported:³⁶

I found there was desperate prejudice; there is still desperate prejudice to the people in Black Point.....It's as bad as any racial prejudice. I was there for quite a while and the first day it was obvious...it was like lights came on. And it was even people who were trying to help were doing it in such

³⁵ Interview with resident of the Bay district.

³⁶ Interview with Social Worker.

a condescending, oh, 'look aren't we good, because we're helping these poor people'...I couldn't get over that.

Mainstream professionals may have taken exception to the prejudice that was resulting from development in mainstream terms but their own biases supported and maintained the social divisions that arose. This is because the professionals involved, as noted, also had very biased ideas about property, about work and about knowledge.³⁷ In fact development in mainstream terms had to do with instituting external and internal systems that cultivated these biases on an interpersonal and intrapersonal level.

For instance, from the mainstream perspective, the increased social separation of the Black Point MacKinnons as a result of the relocation, was beneficial to their development.³⁸

There is no question...of the former Black Point families being 'accepted' into the Bay St. Lawrence community...In the long run, the segregation pattern may prove to be one of the most significant features for improving the economic and social conditions of the Black Pointers: lack of

³⁷ In fact, this same social worker was one of the professionals who suggested, at other points in the interview, that the people in Black Point were a 'different class of people' than those in Meat Cove or Capstick because: 1. they didn't 'own' their land 2. they didn't 'work' as much, and 3. they didn't 'know' how to read. Other terms used by professionals to describe the people in Black Point: 'squatters', they lived 'day to day', they 'didn't work as long'. See also Dep't of Public Welfare (Study by Helen Ralston). *Black Point-Meat Cove Relocation Project- Evaluation Study* Manuscript published by Dep't of Public Welfare: Halifax, 1970. p.52-67.

³⁸ Dep't of Public Welfare (Study by Helen Ralston). *Black Point-Meat Cove Relocation Project- Evaluation Study* Manuscript published by Dep't of Public Welfare: Halifax, 1970. p.67. It is clear that the point of the project was not really to help people in their own terms. In many ways the people who implemented the relocation were detached from the kinds of things the people in the community really needed to make their lives easier. The first six houses, for instance, were completed as far as the people at the Department of Welfare were concerned in the fall of 1969, when the housing project officially opened . The exterior was finished and the houses appeared new and modern. But it was just the shells of the houses that had been built. They gave the appearance of modernity but nothing else. In most of the houses, no provisions had been made for water so the bathrooms and the fixtures looked good but they didn't work. Some of the houses weren't insulated properly or backfilled. Some of these problems continued for years. For a long time some families felt more pressure in their everyday lives not less. For some everyday life actually became harder not easier W. MacKinnon remembered:

The new house wasn't finished. Mom and Dad were still doing work on it .Then...we had to carry water. We had to take water from the river. The plumbing wasn't fixed; it wasn't finished. We had to carry water from the river and it's down the road, across from J.'s., about 200 feet or 300 feet. I mean life wasn't any easier especially in the winter. It was harder for everyone. The new house had a bathroom but it didn't have water. Like the water (in Black Point) was running right down by the door. You just had to go out with a dish and take it in. I think it made it a lot harder for Mom and Dad.

integration into the Bay community may stimulate the younger adults and youths to migrate rapidly to more economically prosperous areas. The urgent need is for them to develop the necessary skills for employment in urbanized and industrialized areas.

The rural relocations in the 1960's were development projects that were designed to teach rural people like those in Black Point, who had resisted development, to take their designated places, which, as far as the experts at the time determined, were in the city-- as workers in industry. The relocation of Black Point was really about teaching the people in the kin group to know their places, to occupy them and to pay the symbolic and not so symbolic taxes, that they had been ignoring.³⁹

George Mathews: Well I think [the benefits] to the local community, of course, they became tax-payers, where most of them weren't paying taxes before. But I'm not sure that there were an awful lot of other benefits to the local community because in most cases they were still segregated.

Development has to do with the institution of a system on the local level in which ratepayers intrinsically are perceived to have more rights than those, who by some misfortune, have to be on the rates. It has to do with the creation of social divisions along class lines that essentially have more to do with relations to property than to people, to capital than to kin.⁴⁰

Officials in the state system, as we saw in the 19th century language debates in the House of Assembly, may take the position of arbitrating differences between contending interest groups, by virtue of their supposed neutrality and objectivity. But, in reality, the state cultivates contention and feeds on it.

³⁹ Interview with George Mathews. He continued:

The attempt was not to place them, in any one, like we didn't just select one area, as you well know they are scattered throughout the community and that was the plan right from day one; not to put them in any one location so that the community would integrate.

⁴⁰ When I say class lines, I am not speaking in classical Marxist terms. As noted earlier the kinds of capital that the new classes control do not all have to do with the ownership of the means of material production. The investments of this new class are not always just in factories. They own and control the means of cultural and social production. This group, like the elite that rose in Cape Breton, are usually invested in and by the system itself: as professionals, experts and managers. This elite can rise to the top in any modern state system, communist as well as capitalist. See for instance, A.W. Gouldner The Future of Intellectuals and the Rise of the New Class New York: Seabury Press. 1979.

In local terms development in mainstream terms has actually meant fewer alternatives and fewer opportunities for many people in Northern Cape Breton. Opportunities on the local level, as noted, have decreased because development has led to the suppression of the local will, the repression of the local imagination and the depression of the local economy. This is not to say that people in the area have not benefited in terms of their ability to acquire material goods—a larger boat, a few more years of formal schooling, a ski-do. A few people in the district, some of them from the Black Point community, have actually become quite wealthy in mainstream terms because of the control they have established over licenses in the fishery which gives them access to stocks that other people in the area are denied. This is precisely the trouble, though.

The state society creates interests groups by controlling and limiting the access of various groups to resources. The social divisions of clan and kin have given way to those of capital and the relationships that held people together in family and community have begun to disintegrate. These are the kind of ties that supported the cultivation of social and material relations within a local context, that is, a local economy and also local patterns of culture. Kin divisions may have separated people but the traditions of their common language culture held them together.

People have really been pulled apart by the process of development and it has deformed their most basic relationships: the relationships they have to each other, to themselves and to the earth. The creation of social class divisions keeps people from recognizing their common interests because they end up fighting with each other about their rights to resources that are limited by the state instead of getting together with each other, to resist the implementation of development policies that do not serve any of their interests.⁴¹

The fact that a few people from any of these oppressed groups are able to achieve some measure of control over limited resources just reinforces resentment and keeps people from recognizing the workings of the social process. The working class who are struggling to survive blame the fishers on unemployment. Fishers who are struggling to survive blame people on welfare or the aboriginal

⁴¹ This was not always the case. The struggle against the national park expropriating the land on the Northern tip of the island successfully united many people in the area. Ultimately, in 1970 they were able to keep the park from moving in and a few years later in 1972 they were able to prevent the park from putting up booths and charging user fees to local residents using the main roads which went through the park in Ingonish and Cheticamp. See holdings at the Cabot Archives in Neil's Harbour.

fishers. The aboriginal people blame the Blacks. The people in Toronto blame the people in Cape Breton; the people in Baddeck blame the people 'down north', the people in Ingonish blame the people in the Bay and the people in the Bay blame the people in Black Point and Meat Cove.

State agents may not have the same kind of emotional investment in the process but they are never neutral or objective although they pretend and even think themselves to be. The modern state can not function without the 'free' resources appropriated from the earth, the exploited labour appropriated from its people, and the consumptive appetites that need to be produced to keep the whole system moving.⁴² The dominant social process is driven by a mentality that is based on a purposive instrumental rationality that has do with production, consumption and control. It has very little to do with generating community, the cultivation of the ties that bind people together, or with supporting individuality, the cultivation of the ties that connect people to themselves.

Points of Impact--Divisions Within the Black Point Community

Most people from the Black Point community report that the resettlement increased, rather than decreased, their sense of social isolation. The relocation worked to divide the people in the MacKinnon-Fraser kin group from each other because for the first time in their history, the cultivation of their material relations, their economy, was disembedded from kin group relations. Their own social system was dis-connected so to speak so people were basically dependent on the structures and the systems of the larger society.

In terms of that society, though, they had no position. They had no ground of their own to stand on. They were vulnerable in a way that they had never

⁴² See Carolyn Merchant Radical Ecology New York: Routledge, 1992. p. 1. Radical ecologists like Merchant have suggested that there is a crisis in the industrialized west and east because of our basic conception of nature and ethnocentric relationships to the earth and to each other. 'Radical ecology', Merchant said, 'acts on a new perception that the domination of nature...(is inseparable) from the domination of human beings along the lines of race, class and gender. Radical ecology confronts the illusion that people are free to exploit nature and to move in society at the expense of others. See also Carolyn Merchant, The Death of Nature: Women, Ecology and the Scientific Revolution San Francisco: Harper and Row, 1980. Also Karl Marx (edited by Friedrich Engels) Capital Chicago: Great Books of the Western World, 1952 (original 1867) Marx (1867)'s discussion of the need of capital to appropriate the labour power of the worker was essential to his critique of the capitalist system. As noted, though, he failed to see that there was a connection between the domination of nature and the domination of human beings. Modern modes of domination may have less to do with whether or not the state owns the means of production than with the state system itself and the attitudes that gave rise to it.

been before--to the prejudice, the ridicule and also the poverty that was generated by the development process. After relocation the MacKinnon-Fraser kin group slowly began to break up from the inside out.

This was not unintentional. The purpose of the relocation was to remove the people from their community and from the ties that were holding them together, because these were perceived by the professionals to be holding them back. The Department of Welfare study noted, for instance, that one of the positive effects of the relocation was the competition that was developing between the families.⁴³

Social divisions had existed in Black Point even before the relocation, but until resettlement, the bonds that held the kin group together were much stronger than these divisions.⁴⁴ When the families moved to the Bay the divisions became wider and more prominent, though. For some people, the circle of kin became less important than their individual struggle to succeed in mainstream terms. Some also internalized the prejudice, and wanted to put as much social distance as they could between their relatives and themselves.⁴⁵

⁴³ Op. cit. Dep't of Public Welfare p.53.

⁴⁴ Interview with M. MacKinnon. As noted throughout this work, the enclosure of the land in Northern Cape Breton worked to create social divisions in the community. But people were able to adapt their traditional patterns of relations just as they had adapted them to Feudalism in the Highlands so many years before. People do not usually recognize that there were divisions in Black Point before the move, however. Most likely because they were not usually fully expressed or socially articulated in Black Point. M. MacKinnon recognized that certain social divisions existed only in the process of being interviewed.

In Black Point most of the people I came in contact with, that I can remember, they were sharing. I know Mom and Dad were and P and M. were like that and J. and M. and D.....Well B. and M. were a little bit – well, they weren't as.....I didn't really go down that much to B's and M's. I was more to J's, or M. and P's and M. and L's. You know like if you were having supper, or if they were giving their kids some bread or food, we would, I would have some of it too. We were more than welcome But I never really remember going to B's and M.s to tell the truth. It's just one of the places that I didn't – I don't know if it was because I wasn't welcome, or it's just the place I didn't....Cause like J. was almost around my age, I'm just like a year or two older than him, but I can't remember visiting there. No, I didn't go to S. S. s either and that was my mother's uncle. I didn't go there much at all either. See, like I guess I associated more with my Dad's family (Alexander's) than my mother's, for some reason, I don't know why. I haven't really thought about it until now.

⁴⁵ Interview with M. MacKinnon. She continued:

Ya. Like, for instance, M. and I had this argument about 10 years ago or something. And she goes, 'Well, you're nothing but a rotten MacKinnon' Or something like that. I said, 'You know, your grandmother and my grandmother is the same person.' She said, 'Don't say that about my Nan. My grandmother's not a MacKinnon.' Then, to make it worse, she said she never ever said it. I mean, I think it was in her heart and then it finally came out. Maybe, it made her feel better, to say it. I don't know, but it certainly hurt my feelings a lot and now I try not to even be around her. I mean

Some of the kids from the families that moved before felt like they were just a little bit higher than what we was. I mean you get the prejudice from both sides. You get prejudice from other people and from your own family members that moved out years before.

Groups often respond to social pressure by tightening and the people in them move closer to each other for protection. The kind of social tensions generated by the development process, though, work to pull people apart rather than draw them together.⁴⁶

E. MacKinnon: After moving it changed. Did it ever. Seems like we drifted away.....away from each other. There's only a couple of families that stuck together....like us and A.'s and J's. and you know, but R's got....(these are all different families in the MacKinnon-Fraser kin group)

S. MacKinnon: R's they don't associate with us at all.

M. MacKinnon: They wouldn't give you land if your life depended on it.

E. MacKinnon: No they won't give you nothin' if your life depended on it.

M. MacKinnon: Well you can see it with the crabs.⁴⁷

E. MacKinnon: Ya, exactly.

M. MacKinnon: How much time did we have to fight for that.

E. MacKinnon: We have to fight for that. And how do you expect to ask for anything when they won't give you part of that. If you'd ever go, like was up in Black Point and if you ran out of milk and couldn't get to the store, and go to a house and ask for milk, they'd think you had flipped or something. (Laughter) Yes, that's true.... All the closeness and help. Here everything is so different.....If we were left at Black Point I think it would be a lot, lot better. We would be a lot, lot closer and there wouldn't be none of the fighting what's going on today. There was none of that up in Black Point. Like every family had their arguments. But it was just an argument it didn't mean nothing. The next day it was gone. It was always a rare thing that...like cousins against cousins. Like they do down here. There is twice as much fighting now.

maybe I shouldn't, maybe I should forgive her but when something like that happens, it's hard... I say, 'Okay, fine. That's the way you feel, just go on your way.'

⁴⁶ Interview with M. and S. and E. MacKinnon

⁴⁷ They were referring to the crab licensing policy in the area. The government has given access to the lucrative crab stocks to only a few families in the community. This has created incredible economic disparity. This is only one aspect of the states attempt to privatize all of the community's resources by controlling and limiting each individual's access to them. This has created strife between the families in MacKinnon-Fraser kin group, as well as the other families in the district.

Grounds and Grounding in the Larger System

People within the kin group fight with each other, because, now they are threatened in a way they never were before. The MacKinnon-Fraser families were moved onto small lots of land in the Bay. They had no access, as a group, to any ground there that could be used to cultivate their community.⁴⁸

That was the only difference. In Black Point we had the land in the Bay we had none. With land, they'd just say, 'Go. Take it. Go, live on it.' No, you didn't pay nothin' for it. They'd even help you to build or do whatever... They'd come to just be there to help you. In the Bay you had to go buy everything that you need. Everything you need in the line of vegetables or potatoes, or anything like that you gotta buy it. Cause you don't got any land to plant it on. And then no one won't give you any piece of land to grow potatoes on....We were better off in Black Point than we are down here. We had lots of meat, lots of potatoes, lots of vegetables, lots of fish, lots of cow milk. Now we have to go and buy them

The Contradictions of Cooperative Housing

Development in mainstream terms makes survival a matter of 'every man for himself' rather than a group of people working together to cultivate some common ground that can sustain them all. This message is inherent in the development process so that even when the intention is supposed to be cooperation the end result is individuation.⁴⁹

For instance, the 'cooperative housing plan', the government organized for the first six families that moved to the Bay, worked to loosen the ties that had bound these families together. In theory, all of the families would have to cooperate with each other. The money that an individual family paid each month was not specifically put towards that family's house. Instead, it was put towards the entire loan, that had been made in common. Each family was responsible, then, for the entire debt. No one could own their house, until the money for all of the houses was paid off.

This might have worked, if the Black Point families were all in the same economic situation. But they weren't. Some families found it extremely difficult to

⁴⁸ Interview with E. MacKinnon.

⁴⁹ Individuation has nothing to do with individuality. In fact, the social process that supports individuation is destructive of individuality because people become alienated not only from each other but from themselves.

make the monthly payments on the loan the commission held.⁵⁰ Monthly payments for the families were \$43.85 a month.⁵¹ The six families involved, however, only had an average annual family income of less than \$100 a month.⁵² This left about \$55, for everything else but they now had other payments that they had never had in Black Point, like power, telephone, heating oil, and taxes.⁵³ They had to pay for most of their food, as well, because they had no land to plant on.

Now that people were entirely dependent on money as their primary means of exchange, children and old people became a real liability. The families that were extremely large, with 10 or 12 children, had the most difficulty meeting these monthly mortgage payments.⁵⁴

The fact that some of the people were unable to fulfill the terms of the contract, because they needed to feed their families, made little difference to the financial institutions that had loaned them the money through the Housing Commission. Legally, if these families couldn't pay, the other people in the kin group were responsible to fulfill the terms of the contract for them.⁵⁵ In this way, the terms of the cooperative' agreement' prevented a 'good payer', as the

⁵⁰ Ibid. *Treasury Board -Regional Economic Expansion* The Nova Scotia Housing Commission held a loan of \$32,200 for the six houses that were built in the Bay. The houses were small, 3 bedroom bungalow type, plywood sided houses with a basement and septic system.

⁵¹ Dep't of Public Welfare (Study by Helen Ralston). *Black Point-Meat Cove Relocation Project- Evaluation Study* Manuscript published by Dep't of Public Welfare: Halifax, 1970. p. 47

⁵² Ibid. p. 46. One of the families had an annual family income of \$1750. Four of the families had an income of \$100 a month or less. The sixth family was dependent on the extremely low level of welfare support that the state provided because of medical problems.

⁵³ See ARDA file 22051 National Archives of Canada , Halifax Records Center. Mathews tried to come up with a solution to this problem. Jimmy Barbarita, who was Manager of the credit Union, at the time suggested that the payments be lowered to \$33 a month. He asked Alan J. MacEachern if his department could reduce the payments. The N.S. Housing Commission said that an additional payment of \$1200 for each house would reduce the payments to this level. George Mathews was able to find \$500 in the budget to help each family because they had only received a \$1500 relocation grant instead of the maximum \$2000 grant that the other families received and that was provided in the ARDA funding.

⁵⁴ This kind of economic pressure on the family has been working to change relationships within it.

⁵⁵ Eventually the mortgages on the houses were separated. The government never moved in to foreclose on the mortgages even though the families weren't able to pay them for many years. They did, however, keep adding the interest on to the original loan so that the families eventually paid much larger sums than they had borrowed.

Department of Welfare report noted, 'from ever taking possession of his home.'⁵⁶ The people fought to get their mortgages separated.

In the traditional community, it served people's interest to work together. In the state society, though, it served their interest to pull apart.⁵⁷ The terms of cooperation in the housing co-op were based in the systems of the larger society. They were part of a legal agreement that was not embedded in the community. It had nothing to do with the context of people's lives or the daily exchanges between them. The ties that bound people together in the cooperative mortgage were binding and compulsory, and they were externally imposed. The only thing that the families shared as a result of the cooperative housing scheme was really their common debt. The imposition of debt and indebtedness was an essential part of the development process. George Mathew's reported: ⁵⁸

Interviewer: So are you saying that in their cultural framework they didn't think those kind of things were necessary? [wage work, modern amenities, formal education]

George Mathews: Yes, that's about what one would say, but you know, I don't know if they increased their economic viability any more by moving to Bay St. Lawrence. Because they did do fishing before. But the fact that they had different types of housing imposed on them,

Social Worker: You had a light bill for the first time in ...

George Mathews: A light bill so they had to look to creating and income in a more significant way than they did before. And these financial obligations, in other words, to provide for a mortgage, say, changed them.⁵⁹

⁵⁶ Dep't of Public Welfare (Study by Helen Ralston). *Black Point-Meat Cove Relocation Project- Evaluation Study* Manuscript published by Dep't of Public Welfare: Halifax, 1970. p.48

⁵⁷ In the traditional community, people had to work together or they would not have survived.

⁵⁸ Interview with George Mathews and a social worker who worked in the Black point community during the relocation process. See E.P. Thompson 'Patrician Society, Plebeian Culture' *Journal of Social History* 1974- 7(4) pp.382-405. p.383 The lack of economic dependency and lack of work discipline of the working people were issues that concerned the upper classes in 18th and 19th century England as it was transforming from a peasant to an industrial state. How to make them more dependent was, at that time, a central project of that state: Thompson noted: 'The most characteristic complaint...was as in the indiscipline of working people, their irregularity of employment, their lack of economic dependency and their social insubordination'.

⁵⁹ The wording is different but the development strategy is basically the same as the Improvement strategy. I noted earlier Patrick Sellars description of the 'humane' plan that Lord and Lady Stafford had for their tenants in the Highlands. The plan was to put the tenants in lots that were sufficient for them to grow food but yet 'pinched and narrow' so they would be forced to work for wages.

The intention of this kind of development is 'to manipulate people into buying a 'way of life' as well as goods.'⁶⁰ From the state perspective the relocation was, as the Department of Welfare study noted 'money well invested'.⁶¹

'Development' in the 20th century in Nova Scotia was not essentially different from 'Improvement'⁶² in the Highlands of Scotland in the late 18th and 19th centuries.⁶³ The 'war on poverty' relocations and the clearances were really

⁶⁰ Miliband, Ralph. *The State in Capitalist Society* London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson. 1969. pp. 215. 217.

Countries of advanced capitalism are 'business civilizations', permeated by a business culture and a business ethic...business is able to freely propagate an ethos in which private acquisitiveness is made to appear as the main if not the only avenue to fulfillment, in which 'happiness' or 'success' are therefore defined in terms of private acquisition, in which competition for acquisition and therefore for 'happiness' and 'success' is treated as, or assumed to be, a primary law of life, and in which concerted and rational action for humane ends is at best an irrelevance.

⁶¹ Op. cit. Department of Public Welfare Study p. 47 'Money spent in the economic, social, and psychological rehabilitation of the families (in Black Point) is money well invested'.

⁶² See T.C. Smout *The Landowner and the Planned Village in Scotland 1730-1830* for a discussion of the 'Idealistic Improving Movement' in the Highlands. This article is in N.T. Philipson and R. Mitchison (eds.) *Scotland in the Age of Improvement* Edinburgh: 1970 p. 103, p. 4.

Some 150 or more villages were created in Scotland for a variety of purposes: to develop barren areas; to provide employment for idle tenants (and profit for their lairds); to establish markets for agricultural produce; and to fulfill social and moral ideals...The Improving Movement was largely carried out by landowners with capital and the desire to change the Scottish landscape, often in imitation of English practices. It may be characterized as a widespread, but not organized effort to make Scotland 'modern'. Philipson (1970) noted, 'A whole ruling class, the great nobility, country gentlemen, lawyers, ministers, educationalists, philosophers and men of letters singly, but more often collectively, can be seen trying to adapt a given social, economic, political and ideological infrastructure to promote economic growth and social progress.

⁶³ The liberal ideology of progress was common to both. The assumptions that both 'improvers' and developers' shared were: 1. The modern industrial formation was inherently superior to any other and that development was a progression from traditional to industrial social formations. 2. Human beings were by nature self-interested and competitive. 3. The market economy allowed human beings' natural self-interest to function for the public good. 4. The earth and the people living on it were no more than human or natural resources to be efficiently exploited in the marketplace. 5. The poor were incapable of making decisions or defining their own interests. 6. The population of the country should centralize and relocate from rural to more urban areas.

There were also some differences: 1. With development there was a new emphasis on measurement and standards. The calculation of poverty and underdevelopment in terms of measures like the Gross National Product or the Minimum Per Capita Income. These measures were formulated and calculated by specialists who had been professionally trained for the purpose. 2. The faith in 'expert knowledge' was more widespread. 3. The belief that all that was holding any group back from mobility in the social order was the fact that they were poor and uneducated was also more widespread. 4. There was also a new emphasis on consumption, that is, from the state perspective there were 'norms' of consumption as well as production. 5. There was an assumption that everyone should adhere to these norms and 6. Finally, The state had a responsibility and right to intervene to make sure that everyone maintained a certain standard of living and way of life.

rooted in the same soil. Patrick Sellar, chief factor for the Sutherland estate in the Highlands and in 1815, explained how Lord and Lady Stafford were interested in improving their estates and rehabilitating the 'tenants' who had lived on them. They were, he said:⁶⁴

pleased **humanely**, to order a new arrangement of the Country. That the interior should be possessed by Cheviot Shepards and the people brought down to the coast and placed in lotts under the size of three arable acres, sufficient for the maintenance of an industrious family, but pinched enough to cause them to turn their attention to fishing. I presume to say that the proprietors **humanely** ordered this arrangement because it was surely a most benevolent action to put these barbarous hordes into a position where they could better associate together, apply industry, educate their children, and advance in civilization. (emphasis and spelling as in the original)⁶⁵

History remembers Patrick Sellar as a brutal man, nothing like George Mathews. Both, however were efficient employees and their rationale seems quite similar. Was there really that much difference between Mathew's explanation of the Black Point relocation and Patrick Sellar's explanation of the Clearances? Improvement and Development both had to do with the controlling the social spaces in which people live and they worked to shape basic human relationships by changing the context in which these relationships were experienced

The Weight of the State: 'Some rob you with a six-gun and some with a fountain pen' (Woody Guthrie)

In the dominant society, we do not usually lose our freedom because of the threat of guns or the weight of chains. We lose it because of the collective weight of the thin pieces of paper, that bind us, and hold us--in work we don't want to do and in spaces we don't want to live in. Contracts, money, income tax. health

⁶⁴ The spatial context of our experience affects relationships to time, to work, to property, to wealth, and to knowledge. The modern relocations had to do with the rationalization of experience. and they affected the way people lived and also they way they conceived of their experience. For instance, they forced people to become involved in wagework in order to sustain themselves and this in turn changed the way that they conceived of their time and labour in relation to money. It also changed people's relationship to expert systems of knowledge because, in terms of the 'job market', people were judged by their formal education. The process worked to change the patterns of their experience, but these affected the fabric and the texture of their lives.

⁶⁵ See James Hunter The Making of the Crofting Community. Edinburgh: John Donald Publishers, 1979.

cards, insurance, deeds, diplomas. We need them to live, and they give us access to the things that we need to live. In this society, it is not the Philosopher Kings who are the Guardians, but the Bureaucrat Kings.

Development is a discipline that teaches people to submit, but not to an oppressor that is easy to blame. The people in the 'war on poverty' relocations were not forced to move by men with clubs. The new lairds and factors had ball point pens and attaché cases. When the people, in Black Point, Africville and the outports of Newfoundland, bowed to the pressure to sign on the dotted line, they were enclosed in the system. The only space allotted to them, however, were small lots of land that were so pinched and narrow they could not possibly sustain themselves. Yet, some people believe they have only themselves to blame. Others are angry, but they believe there is nothing they can do. Voluntary obedience is a large part of what it means to be 'developed' in mainstream terms; so is voluntary disobedience.

The people who were in the cooperative housing plan couldn't pay the mortgage payments and so they were forced for the first time in their lives into a situation in which they had to be voluntarily disobedient. They were persuaded to make the housing agreement because the government convinced them that everything would work out. As noted, 'If you don't have the money we do' was the sign that was written on the board at one of the relocation meetings. In the end, though, they were the ones who had mortgage payments that they couldn't possibly pay. They were betrayed by the system they had trusted, yet, in terms of that system, they were the ones who were responsible. They were legally liable. And they were reminded of it every month when a mortgage payment they couldn't pay was due.⁶⁶

Development as a process works to teach people not to trust, and also not to make too much of a fuss. It works to teach them the only way to survive is to learn how to 'play the game' and to manipulate the system. The voluntary disobedience of the addict, the vandal, the thief or the delinquent has to follow, because, as Willis (1977) noted, often it seems to be the only resistance possible.⁶⁷

⁶⁶ They were not evicted but they were vulnerable to eviction and they knew it.

⁶⁷ Paul Willis Learning to Labour. London: Gower Publishing, 1977.

The Baddeck Move

The families that moved to Baddeck suffered the most social dislocation. These families were not only uprooted they had to re-establish themselves in a completely inhospitable environment. It was difficult for any of the families to make the social connections they needed to put down roots, because, they were marked from the beginning. The shock of moving greatly disturbed, and continues to disturb, their social well being.

The prejudice in Baddeck was extreme from the very beginning and also well known to the authorities.⁶⁸ The people in Baddeck identified them, as 'welfare families'.⁶⁹

Never got along too good up there. (In Baddeck) If you go for a beer in the evening you couldn't sit down. You didn't know what was going on. They said, 'You're a Black Pointer. We paid for your house and you're not paying nothing.'⁷⁰ The welfare is keeping you going.' So then maybe after 10 minutes you would get into a row...it's a pretty hard thing to put up with.

It is their children, though, who have had the most difficult time.⁷¹ A local teacher from the Bay district taught in the Baddeck school, in the early 1960's.⁷²

⁶⁸ See National Archives of Canada: Holdings in Nova Scotia-Halifax Records Center, ARDA file 22051 Black Point-Meat Cove Pilot Project.

⁶⁹ *The Wrong Move*- Documentary. Directed by Claude Vicory. First aired on CBC-TV Halifax Nov. 17, 1986.

⁷⁰ See National Archives of Canada: Holdings in Nova Scotia-Halifax Records Center, ARDA file 22051 Black Point-Meat Cove Pilot Project.

The families that were resettled to Baddeck did not have monthly mortgages to pay, but, according to George Mathews, they might be asked to repay the money spent to build the houses, when they got regular employment.

⁷¹ The children suffered in the school system and later in the court system. Because of the situation in the school some of the children came to the Bay to go to school. This meant that they had to leave their families. Some of them left when they were quite young. They lived with members of the kin group. These children had a very difficult time at the Baddeck school, according to school records and CUM cards kept at the Highland Consolidated School. When they came to school in the Bay, though, teachers reported a drastic improvement. For instance, in the 1980/81 school term one of the teachers at Highland reported:

This was S.'s second term at Grade 6 level. Came here from Baddeck School where his very poor attendance seemed to be the major cause of his lack of achievement.

Missed only three days this year and made very good progress. Promoted to Gr. VII. Still has some difficulty in reading but worked very hard. (underlining in text)

⁷² Interview with local teacher.

At one point they (the teachers in Baddeck) even said the children (the Black Point children) were dirty and they took them out of the school and they took them over to the high school. I'll always remember the day they showered them. And this was the latter part of the afternoon...when the buses were all lined up. It's not like two buses here. It was 10 or 12 buses in Baddeck. These children were taken in the back with their hair wet and you know all the rest (of the children) standing in back. I'll always remember it, that kind of thing. You know, here we are educators and not stupid people...The kids must have felt rotten...And how quickly all the rest of them got labeled too. Because of, you know, maybe some of them were slower in school and some of them didn't have the scribblers, coming to school. It was always a hassle to get supplies. I often hear it said up there. The people just weren't accepted. Baddeck is a pretty snobbish little town. There's quite an elite group there and I think it was a terrible mistake to put them all in a little ghetto out in (Baddeck) Bay. If they had mixed them they might have assimilated into the community more. But they couldn't (get land). It was a pretty closed shop situation because they thought it was welfare housing and the children weren't as good...

The families were moved by the state, so they could get work in the pulp woods, but the pulp industry collapsed only a few years after they were moved. There were few other jobs for them. They had no connections in the community and their skills involved the family fishery.⁷³

From state's perspective, though, these families did not have lobster licenses and so they were not real fishing families.⁷⁴ The people in these families, however, have always perceived themselves to be fishers despite their 'official' status. M. A. MacKinnon, commented:⁷⁵

I think the government should help me get my lobster license back where I can get a good living for myself like all the rest in Bay St. Lawrence. I know how well my brother does. They get along beautiful. No problem. So if I was there I could do the same thing. They put us here and so they should take us out of here.

⁷³ After the move to Baddeck, though, they had to become dependent on welfare because they had no way to make a living. The Baddeck move was like a self-fulfilling prophecy. They had moved them in the first place because they didn't want them to become welfare families.

⁷⁴ At this time the state had not yet formally classified fishermen with a personal licensing system, that is, as full-time/ part-time fishermen in the Scotia Fundy region or as bonafide/commercial fishermen in the Gulf region. The state's determination that the families in Baddeck were not 'real' fishing families, though, was a precursor to the categorization that came later.

⁷⁵ Cited by Claude Vicory in CBC's *The Wrong Move*. (1986) Interview with P. MacKinnon and M.A. MacKinnon

When the pulp industry collapsed the families in Baddeck were left without jobs in a society that measured people's worth by their occupational status and income. Alec Capstick, a County Councilor from Northern Cape Breton reported:⁷⁶

Well, the pulp business backfired, and went down, and there was no way to fish in Baddeck. Now, they'd be better off if they were in the Bay, and had a lobster license today. They come down here (to the Bay) a lot to work and get stamps. Because the pulp business is gone. Their houses are getting down. They were only cheap homes in the start. They weren't made the best and strongest. I predict too, that those people will all move back to the Bay. Well, S's back now. The house's are going down. They have not much way of making a living...a little bit of pulp cutting and some of the work on the garbage. But they can see their relations in the Bay making a good living today. And they're down here now to make their living now. They're likely to move back if they just had a license. But a license is hard to obtain today, it costs a lot of money.

There is only one of the Black Point families remaining in Baddeck, now. The other families have moved back to the Bay because they can get work.⁷⁷ The people in these families work in the fishery but they work as labourers on the wharf, or as crew members on boats other members of their kin group own. They have no way to obtain the licenses they need because they are now too expensive. These would that would allow them enough access to the fishing grounds so they could support themselves.⁷⁸

⁷⁶ Interview with Alec Capstick

⁷⁷ The Baddeck move was socially and economically oppressive to the Black Point families that moved to Baddeck. When they were moved: 1. Their family support system was entirely removed. 2. They had no access to the fishing grounds that had always been available to help them sustain their families. 3. They had no access to the land they needed to sustain themselves in terms of growing food or cutting wood. 4. They were socially isolated from the rest of the people living in Baddeck 5. They were even more physically isolated from schools and stores and services than they had been in Black Point because they had no cars and there was no public transportation available. 6. They were psychologically isolated because they lost their identity as fishing families and they no other identity in Baddeck except as 'welfare families'.

⁷⁸ A few lucky families received the licenses they needed for free. But now they cost money. A lobster license, for instance, costs more than \$50,000 and a crab license more than \$200,000. The government's licensing system is another 'dividing practice' that is used to exclude and limit and control. It is an exclusionary practice that limits the access of some people in the community at the expense of others. In 1996, the government implemented a new personal licensing system that is the first step in 'professionalizing' the fishery. Fishers who are considered 'professional' are designated as 'core' fishermen. There is no formal training requirement associated with the core designation but the government is working on implementing a certification component. At this point in time they would need at least two

The Baddeck Move Was The 'Wrong Move'

The Baddeck families are still sometimes blamed for what happened after their move to Baddeck.⁷⁹ One former government official commented that 'Its their own fault. They've done nothing to improve their situation.'⁸⁰ From the perspective of this state official they were lucky to have gotten what they did.⁸¹

major licenses to be classified as 'core fishermen' by the state and these licenses are extremely expensive.

⁷⁹ As noted earlier, from the perspective of the Baddeck families, the quality of their lives suffered after relocation. From the perspective of the officials who implemented the project, though, they were incapable of improving themselves.

George Mathews: In most cases the better housing sustained itself. That's not the case in Baddeck...those were real; those were brand-new houses. And they were good houses; they were really good. And we have pictures of those houses in among the trees. Our original intention was to leave the trees so that the wind wouldn't hit them.

Social Worker: Oh the land it was cut out of prime wilderness, just you know.

George Mathews: Farms-forests area. They cut the trees down because they didn't want to go very far for their wood, so the very first year they were there they cut all the trees down to our amazement and disgust.

Social Worker: Well, if there was someone who was going to get something for nothing they were the ones that were going to be doing it.

⁸⁰ Cited by Claude Vicory, in CBC's *The Wrong Move*. I also asked George Mathews his ideas about the relocation. He believed that the relocation was a success. He thought that project was beneficial to the people in the community as well as being in the interests of the larger society.

Interviewer: Would you do it differently, if you had to do over?

No...if we had to do it over again we wouldn't have hesitated to do the same kind of thing. We've learned a lot of lessons down there and I guess in any relocation, you can't get 100% satisfaction...Well, first of all, we learned that it was much easier to acquire used housing that was already constructed, and help the families to buy those houses than to get them involved in a building program of their own and that's the co-op principle is that everybody works together. You know, you build your own and we went so far as to hire a foreman-carpenter to help them build their own. That's the way you keep the costs down and that was down during the winter-time, but some of those houses and the construction, because of the geographic situation, the Housing Commission people couldn't be there all the time to carry out the necessary inspections.

Interviewer: What were some of the benefits of relocation to the community?

George Mathews: Well, improved housing and....they were closer to the schools. I think healthwise there were benefits to the children. In having more warmth and also more beds. That was one of the things that we did do; is try and outfit each family. Because we had set up a store of beds and we were able to get a stock of beds and mattresses and bureaus and those kind of things. And when the families couldn't provide for them themselves, we made sure the families.....we even had double bunk beds to give more space for the larger families and so on. So there were those kinds of benefits.

⁸¹ See Chapter 4. Alexa MacDonough, as noted, suggested that the relocations in the 1960's revolved around issues of property. From the state perspective, these families also had no legal access to the land in the Black Point community or the fishery resource off of its shore.

Although some of the professionals involved with the relocation now question the way certain aspects of the relocation were implemented, most still accept the assumptions on which it was based.⁸² From their perspective, people need to be educated in mainstream terms. They continue to believe that the real hope for the Black Point people is not in their ability to continue to cultivate their family traditions but in their children's ability to change their way of life. One of them suggested that the benefits of the relocation would appear in the next generation not in this one. 'But let's face it, I mean I didn't expect to see great big changes in this generation. I think it'll be in the next generation.'⁸³

The Next Generation: Educational Identities

After relocation, education in the state's terms was something that many Black Point families began to desire for their children. The Department of Welfare report noted that, 'education was seen as a very significant key to advancement in the relocated families....they felt an increasing awareness of the necessity of formal education in order to get a job in industrial areas of Nova Scotia or in Ontario'.⁸⁴

The relocation was supposed to increase the educational opportunities of the children in the families that were moved. But it has now been more than 25 years since the project was implemented and not one of the children in these families has finished university. This has little to do with native ability. One woman who went back to university reported:⁸⁵

⁸² Many of the local professionals were critical of the Baddeck resettlement. They reported that they knew the Baddeck move was a mistake from the very beginning. They believed, however, that they had no real input in the decision making. One of the teachers who was involved with initiating the relocation reported and who served on a local advisory board during the relocation process noted:

The school itself demanded through Social Services, called Welfare then that better housing should be done for these people. But that's pretty much our involvement in it. Because what took place after that really was out of our hands. That last project that they approved, the one in Baddeck, I became disillusioned with the project then because they put all those homes together and we said it would become a ghetto—because of the houses and where they were built. But they didn't listen. That was the end of my participation in it.

⁸³ Interview with Public Health Nurse..

⁸⁴ Op. cit. Dep't of Public Welfare. pp. 57, 58.

⁸⁵ Interview with M. MacKinnon. M. MacKinnon was involved with this research as many of the people in the community were. M. was involved, however, in a much more specific way. After I interviewed her I trained her as a research ass't to record a few interviews when I wasn't present. I thought that a different kind of dialogue would emerge because all of the people involved had shared the relocation experience. I believe that they were able to talk in a

To my knowledge no one from Black Point has graduated university yet. But there's a few people, like O. went. I'm not sure how far he's gone. A few more went, but they didn't stay, they quit. I think they just lacked the security. I mean if they're in their own little circle, they don't get the discrimination. Because you still get it in Sydney, in Halifax and wherever you go. If they stay in their own circle they feel safer.

Between the 1930's and the 1950s, the Gaelic speaking people in rural Cape Breton stopped teaching their children Gaelic because they were afraid their children would suffer because of it.⁸⁶ They were afraid because they had suffered the economic and social consequences of systemic prejudice in the larger society towards the Gaelic language and the Gaelic language tradition.⁸⁷

After the relocation, people in the MacKinnon-Fraser kin group also have stopped teaching their children the skills and intellectual disciplines associated with their language tradition.⁸⁸ In the Bay, outside of the protected circle of kin and community they had in Black Point, people felt much more vulnerable and open to ridicule. They believed the traditional skills associated with their

different way without me present. I think that her involvement with the work allowed her to realize her own capacity and intelligence something which she had not been allowed to do in school. She went back to upgrading to finish her high school degree and has now gone on to university. Actually, I owe most of what I have learned to the people involved. During the process of doing the research for this work I could not share any of the interviews with people but I did share all of the written and archival information. In fact, as I mentioned earlier, my research often worked like a spiral. I would discover something in the archives and bring it into the community and then the people in the community would share the local perspective with me: the stories and local history that were related to the events that were recorded.

⁸⁶ See Appendix F Gaelic Survey

⁸⁷ See Chapter Two. As noted certain aspects of the tradition may be marketed. Everyone wants a fiddler or a piper for their parties. There is no room in the larger society, however, for the intellectual and imaginative traditions, the patterns of the social and material relations, that gave rise to all that 'folklore'.

⁸⁸ See Ralph Miliband The State in Capitalist Society London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1969. p. 262

Moreover, classes, including the working classes, do not only reproduce themselves physically, but mentally as well, and tend to instill in their children the consciousness, expectations and mental habits associated with their class. Of all the socialization functions which the family performs, there is none which is more 'functional' than this one; for in the present context, it means that the working-class family tends to attune its children in a multitude of ways to its own subordinate status. And even where.....working class parents are ambitious for their children, the success for which they hope and strive is mostly conceived in terms of integration at a higher level within the system and on the latter's own terms; and this is also most likely to lead them to try to persuade their children that the path to success lies not in rebellion against but in conformity to the values, prejudices and modes of thought of the world to which entry is sought.

language culture were worthless from the perspective of the larger society. They were, however, now dependent on their places in that society. The laughter and the ridicule affected them in a way that it never could before. S. and E. MacKinnon commented:⁸⁹

E. MacKinnon: I don't know. I don't know why we never kept those things up. (Speaking Gaelic and the skills associated with the language tradition) We left Black Point; that's the only thing. Things are so different now. I mean...if you ever tried to do things like that nowadays they'd look down on you...they'd think you were retarded if you ever tried to make a sleigh or something...They just laugh at you.

S. MacKinnon: They'd just laugh at you, and that's all they would do.

E. MacKinnon: I think we should have kept it up.

S. MacKinnon: Well, I don't know, about this day and age, but I know in my time, it was good.

E. MacKinnon: Moving made it harder...The things that we could do up in Black Point. They would think that it's not true. I mean, people now they can't do it, because they don't know how. The kids are missing a whole lot of things. Like, I mean, the fun of it. The fun part was learning it, them teaching you, right? I mean you'd make a mistake, your father or mother'd laugh. So you did it wrong, you'd just do it over again until you'd get it right.

E. MacKinnon: Everybody shared everything....When any body's going to plant gardens or cut wood...everybody was there to help.....There was always help there if we needed it.

S. MacKinnon: Today....they laugh at you if you ever try and ask for help now.

E. MacKinnon: Or even offer it.

S. MacKinnon: Or even offer it. Yes.

S. MacKinnon: They wouldn't even take our help...It's awful.

New Divisions in the Bay

After twenty five years, the relocated MacKinnon-Fraser families have made the Bay community their own.⁹⁰ They are now in a majority position. In the

⁸⁹ Interview with S. and E. MacKinnon

⁹⁰ Almost every family in the Bay at this point in time is related by blood or marriage to someone from the MacKinnon-Fraser kin group. The relocated families tended to be extremely large and the children in them still continued to settle down in the district rather than leave it.

Increase in the Proportion of MacKinnon-Frasers in the Adult Population of Bay St. Lawrence

(Data taken from the List of Electors)

Date	Total- Voting Adults	# of MacKinnon-Frasers	% of MacKinnon-Frasers
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years that have followed the relocation, though, the divisions within the kin group have become almost as wide as those between the Black Point families and other families in the district.

The lines connecting the local area with the larger society have grown sharper and more numerous. Mainstream systems and structures have become much more clearly delineated and the Chronicle Herald and Cape Breton Post are delivered daily to the door. Satellite dishes beam in channels from Hollywood and Toronto and these channels shape the terms and also the tone of most local exchanges.

Media Gossip and the CBC: Spinning Straw out of Gold.

In the last 25 years the people in Northern Cape Breton have begun to feel the gaze of the outside world, a gaze that has been particularly hard on the people in Meat Cove and Black Point. In 1988, a man, named Claude Vicory, wrote and produced a CBC-TV documentary about the relocation called, *The Wrong Move*.⁹¹ Vicory's show focused on Black Point, and the relocation of the Black Point families to Baddeck. Like Mathews, Vicory appeared, and also believed himself, to be an ally of the families.⁹² He was critical of the state policy that had relocated the families to Baddeck. But, he constructed an identity for the people in the community that, really, had very little to do with their history, or with who they actually were.⁹³

1970	190	30	16%
1974	211	82	39%
1980	218	116	53%

⁹¹ *The Wrong Move*- Documentary. Directed by Claude Vicory. First aired on CBC-TV Halifax Nov. 17, 1986.

⁹² Conversations with Claude Vicory.

⁹³ Not too long before Vicory's Black Point story was aired, CBC-TV produced another story about the Goler family in Mainland Nova Scotia. This family had a history of social problems, including incest and mental retardation. Vicory described the Black Point families in such a way that they were linked in the public imagination with the Golars. The Goler story had captured the public's interest and they had become the object of everyone's interest, of their pity and their scorn. For a long time they were the butt of jokes and the name Goler became a descriptive noun. When I told a grad student at Dalhousie about my research in Black Point and Meat Cove he was surprised. 'I thought they were just another bunch of Golars' His remark was typical and I've heard variations many, many times. The connections that were made between the two families in the public mind were cultivated in the media.

Vicory showed a clip of fish sheds in Capstick while he was discussing the rundown condition of the houses in Black Point. The same film clip had been used in the first CBC documentary, 20 years before, in just the same way. Vicory included an out of context quote from one of the local teachers who was telling one of those *clichéd* stories about Black Point that had been generated by local gossip.⁹⁴ Vicory claimed that before the relocation all of the families had developed 'a chronic dependence on welfare checks' and he used out of context quotes from a member of the family about making moonshine.⁹⁵

The identity that Vicory created for the MacKinnon-Fraser families who had lived in Black Point was nothing but a yarn but it made the relocation into 'a good story', one that stimulated the public imagination.⁹⁶ The story was the kind of yarn that tied the threads of the people's lives into a series of knots that really had very little to do with the experience of the people in the community. What it did, though, was to cast the Black Point people as stereotypes in Vicory's story, a story that worked in the end, to spin straw out of gold.

I visited a few of the MacKinnon-Fraser families, the night after Vicory's documentary was shown. I listened to people divide themselves, one from another. The ridicule made people angry, but it also made them ashamed. Some people might not have had a car, but we did. Some people's houses might have been flimsy, but ours was strong. People defended themselves, in terms that had never been their own until then.

There was a kind of 'psychic coercion' involved in this whole process. People were divided within themselves against themselves. Their inner spaces constricted and their will constrained. Without realizing it people accepted social norms that were very limited and quite different from their own.

⁹⁴ These clichés had been circulating a very long time. See C.H. Farnham *Cape Breton Folk. Harpers New Monthly Magazine*, No. 430 (March 1886) pp. 607-625, New York. Farnham told a very similar 'story' about the backward Gaels who lived in Ingonish in the late 19th century.

⁹⁵ He also used one of the most sensational clips from the original CBC documentary in which a doctor discussed the health hazards of inbreeding.

⁹⁶ Claude Vicory contacted me and asked if I would agree to be interviewed for his documentary. I was hesitant because of my experience with the media so I asked him if we could meet and discuss his work first. I met him in Halifax and talked to him for a few hours. It was interesting to talk to him but I decided not to be interviewed because of something he said to me. I told him that I thought the relocation was a multi-layered story and that it would be difficult to get to the 'truth'. He told me that he was not really interested in the 'truth'. He wanted to a 'good story'. Perhaps, I misinterpreted him but I found it very difficult to trust him after this. I certainly didn't want to be involved with any of his work. He did, however, allow me to have access to the CBC archives and he made me a copy of the original CBC documentary.

Vicory used the people in Black Point to tell his story, one that he thought was important. Perhaps it was. Ultimately, though, it had more to do with him than with the people he used to prove the points he wanted to make about the government.⁹⁷

Whether he intended it or not the people in Black Point were hurt. Their most personal spaces were opened up for the world to gaze on; and when they felt this gaze on them, they began to internalize it, like the local leaders had in the 1950's. Their personal space was really appropriated by Claude Vicory. When their story became his, the people in Black Point lost their history.

The loss was very great for the people who could remember the community and what it was like to live there. It was an even greater loss for the children. They have no memories of Black Point. How can they possibly understand who they are when all they see are the images created by CBC-TV.? It is easy to get lost in this world of appearances and shadows. It is easy for everyone in the community, to lose touch with who they are, and it is that much harder to choose who they might want to be.⁹⁸

T. was only a baby, like a month old, or two months old when we moved and I think it's affected her differently. Like with me and W. and a lot of us, we can remember things up there and we know it's not the way it was portrayed to be. But with her like she's sort of taking it in from other people's views and then our views and then, you know, like she's caught in the middle. She really...doesn't know what to believe. You're like taught to believe that the media's right..She's not sure what to believe, us or the stories...Of course she can't remember, like what I can remember. I know it's not the way they said. She has a lot of anger. But she doesn't seem to want to talk about it. She's very angry and resentful and you know...After that thing with Claude Vicory, it just put her out of whack, completely out of whack. I mean when the teachers at Cabot agreed with that...I guess it was just the main topic at Cabot (highschool) the next day, and S. said, 'Well, N. (a teacher who was quoted in the CBC piece) didn't know what he was talking about' And this teacher, D. H., I think was her name,she said, 'Ah, that's the way it was...that's exactly the way it was. What he said was the truth.' Well, T. didn't know what to say then. That teacher said that in front of the kids. She didn't care. They never, none of the teachers, cared what they'd say. She should of thought about T.'s feelings with the other kids around at the time. But, you can't talk to them. There's no way. After the Claude Vicory thing the community was divided. Like the kids who

⁹⁷ The relation of social researchers to their subjects is often just as exploitative as the one that journalists like Vicory established.

⁹⁸ Interview with M. MacKinnon. The relocation and the story that the media told about the relocation are both part of the development process and the 'organized forgetting' that is essential to it.

couldn't remember, they didn't know how to take it; they didn't know if it was true. Should they believe their parents, or should they believe the media and the teachers around them? They just didn't know. Like with some they were brought closer to their past; but with other kids, like they completely rejected it.

Resistance: The Politics of Place⁹⁹

Development disciplines, like relocation, train people to accept the fact that the state has the right to control all of the spaces in which they live, whether these are private, communal, linguistic or cultural. In Northern Cape Breton the state has expropriated many of the spaces that people once cultivated and used to sustain and nourish themselves and their community. The people living in Northern Cape Breton continue to be displaced.

People's inner space is dominated by the media, and by the compulsory 'education' that they receive in school. Their outer spaces are controlled by development policies that build, or that don't build, roads, power lines, harbours, telephone and internet lines. The modern state's effective domination and intrusion into even the most personal social space threatens the freedom and well being of everyone in the social order. And it has become increasingly more difficult to identify or create the spaces that are needed, as bell hooks (1991) noted, 'to begin any process of re-vision.'¹⁰⁰ It is difficult, perhaps, but not impossible.

Local Alternatives

The people in Northern Cape Breton have persisted, longer than most, in their attempts to maintain an alternative local culture, despite the development process that works to erode family and community. In some sense, this persistence constitutes what some have called counter-hegemonic cultural practices.

There are still no homeless people in the Bay, and no one goes hungry. If someone is stuck on the road or hurt, people stop to help. If someone is stuck out on the water, people stop and help, even though they themselves might lose a day of fishing. As noted earlier, no one is afraid of getting mugged, and women in

⁹⁹ See Michael Keith and Steve Pile's The Politics of Place London: Routledge, 1961.

¹⁰⁰ Cited in Michael Keith and Steve Pile's The Politics of Place London: Routledge, 1961. p.6.

the district can still walk out alone at night. When a house burns down and the family who lived in it has no insurance the people in the community still get together to raise the money to rebuild it. The same is true if someone is seriously sick and the family needs money for drugs or travel to the hospital in Halifax or Sydney. This is just the way it is.

There is a lack of conscious intention that lends a social grace to the whole social process. But it is more and more difficult to be graceful. People simply have fewer and fewer spaces left in which they can articulate and express any alternatives. People's imagination and will are limited, their focus blurred by the distortions of the mainstream media: the newspapers, the TV, the schools. Their exchange relationships are controlled by an exchange medium that puts a price on birth and death confines even love to a contract form.

Some people in the MacKinnon-Fraser kin group, as in the Bay district as a whole, still struggle, though, to resist the practices which divide them from each other and from themselves. For the most part this resistance has taken place on the local level within the context of the family and community. For instance, once they got settled in the Bay, a few of the MacKinnon-Fraser families continued to plant potatoes and turnips and even to raise pigs and chickens and keep a horse or pony. This was not easy because the only ground they could find to plant on, or to pasture their animals was located far from where they lived. They had to haul water in order to water their crops and travel long distances to tend them.¹⁰¹

At first, it was a little strange (in terms of diet) down here for a lot cause they didn't have the, like the land, to grow the vegetables that we were used to....Until a few years after we moved then we planted gardens out at H.H. MacDonald's...out in the valley (Bay Road Valley, about 4 miles away) We planted there and then we planted down at D's (2 miles away) -- It was a lot easier down at D's. Mom and Dad were determined to do it. So they, so it was done.

Although they had no ground of their own some of the families were determined to keep cultivating the ground of their family traditions. They maintained these in the work they did together, dropping seed, pulling out pigweed; they maintained it in the crates of potatoes or buckets of salt fish they shared with anyone who needed it. These families also tend to continue the

¹⁰¹ Interview with M. MacKinnon

traditional patterns of visiting and gathering at each others houses and sharing stories.¹⁰²

M. MacKinnon: In Black Point there was story telling, you gather into one house and you would be there till 1 or 2 o'clock in the morning telling stories, which is not going on so much now except in only few certain places. And sharing things, that's the most important thing right. I mean except for us and A's. and....

M. MacKinnon: We run out of something we run into you...

E. MacKinnon: I mean we kept it up, right?

M. MacKinnon: And it should still be kept up.

E. MacKinnon: And it should be...I mean, if I go out to A's for some milk...C's there (A's wife) and she's going to give me some. You know, it's the same thing, if she runs out of something. Makes you think you were up in Black Point again...Now when W. calls up and says, were making homemade ice-cream, come up and get some. That's the same things that happened in Black Point

M. MacKinnon: The point is the sharing, and togetherness and having a great laugh over it, that's the important things.

Struggling to Re-member

When the people were moved off of their land in Black Point they lost more than their land. Their land sustained them and grounded them, it was the grounds of their relations with each other and also with themselves. When they were moved they were removed even further away from any possibility of regenerating traditional patterns that members of their family had been weaving for generations. In the Bay there was simply not room enough to maintain them.

And there really were other possibilities. A local teacher who attended the relocation meetings commented:¹⁰³

I would have liked to see the something entirely different like an open meeting with the people who wanted to help asking them (the people in Black Point) what kind of help they needed not telling them what kind of help they better take. Certainly what would have helped Black Point is the people to have stayed there on their own land and continued in their own place that they loved.

A few people in the kin group have managed to get back some of their family land on the Hill. Two MacKinnon-Fraser families have built there, now.

¹⁰² Interview with M. and E. MacKinnon

¹⁰³ Interview with teacher.

Others finally have a bit of room to plant potatoes. But there is no community there now.¹⁰⁴

The losses in the Bay district have been great. The death of a community like Black Point is a loss for all of us. There is no way to replace the Gaelic. The songs and stories. The dances where everyone in the community met together and spun together in time to the fiddle and the piano. There is no way to replace the human or the natural communities that have disappeared. Things are always changing but this is different. Development in dominant terms is a process of slow but steady extinction.

The market mentality of the state society exploits and depletes. The common ground that once tied the people together has been eroded so often that many people do not trust anything will grow in it again. There is a barrenness that has come over the land and the people in the wake of this kind of development. But it was not always so.

For many years the grounds of the Highland tradition was rich and fertile. The cultivation of this ground sustained the people and tied them together. It was the source of a rich lively and vigorous community culture. Even in the 1960's

¹⁰⁴Interview with Alec Capstick, the local County Councillor. He suggested that the land in Black Point be given back to the people in the MacKinnon-Fraser kin group so that they could re-establish their community.

No.....they should never have been moved...the homes should have been built right there. I felt that those 13 homes that they built should have been built in Black Point. They'd have a beautiful view. They'd have lots of facilities. They'd have water....And they would have been built there, it would have been a nice little community today with all those little homes. And they would've fished in the Bay. Now don't forget Meat Cove people are coming to the Bay to fish and that's lot closer than Capstick. The Capstick people are all going to the Bay. That's why the (Capstick) wharf is teared up. And there'd be 18 nice little homes there. The women would've been twice as happy. They didn't want to leave...the women didn't. It was a different time...They were shy that type of people. They didn't want to go to the Bay. They'll tell you any one. I bet you they will tell you today. And S. and that B. would've went anyway. B. was aggressive. (S. MacKinnon did move independently before the relocation. B.'s family was the one approached by the government because they were eventually planning to move...But I'm going back to the government who thought they were going to save a hell of a lot of money. They aren't saving a thing! The people in Meat Cove. They've gotta keep the same roads open, they gotta pave , fence, sand...and the park too. They would all be coming down now, making a living at the Bay with the boats and everything. So wouldn't they all be happier there where they're at in one place? I feel that myself. They should never have been moved....and who owns it (the land) The government; and not a thing done with it. It's pretty up there. That hill was clean and now it's all grown up today. But when they lived there it was all open. Way, way up the hill to Alec MacEachern's. The government should give the land back...They gotta have a place. There's not much in Capstick. It's pretty well taken there and what's the good of that land laying idle there? The park is never going to go through. I don't think I'll ever live to see it....the top ones setting off on a golf course there and what have you.

small communities like Black Point and Meat Cove and Bay St. Lawrence in Northern Cape Breton were filled with music and stories and dancing.¹⁰⁵ Now it is a place where natural and human communities are struggling to survive, struggling to remember how to live.

One woman in the community talked about remembering and the loss that one of the Gaelic elders experienced when a fire destroyed the house she lived in as a child:¹⁰⁶

It was a whole life-style that was lost in that fire.....the songs...the loom.....everything. But even if though she lost the words to the songs in the fire she had that memory of something much richer ...of a tradition that was rich and developed....And she still sang.¹⁰⁷ But alot of people have forgotten. The younger ones don't even have the memories. They have been lost in the generation growing up with T.V. and the T.V. isn't giving them what they need. When these things are lost so is people's pride and self respect....and watching T.V. just doesn't give you that. It is just not giving people any substitute for what they had: the music, the relation to work, the responsibility to other people, and the relation to the natural environment. People used to walk. They would walk for miles just to go to church, to go to a dance, to go visiting. They would walk from Meat Cove to Pleasant Bay just to go to a dance on Saturday night and then be in Church in Bay St. Lawrence on Sunday morning. Now-a-days no one even feels it' important to walk across the street no matter what is going on. There were many things that were lost.

Some people, however, refuse to forget. They resist the state's policies even though sometimes it is much easier not to. Some Black Point families still struggle to keep on growing potatoes despite the fact that they have no land of their own to plant them on.¹⁰⁸

While we were in Meat Cove sometimes the old grandfather would play a fiddle at a party....I used to see the grandfather playing the bagpipes on the cliffs of Black Point when I used to drive by...I would quietly stop and listen. It is something money can't buy...and you just can't reproduce it. You can't say, 'oh, we want that grandfather back playing on the cliffs. You can't go hire a grandfather and teach him to play on the cliffs. It 's just not the same thing. People here have a moral inheritance and know what they have to do and do it. They just want to have the potatoes growing in the ground because it feels better.

¹⁰⁵ There is a tape of fiddle and guitar and Gaelic singing that was made in the 1960's.

¹⁰⁶ Interview with member of the Bay community that lived in Meat Cove at one time.

¹⁰⁷ There is a tape of some of her Gaelic songs enclosed.

¹⁰⁸ Interview with a resident of Bay St. Lawrence who used to live in Meat Cove.

Involvement with the mainstream is a process of marginalization for the people living in traditional societies all over the world. For these people who are at the heart of their own world seem always to be relocated to the economic and social periphery of ours.¹⁰⁹

My last memory...I remember wanting to stay there, and crying in the back of the truck, because I wanted to stay there. We all wanted to stay and I don't think that we ever adjusted to Bay St. Lawrence as being home. I know, like I have in a sense, now that I'm older You settle in after so many years; but I always have the longing there....to go back and hopefully some day we can go back.

**The houses are all gone under the sea
The dancers are all gone under the hill.
The only wisdom we can hope to acquire
Is the wisdom of humility: humility is endless.**

T.S. Eliot: The Four Quartets

¹⁰⁹ Interview with W. MacKinnon.

Epilogue

Resistance--The Threat of a New Relocation

The story does not end here, though. A third relocation now threatens fishing families in the Bay district. This time, however, it is not sheep or good intentions that will replace them but draggers and miniature golf courses. A few years ago the Canadian government announced its intention of removing more than 30,000 people from the Atlantic fishery.¹

The problem again is the development process. Government fishing policy works to tear up the grounds of the community culture as effectively as the draggers tear up the bottom and the grounds of the community fishery.² The growth of the fishery as a capital intensive industry is inextricably woven up with enclosing and privatizing the ocean commons through limited licensing.³ The

¹ ARDA has given way to TAGS, The Total Atlantic Groundfish Strategy. This is a program designed to remove people from the fishery and retrain them for other jobs. At the same time management policies like ITQ, Individual Transferable Quotas, privatize and limit access of the fisheries resource to individual interests. These policies favor the larger fishing operations and the development of a highly capitalized fleet which utilize destructive technology which deplete the stocks. Government fisheries management policies have worked to manage the fish out of the ocean and the people out of their homes.

² Government policies that are supposed to conserve the fishery and help the fisher are management practices that are exploitative and exclusionary. For instance, traditional fishers warned DFO, the Department of Fisheries and Oceans, for years about the state of the cod stocks; but no one would listen to them. Expert scientific advice from CAFSAC, the scientific advisory branch of DFO, had been used to set the TAC. It is true that there were consultations with fishers but the consultation process was and is flawed. It simply sets up competing interest groups that usually fight each other for access to the resource that is controlled by DFO. Most of the fishers involved with the consultations also have vested interests to keep the quotas high because they have highly capitalized operations. In the end, the cod stocks were at the point of total collapse. The government then decided to impose a moratorium, that is to totally shut down the cod fishery. That is, they were supposed to have shut down the fishery. The draggers continued to have access to the cod fishery as by-catch to their catches of other species. This by-catch was based on a certain percentage of their total catch. Everyday the big draggers were allowed to bring in thousands of pounds of cod, enough fish to support traditional fishing families for the entire season. At the same time hook and line fishers weren't even allowed to jig a few fish for supper.

³ The 'tragedy of the commons' argument is used to justify the enclosure of the ocean commons just as the 'too many fishermen and not enough fish' argument is used to remove the more traditional, less capitalized, fishing families. These work together. I am not suggesting an open-access situation that simply allows the corporate mentality the freedom to dominate the fishers and exploit the fish stocks. Government management policies are skewed, however, and in practice they just support the corporate mentality. Garrett Harding, a scientist who posed the 'tragedy of the commons' argument, failed to distinguish between these two. See Garrett Harding *Living on a Lifeboat* *Bioscience* Vol. 24, No. 10, (Oct. 1974) pp. 561-568. The 'tragedy of the commons' is really one of the most dangerous concepts of the modern development paradigm. It is really the modern version of the 'enclosure' theme,

communities are being torn up from within by licensing policies that support the capitalization of the inshore fleet.

As noted Extension was involved in promoting this kind of development in the early 1960's. The government created an inshore fleet of draggers in the 1970's with subsidies and low interest loans. This was also when DFO began to seriously control the access of fishers to the stocks. The limited entry licensing system, that had effectively excluded some families from the lobster fishery, continues to exclude the smaller fishers by ignoring their traditional rights to the resource.⁴

Development has turned the ocean into property, the fishery into an industry and many fishers into capitalists. Some people in the Bay district, however, resist the process despite the fact that the economic divisions between families in the same kin groups have intensified. Traditional ties may be coming undone but, as noted, not everyone responds in the same way. Some people try to maintain the kinds of relationships that generate community and they work to adapt the state's policies as much as possible.

For instance, some individuals, who have gained more access to the stocks through the licensing policies, use their individual access to support a whole group of families. These individuals fish in shares with various members of the kin group. They all work together on the boat.⁵ After expenses for the operation are

The government is trying to 'improve' the management of the fishery by enclosing and privatizing the oceans commons through its licensing policy. Privatization, however, has a lot more to do with individual self-interest than the public good. The real 'tragedy of the commons' is that people still believe in it. The ideas of 'experts' and scientists like Harding who argued that we live on a 'lifeboat' in which some people are going to have to sink in order for other people to swim are abusive to most of the people living in the world. People, like him, continue to portray the world as a place in which certain groups have the right to limit the access of other groups to the common grounds of the earth. As Aristotle suggested a long time ago it makes sense to use the resources of the community to support everyone in the community. Even if property is private in a state its use should still be common. In this way the whole of the body politic is healthy. These grounds should, however be used to sustain us all. The contradictions of the development discourse are inherent within it: Can the 'free world' of a relatively few people in the world ever be maintained by the 'unfreedom' of the rest.? Is this really the way that the 'world is going to be made safe for democracy.' ?

⁴ These would be equivalent to the hereditary rights to the land, the *dutchus*, rights that Marx spoke of in the Highlands. The traditional inshore fishing family is not specialized. They are multi-species fishers. .

⁵ This is not to say that the captain of the boat does not have authority. The relationship is very different, though, than between boss and worker. Traditionally, the captain had authority but was not perceived to 'own' the labour power of the crew. The crew wasn't 'hired' to do all the work and paid wages. They had a share in the operation and everyone, including the

taken out, the money is basically pooled. This allows a whole group of families to be supported.⁶

Direct Action: The Crab Blockade

Members of the MacKinnon-Fraser kin group have joined with other people in the Bay district to challenge fisheries licensing policies. When the cod fishery collapsed, a few years ago, many of the traditional fishing families in the Bay district found that they were having a hard time meeting their expenses.

The issue was the fact that only a few people in the community were allowed access to the crab grounds. The resources in that fishery could easily support all of the families in the district without increasing the TAC, the Total Allowable Catch of the fishers in the community.⁷ In terms of government policy and the expert knowledge of scientists like Garrett Hardin, there is never enough room for more than a few either in the lifeboat or at the table.⁸ These terms, however, have never been those of the community.

In 1993, a few women from the MacKinnon-Fraser kin group worked with a few other women in organizing a series of community meetings that resulted in a blockade of the Bay St. Lawrence harbour on July 27th of that year.⁹ The next

captain, had a share in the work. This is not the kind of relationship that some people now have to their crew, however.

⁶ Traditionally, in the district people who fished together fished this way. After immediate expenses like bait and gas all of the money from the sale of fish was divided equally between all of the people working on the boat. One share was taken out for the expenses of operating the boat. Traditionally, all of the people on the boat shared equally in the operation. They may have had different roles but any hard physical labour was shared by everyone. As fishing has become more and more capitalized some of the captains have begun to take a larger and larger share for themselves. In these cases the line between owner and crew, boss and worker, has become much more distinct than it ever was. In these 'modern operations' the workers do all of the physical work and the captains drive the boat and make decisions about the operation.

⁷ The individuals in the district who have crab licenses also own small draggers that they use for ground fish and lobsters. As noted, the government developed this 'new class' in the district by the Liberal's policy of subsidies and loans in the 1970's initiated by Romeo Le Blanc. The difference in the incomes of these fishing families and the traditional hook and line fishing families have slowly been working to create social divisions in the district that reflect those in the larger society.

⁸ See Garrett Harding *Living on a Lifeboat* *Bioscience* Vol. 24, No. 10, (Oct. 1974) pp. 561-568. See footnote 112 for a discussion of the concept the 'tragedy of the commons' which he promoted.

⁹ The role of the women in Bay St. Lawrence in initiating the first crab blockade has been completely overlooked in the literature. See for instance, *Common in Custom, Uncommon in*

year other fishing communities in Northern Cape Breton joined in, and starting on July 15, 1994, the entire Crab fishery in Northern Cape Breton was shut down.

A series of meetings and consultations and seminars resulted in a decision by DFO to give a few more individuals in the community crab licenses. This was a smart move on the part of DFO because this would have effectively destroyed the resistance by dividing some of them from the others. The Bay group refused, however, to accept the terms of the DFO's individual licensing policy and the implications that this would have for the group as a whole.

Instead, they decided to collectively manage the crab quota which had been allocated by the government to individual members in the community.¹⁰ In one of the most remarkable instances of collective spirit, they formed a co-op, so that the quota of a few individuals was shared among all the full time fishing families in the community.¹¹

They were able to take the terms of the government's policy and shape them to the needs of the community. Small communities, like the Bay, have always had their own ways and systems of management.¹² These may have been

Advantage: Common Property, Local Elites, and Alternative Approaches to Fisheries Management by Anthony Davis and Conner Baily Society & Natural Resources Vol. 9: pp. 251-265, 1996.

¹⁰ The few families who have large crab quotas continue to have large quotas although as I mentioned these quotas have been slightly reduced. In 1995, these fishers had 50,000 lbs..... of quota at \$4 a pound. They grossed an average of \$200,000 and according to DFO they took only about 10 days to catch their entire quota. The other full time fishers in the community shared crab quota that allowed each family to gross about \$12,000 before expenses.

¹¹ The strength of this group came out of the dialogue that was established between the individuals in the group during the original meetings a few years before. Many points of view were expressed at these meetings and all of these were listened to. No one dominated or controlled them. It seems to me that this allowed people the space that they needed to articulate their vision of the fishery both to themselves and to each other. This is the kind of community space that we need. But it seems to be getting harder and harder to find the room in our busy individual lives to create it. The temptation is always to let the 'experts' take over because that is their job after all. But there is no way to replace what you give up when they do. The government gave money to the group, during the process, to hire an 'expert'. Once they did this the whole process changed and the people at the grassroots level lost control. The crab co-op has been functioning for a few years. But government's policies and expert advice continue to weaken the community and to divide the fishermen. This year the government implemented a policy that divides the non-crab fishers in the community into groups of threes as a way of distributing the crab quota. This will effectively destroy the co-op if the policy is implemented as the DFO intends. Since the expert was hired, though, no more community meetings have been held and so there is no more dialogue and little understanding of the implications of the policy or resistance to it. People have been given just enough crab quota that they can survive. Unless their backs are pushed up against the wall they will probably not take any direct action again.

¹² Often these conflict with DFO's management policies.

informal but they worked. The management systems of DFO are external to the community. The rationalization of the fishery by the government is highly irrational from the local perspective because it is not based on the context of local relationships.

The traditional management systems that have always been in place in the Bay were generated within the community and in the relationships between the people who lived there. They were not a discipline of rule but of relationship. There was no legal contract involved or enforcing agency involved. They worked because the people in the community respected them and also the relationships on which they were based.

For instance, in the 1940's and 1950's, some people in the Bay had boats with engines. Many, though, only had boats fitted with oars and they were disadvantaged in terms of their access to the fishing grounds. The people with engine powered boats left the inside grounds, which were quite lucrative but easier to get to, for the people with row boats. They fished primarily on the outside grounds because they could more easily get there.¹³

Conclusion

None of this is to say that I think we should return to some better past. I do not a long for the past but I do respect it. Tradition is not the opposite of freedom. Re-collection, as noted earlier, is the way that people learn. And we do need to learn how to live today, if we our children are going to be able to survive tomorrow.

The Gaelic tradition, that even today, grounds the people in Northern Cape Breton, embraced me and my family when we moved to Northern Cape Breton. I learned what community and family was there. The community was not perfect, but, the ties that bound the community together were formed in a pattern of economic and social exchanges, relationships, that always took the form of giving instead of taking. What was amazing was the sense of spaciousness and abundance in the community-- even though from the mainstream perspective people lived in relatively tiny houses and had very little in the way of material goods.

¹³ Interview with Joe Curtis.

What everyone did have, at the time, was access and control over the grounds of their community and they were able to piece together their subsistence in one way or another. They had ground enough to grow potatoes, woods enough to get firewood and enough access to the fishing grounds to provide whatever else they needed. The emptiness and longing that people now feel so intensely are only social constructions that keep the wheels of production and consumption turning. They certainly had very little to do with the sense of abundance that I found in Northern Cape Breton in 1971. It was that sense of life that kept the hay carts turning in the field and the rounds of fiddle music spinning in the hall. I do not think that most people today believe that community is really possible. But my experience in Northern Cape Breton taught me that it is.

What I found difficult to understand, though, was how people all over the world continue to give up who they are in order to become someone else's idea of who they should be. This work was an inquiry. People in Northern Cape Breton recognized the value of their way of life but in the end they were persuaded that it would not sustain them or their children. They were tempted by the promises of a better way of life and they were compelled by the threats of a future in which they were afraid they would have no place.

And people do have reason to fear. The resources that they need locally are gradually but steadily being consumed by the workings of a state system that has no more regard for fishing families or communities than it does for codfish they depend on. The world is being consumed at an alarming rate. Many species of plants, many kinds of animals, many languages, whole intellectual traditions-- extinct or threatened. The atmosphere itself is threatened. And it is all part of the same process.

At the end of this inquiry I still do not have any solutions. But I do know that there can be no solution imposed on people by experts who think they have found the answer. The answer can not come from the DFO or the experts in human or fishery resource management. What people need is the room to find their own way. Space, however, like time is at a premium these days. At least it seems that way. So in the end, it is really up to us to create it.

It seems to me that we have to work to locate spaces, these may only be nooks and crannies, but positions, none the less, from which alternatives can take shape and have room to grow.

There are people in Bay St. Lawrence, as there are all over the world, who continue to make room for others who need it. These are the local heroes that we

need to celebrate and this is the tradition that we need to maintain. It is one, I believe, from which new community cultures can emerge around the world. I really do not think that we can change anything by directly assaulting the powers that be. As Andre Lourde said, we can't use the master's tools, to tear down the house he has built to hold us. We certainly can't use them to build ourselves another place to live.

There are really many ways to cultivate the ground of community. But a community culture can never survive if the individuals in it are exploited and compelled by the people outside of it. People have a right to create the spaces that they need to live. And that right needs to be recognized and respected. In the West we have a tradition of dialogue, of emancipatory speech. This tradition, it seems to me, can give us a kind of strength as long as we remember that there is a logic of the heart as well as of the mind. For the heart has its reasons, Pascal said, that reason can't possibly understand. We need, in the West, to find our hearts again and I believe that we need to look to the traditions of other peoples for that. The light of our reason has failed because like the electric light it has blinded us to much of what gives life meaning.

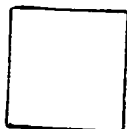
I do not think that we should try to live in the past but I do not think that we can escape it or run from it. In fact we might even re-collect a way to work together to finally take down the masters house.

Appendix A: Genealogy

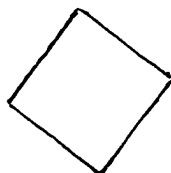
Note : The genealogy charts are located in a pocket on the cover. Please return them when you are through looking at them.

Key to Charts

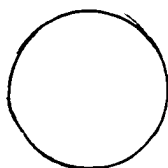
Children born within the bonds of marriage



Children born outside the bonds of marriage

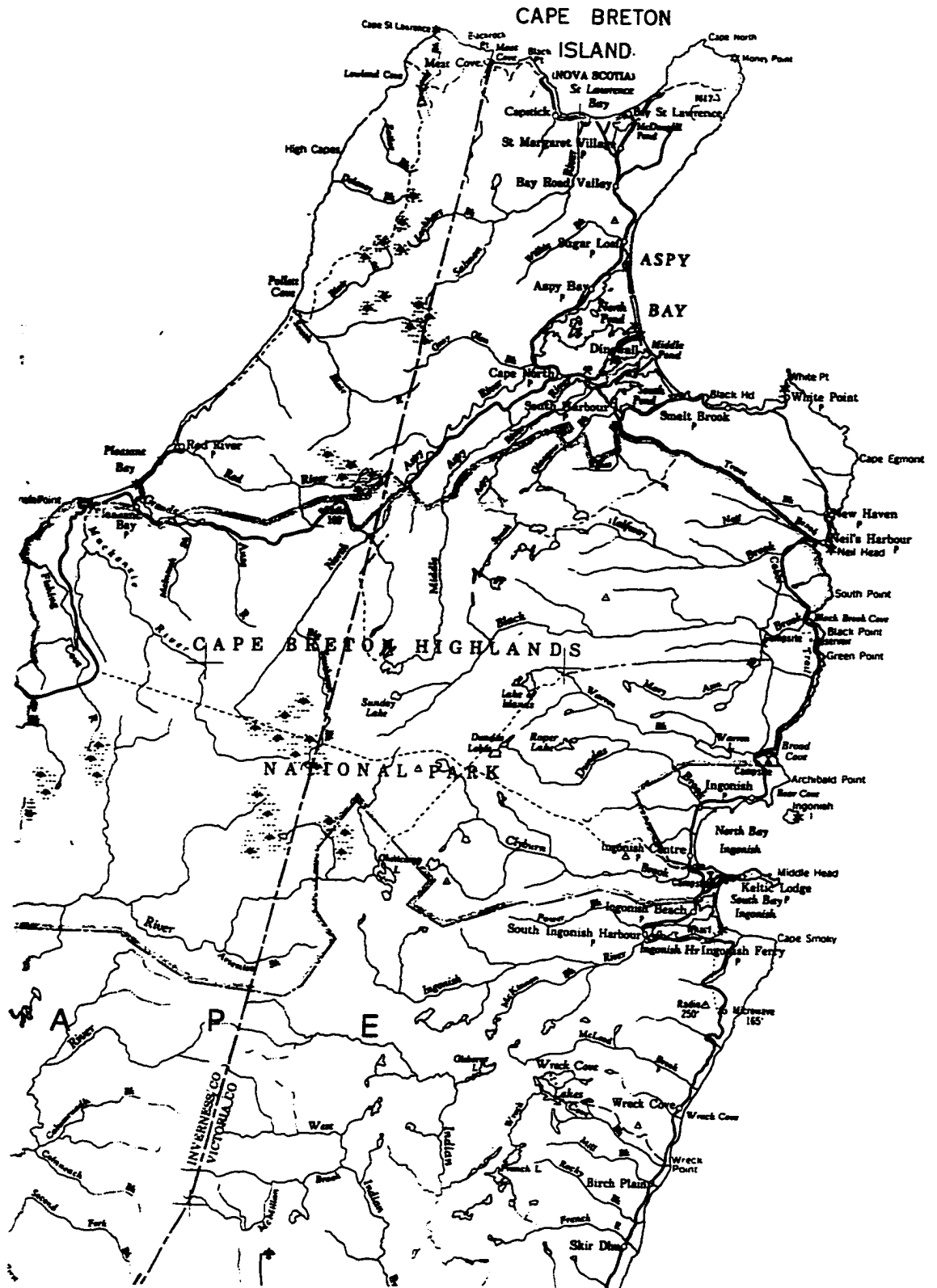


Foster Children¹

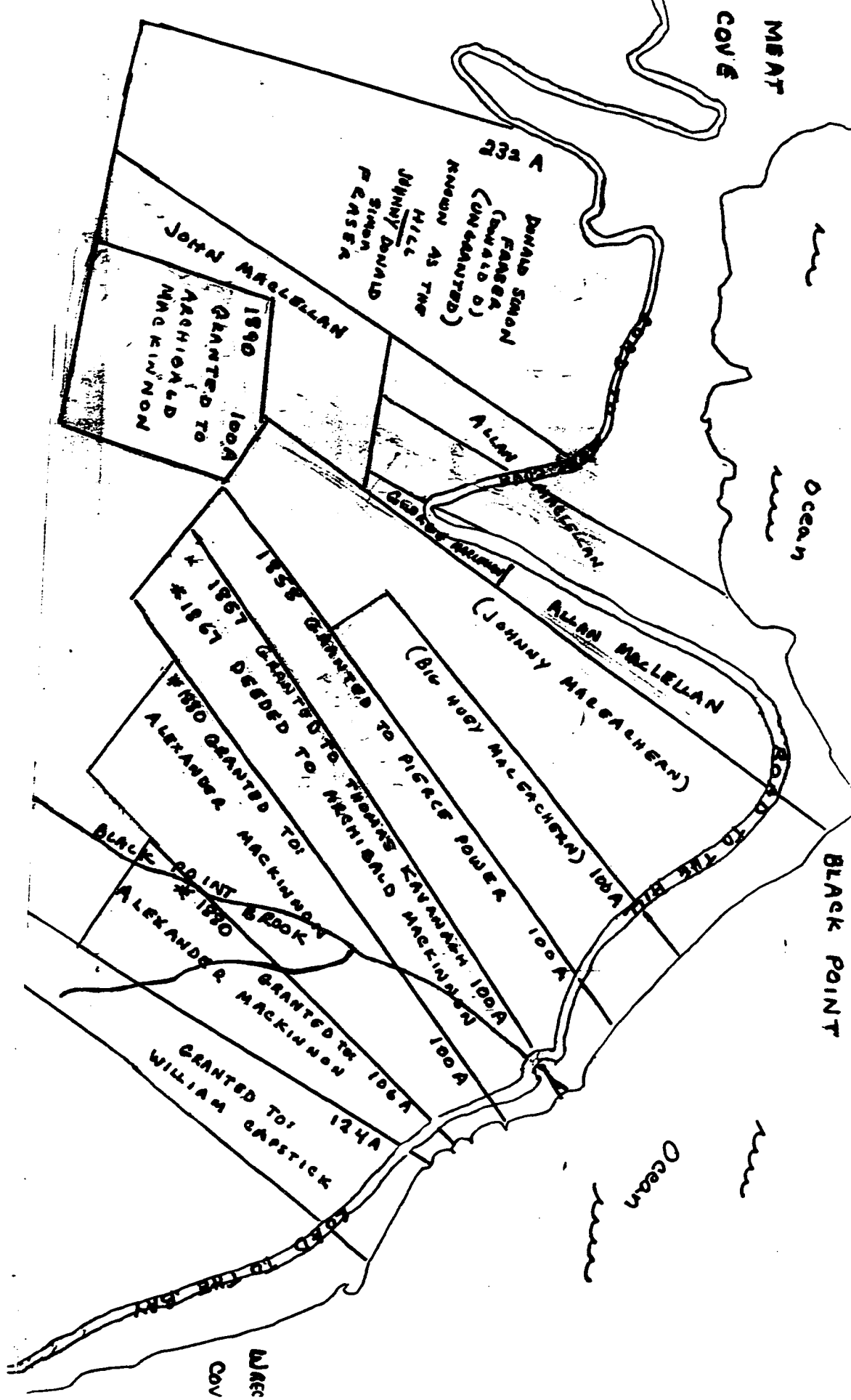


¹ Fosterage was a common Highland tradition. It strengthened the bonds between the families involved.

Appendix B: Land Maps

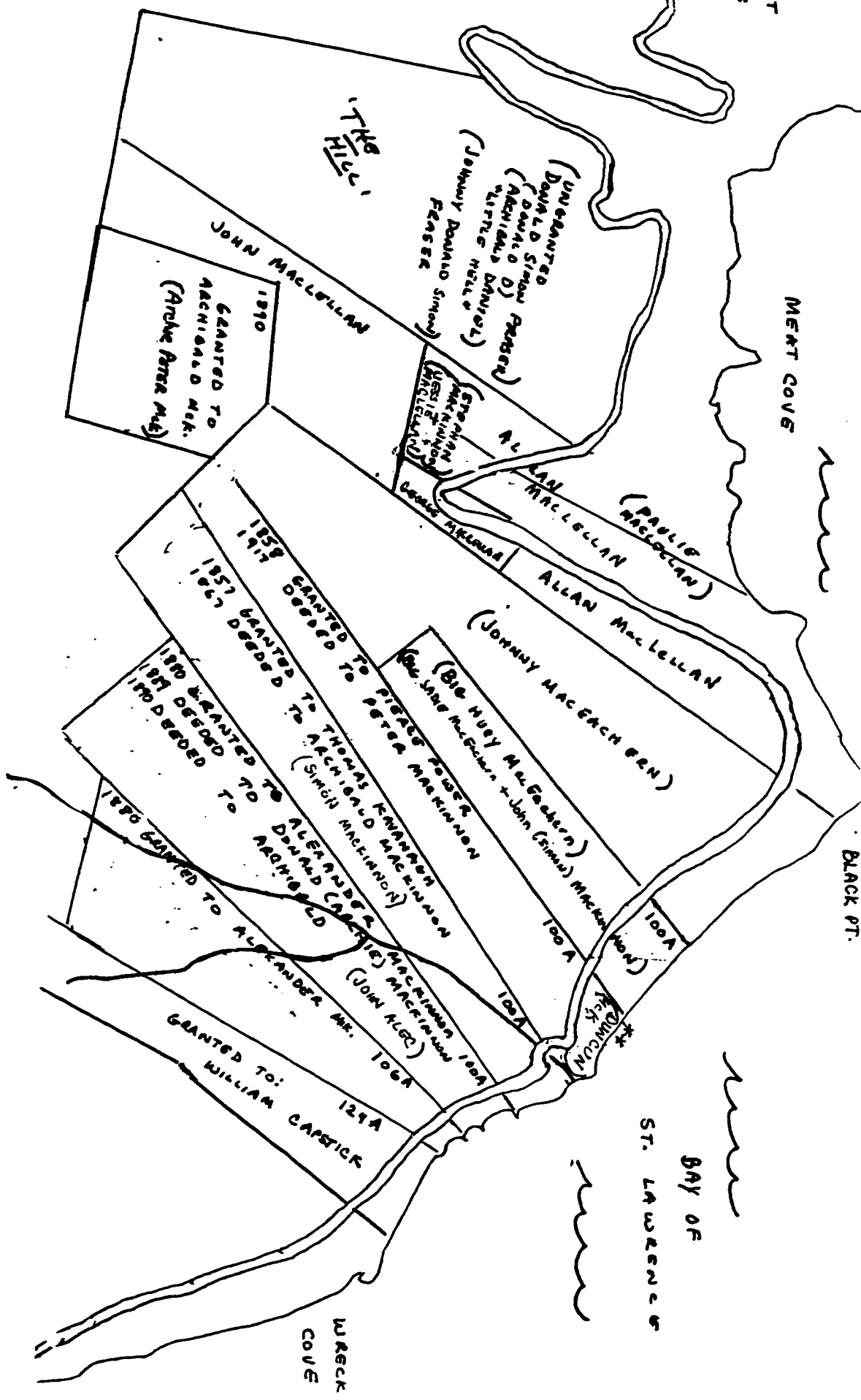


BLACK POINT @ 1890



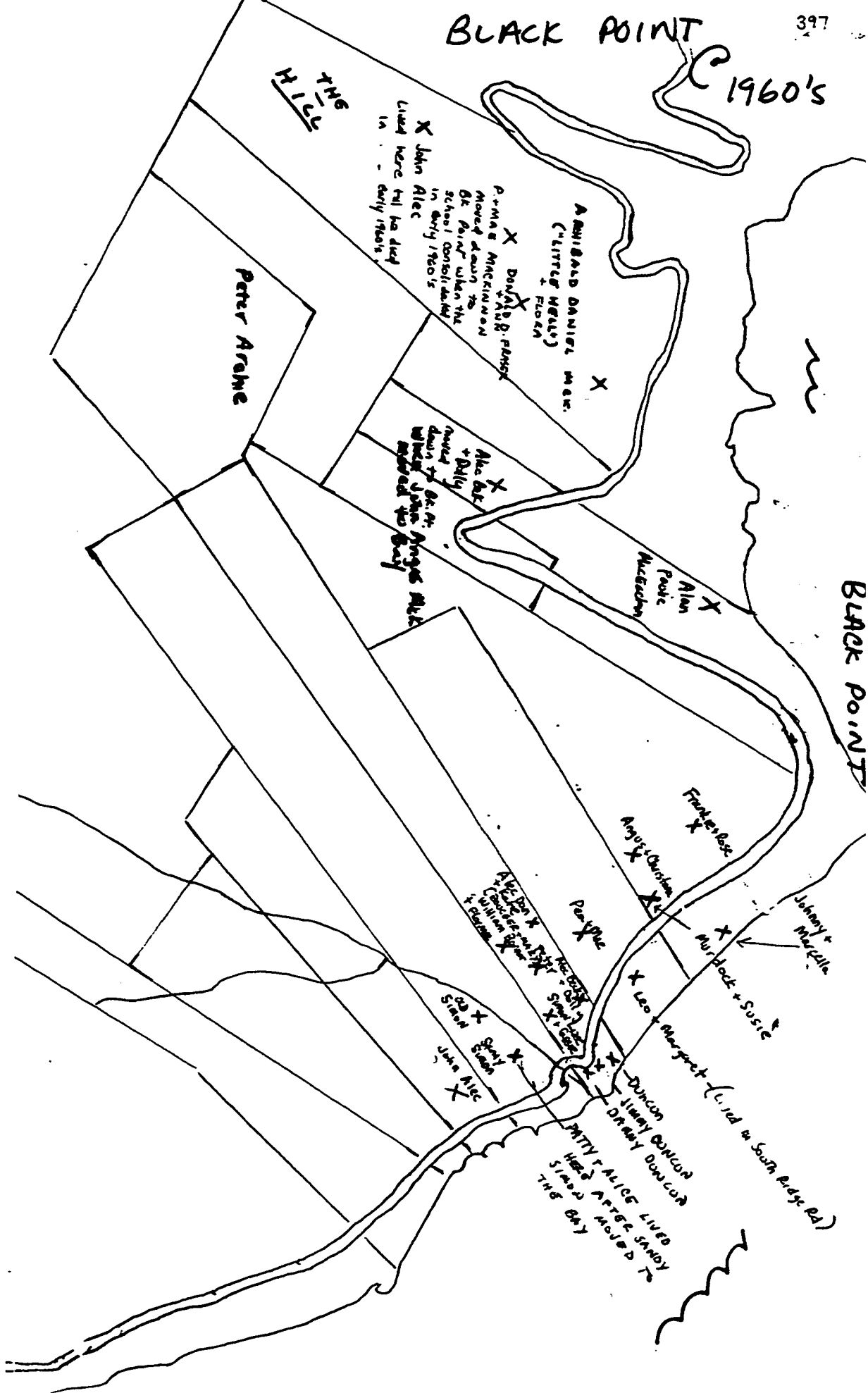
BLACK POINT @ 1925

MEAT COVE 395



BLACK POINT

1960's



THE HILL

X John Alec
Lived here till he died
in early 1960's

X
AUGUST DANIELS near.
(LITTLE BEARS)
+ ALICE + PLOAN

X DONALD + PLOAN
+ MRS. MCKERMAN
MOVED down to
GR. FARM when the
SCHOOL CONSOLIDATED
in early 1960's

Peter Arame

X
ALICE + DOLLY
MOVED down to GR. FARM
WHERE JOHN + PLOAN LIVED
BEFORE THEY MOVED TO GR.

X
Alan
Pacific
Museum

Franklin

X
ANGIE + CHRISTIAN

Johnny + Maudie

X
MURDOCK + SUSIE

Pacific

X
ALICE + JOHN + PLOAN
+ MRS. MCKERMAN
MOVED down to GR. FARM
when the SCHOOL CONSOLIDATED
in early 1960's

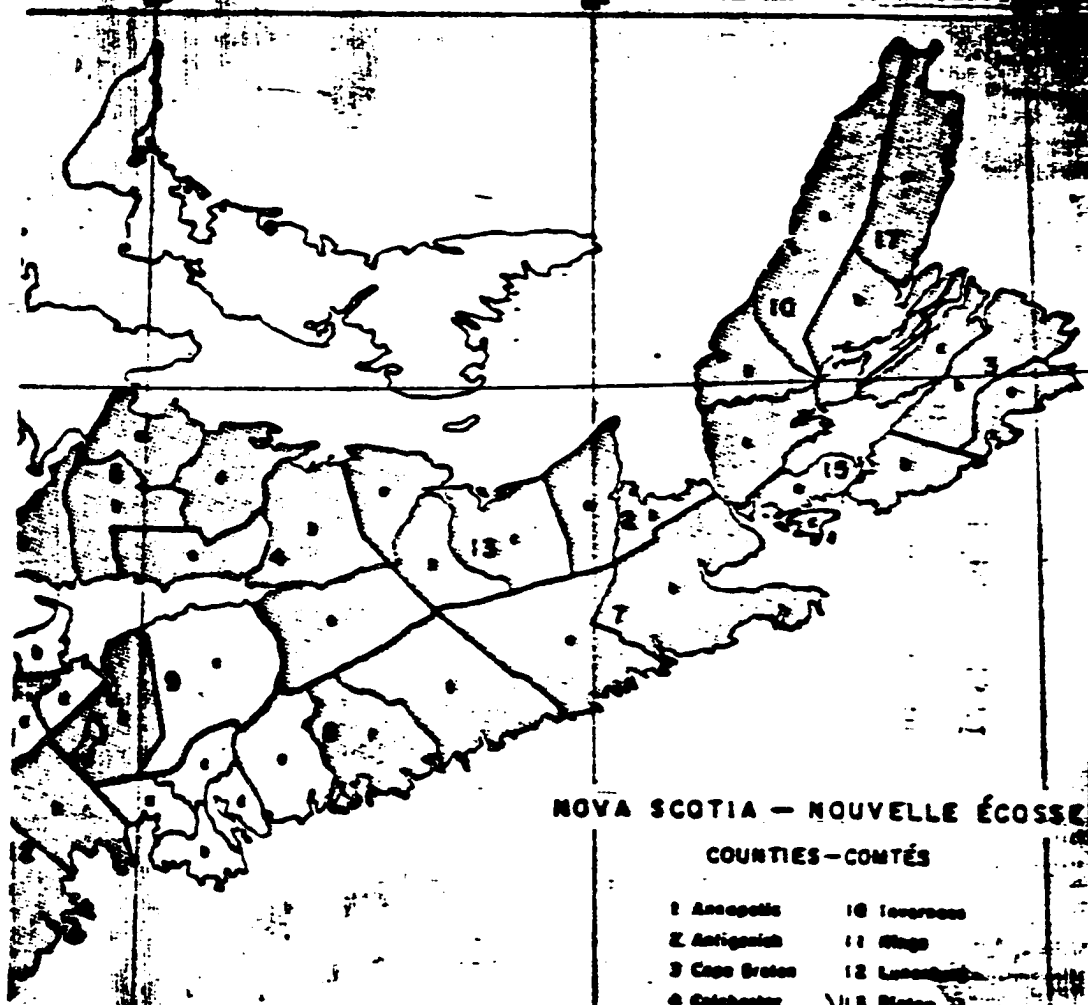
X
Leo + Margaret
(Lived on South Edge Rd.)

X
Sue + John
John Alec

X
DUNCAN
LIVING DUNCAN
DRABY DUNCAN

ALICE LIVED
HERE AFTER SANDY
SUE + JOHN MOVED TO
THE GRAY

ARDA RURAL DEVELOPMENT AREAS



NOVA SCOTIA — NOUVELLE ÉCOSSE COUNTIES — COMTÉS

- | | |
|---------------|--------------|
| 1 Annapolis | 10 Inverness |
| 2 Antigonish | 11 Kings |
| 3 Cape Breton | 12 Lunenburg |
| 4 Colchester | 13 Pictou |
| 5 Cumberland | 14 Queens |
| 6 Digby | 15 Richmond |
| 7 Guysborough | 16 Shelburne |
| 8 Halifax | 17 Victoria |
| 9 Hants | 18 Yarmouth |

Scale of Miles — Échelle en milles



BADDECK
SETTLEMENT
(4 Families)

311

TO BADDECK 0.5 MILES
SHORE ROAD

TRANS-CANADA
HIGHWAY 105

SIMIDAN + ATLANTA

DRIVEWAY @ 100 FT

DONALD
+
JESSIE

MORDOCH
+
SUSIE

DANNY DUNCAN
+
CATHERINE

BADDECK
HOUSES

1972

BADDECK
SETTLEMENT
(1 Family)

400

← TO BADDECK @ 5 MILES
SHORE ROAD

TRANS CANADA HIGHWAY 105

DRIVEWAY 100 FT.

TRAILER
DANNY DUNCAN
+
CATHERINE

THE BADDECK
HOUSES
ARE GONE

1997

Appendix C: Naming Patterns

There was a typical naming pattern in Black Point that was common to all of the local Gaelic communities. This pattern, was used to name but also to further identify individuals with the same name who lived in the district. It is still used in part today.

Until the 1950's, certain 'given' names were common to certain family groups. For instance a person could often distinguish the MacKinnons in Cape North from the MacKinnons in the Black Point/Meat Cove area by their first name. This was because the children were named after their parents, grandparents, and great grandparents. For instance, the names Archibald, Alexander, John, Donald, Flora, Ann, and Marcella are used over and over in each generation because these are the names of the people who first settled in and around Black Point. According to Norman MacDonald, a Scottish historian who taught at UCCB in 1990, University College of Cape Breton, Scottish Gaelic families would traditionally name the first son after the father's father (paternal grandfather) and the second after the mother's father (maternal grandfather). The first daughter is named after the paternal grandmother and the second after the maternal grandmother.¹ This pattern is not strictly followed, but it is helpful in trying to understand who is related and in what way. In a small community, though, this can be extremely confusing because families are large. Often brothers and sisters may give their children the same name in the same generation.

In order, to distinguish which John MacKinnon or Alexander MacKinnon a person is talking about, the father's name is generally used as identification to locate the person in the community. For instance, Alexander MacKinnon has a son, John. This son is known as John Alec MacKinnon. He has a son and his son, then, is known as Johnny John Alec Mac Kinnon. Johnny is his given name. His 'middle name' John Alec is not really his middle name; it is the name that identifies him. He is the John MacKinnon who is the son of the John MacKinnon who was the son of Alexander (Alec) MacKinnon. Sometimes the mother's name is used, especially if the mother's name would serve to identify the child better. For instance, if a man has been married twice, the name of the mother might be used for identification. Simon MacKinnon, the son of Peter MacKinnon is known as

¹ Dr. D. MacInnes, from St. F. X. noted that in Inverness the oldest son or daughter was named after both grandparents.

Simon Lizee because Peter was married first to Big Lizee MacEachern and then to Marcella Fraser.

Often nicknames are used for identification and these nicknames are sometimes used for the whole family. For instance Big Lizee is called 'Big' because she was the daughter of 'Big' Huey MacEachern. Names were so identified with certain families that occasionally the same name was used for the children in the same family. This is true when a child dies and the next child in the family is given the same name. Sometimes families just seem to run out of names. For instance 'Big' Huey MacEachern got his nickname because he had a younger brother who was also named Huey.

**Appendix D: *Oran Don Chuairtear* -- A Song for the Tourist by
Bard John MacLean**

In Margaret MacDonell's *The Emigrant Experience*. Toronto: University of
Toronto Press, 1982. p. 77.

A Song for the Tourist

A toast to the *Tourist* who traveled from Scotland
and from the land of the mountains sailed across the sea
to this wooded country, to bring us his tidings.
He who will not toast him will be held in great contempt.

*Deoch slainte Chuairtear a ghluais a Albainn,
Bho thir nam mor-bheann 's a sheol an fhairge,
Do'n duthaich choilltich thoirt dhuinn a sheanachais
'S am fer nach ol i, bibd moran feirg ris.*

When that *Tourist* comes once a month,
the young people, with great enthusiasm,
will draw knowledge from his courtly conversation;
he brings them news about the fame of their ancestors.

*'N uair thig an Cuairtear ud uair 's a mhios
Gu'm bi na h-oganaich le toil-inntinn
A' tional eolais bho chomhradh siobhalt,
'S bidh naigheachd ur aige cliu an sinnsear.*

Many a maiden hastens after him
and gently asks him for news.
By candlelight she regards him;
he has a love story for each one.

*Gur lionmhor maighdaeann a th'ann an deidh air,
 'S a bhios le caoimhneas a' faighneachd sgeil dheth;
 Le solus choinnlean a bhios 'ga leubhadh,
 'S bidh eachdraidh ghaoil aige do gah te dhiubh.*

It is not surprising that the young are enamoured of him
 when old people with failing vision,
 their heads turned grey, are so zealous about him,
 even though they cannot see him without spectacles.

*Cha'n ioghnadh oigridh thoirt moran speis dha
 'N uair tha na seann-daoin' tha call an leirsinn
 'S an cinn air liathadh, cho dian an deidh air,
 'S nach dean iad fhaicinn mur cleachd iad speuclair.*

The Highland *Tourist* is a handsome hero
 with his fine form and checkered garb,
 like that of his forbears stalking the Highlands,
 manly, alert, skillful with arms.

*'S e 'n Cuairtear Gaidhealach an t-armunn, dealbach,
 Le phearsa bhoidheach an comhdach balla-bhreac,
 Mar chleachd a shinnsear gu direadh gharbhlach,
 'S e fearail, gleusda gu feum le armaibh.*

When he comes to this land at Halloween
 a pleated kilt will gird him,
 and his gay, handsome plaid will cover his shouldres;
 neither cold nor the gloom of winter will daunt him.

*'N uair thig e' n tir seo mu thim na Samhna,
 Bidh feileadh cuaiche mu chruachain theannta,
 'S a bhreacan-guaille gu h-uallach, greannar;
 Cha lagaich fuchd e no gruaim a 'gheamhraidh.*

He wears a blue bonnet and a new doublet,
 fitted hose about his sturdy legs,
 striped garters cross-tied behind,
 laced shoes, the full traditional dress.

*Bidh boineid ghorm agus gearra-chot ur air,
 Bidh osain dhealbhach mu chalpaibh dumhail;
 Bidh gartain staillich thar fiar-bhreid cuil air,
 'S a bhrogan eille, 's b'e' n t-eideadh duthchais.*

He wears a keen, steel sword in his studded silver belt,
 and the traditional dirk of German metal,
 together with loaded pistol which will not miss its mark,
 and a leather sporran made from badger's skin.

*Bidh lann gheur stailinn 'n bhraiste airgiod air,
 'S biodag, dhualach de chruaidh na Gearmailt;
 'Us dag air gheusadh nach leum le cearbaich,
 Le sporan iallach de bhian an t-seana-bhruic.*

This is the light, noble dress
 in which to hunt among the bens, glens, and craigs,
 and in which to stand firm in the face of hardship;
 many a vanquished foe was routed by it.

*'S e sin an t-eideadh tha eutrom, uallach
 Gu siubhal bheann agus ghleann 'us chruachan,
 'S gu seasamh laraich an lathair cruadail;
 Bu tric an namhaid an cas air ruaig leis.*

When I see the courtly, regal *Tourist*
 I compare him to John the Miller;
 and the latter has been in this country twenty winters,
 and his limbs have never been trammelled with foreign garb.

*'Nuair chair chi mi an Cuairtear tha uasal, rioghail,
Bidh mi 'g a shamhalachadh ri Iain Muilleir;
Tha fichead geamhradh bho'n tha e 's tir seo,
'Scha d'fhuair e riamh air a shliasaid cuibhreach.*

His reason and memory have served him for more than a thousand years,
Often did he hunt the red stag in the deer forest,
on the steep side of Beinn Armuinn;
hunting that kind (of game) was worth the climb.

*Tha corr' us ciad bho'n tha ciall'us cuimhn' aig',
Is tric a shealg e damh dearg 's na frithean
Air slìos Beinn Armuinn a b'ard ri direadh;
'S an deidh an t-seors' ud b'e'n comhlan fiachail.*

Handsome *Tourist*, you who dwell in the glens
and know Gaelic, and you speak it best of all;
you are not ashamed of it, no matter what it may cost you.
Numerous are the friends who now support you.

*'S a Chuairtear alainn, tha 'tamh 's na gleanntaibh,
'G a bheil a' Ghaidhlig 's as fhearr a labhras i,
'S nach gabh tamailt ge b' ni sealltailn riut,
'S mor de chairdean tha 'n drasd an geall ort.*

They have derived satisfaction from you which they will not
relinquish,
for you are a stalwart, sturdy, handsome Gael;
you are the heir of the noble courier
and no reproach accrues to the son on that account.

*Gu'n d'ghabh iad tlachd dhiot le beachd nach treig iad,
Bho'n 's Gaidheal gasd' thu tha sgairteil, gleusda;
'S tu oighr' an Teachdaire chleachd bhith beusach,
'S cha d'fhagadh masl' air a mhac na dheidh leis.*

Beloved *Tourist*, I would not reject you;
 your kinship is with illustrious men,
 although some of them have treated you indifferently.
 (They are) those who lost their Gaelic though they did not find better.

*'S a Chuairear ghradhaich, cha d'thugainn fuath dhuit;
 Gu'n robh do chairdeas ri sar dhaoine'-uasal,
 Ged rinn pairt dhiubh do charadh suarach,
 A chaill an Gaidhlig, 's na s'fhearr cha d'fhuair iad.*

Gaelic was the rich language of the Fingalians,
 and they were men of daring in their day;
 Ossain composed fitting songs for them.
 It was the language of Patrick who blessed Ireland.

*'S i Ghaidhlig bhrioghmhor bh'aig suinn na Feinne.
 'S bu daoine calma nan aimsir fein iad.
 'S rinn Oisein danachd dhaibh air a reir sin;
 'S gur h-i bh' aig Padruig a bheannaich Eirnn.*

The Gaels are greatly indebted
 to him who investigated the origin ledgens
 and truly proved that it was the language of Adam,
 every other tongue was nourished by its milk.

*Gur mor na fiachan fo bheil na Gaidheil
 Do'n fhear a dh'inntrich air leabhar naduir,
 'S a dhearbh le firinn gur h-i bh' aig Adamh;
 'S e bainne cich a lion gach canain.*

It was the fairest flower that grew in the Garden;
 the stock did not decay either in substance or in beauty.
 There were no storms to spoil its delicate blossoms;
 clean and pure its sound at that time.

*Bu lus bha priseil i chinn 's a' gharadh
 Bha'n stochd gun chrionadh am bridg 's an ailleachd;
 'S cha robh ann siantan a mhill a blaithean;
 Bu ghlan gun truailleadh a fuaim an la sin.*

Comely *Tourist*, never neglect it
 and do not let it be forgotten in this generation.
 We sing it in these wild forests
 as the Israelites sang ot in Babylon.

*A Chuairear eibhinn na treig gu brath i,
 'S na leig air diochuimhn' ri linn an ail s' i.
 Bidh sinn 'ga seinn anns na coilltibh fasaich
 Mar bha Clann Israel a seinn am Bab'lon.*

And gentle *Tourist*, if you will carry out my wish
 and publish this song in the press,
 in your kindness bring it westward
 to the lowly Isle from which I came.

*'S a Chuairear shiobhalt, ma ni thus m'iarrtas,
 'S gu'n cuir thu 'n t-oran seo 'n clo nan iarann,
 'Nad chaoimhneas giulain do 'n chursa 'n iar e,
 Do'n eilean iosal, an tir o'n thriall mi.*

In the dear township of beauteous Caolas,
 where I dwelt as a youth, leave it
 at MacDougall's hill where my kinsmen are numerous,
 and tell them that I am in good health.

*Am baile gaolach a'Chaolais aillidh
 'S an robh mi comhnaidn 'nam oige, fag e,
 Aig cnoc Mhic-Dhughail mu'n dluth mo chairdean;
 'S thoir fios gu'n ionnsuidh gu 'bheil mi 'm shlainte.*

Whenever I am with cordial companions
sitting peacefully around the table in a tavern,
I'll sing a song, I'll drink, and I'll pay for
a toast to the *Tourist* and to the triumph of Gaelic.

*'N uair bhios mi comhla ri comunn cairdeil
'Nar suidhe comhnard mu bhord taigh-thairne,
Gu'n gabh mi 'n t-oran, gu'n ol, 's gum paigh mi
Deoch-slainge Chuairear le buaidh do'n Ghaidhlig.*

Appendix E-- Number of Gaelic Speakers

<u>Date</u>	<u>Canada</u>	<u>N.S.</u>
1931	32,000	25,000
1941	32,700	12,000
1951	14,000	6,800
1961	7,000	3,700
1971	-----	1,420
		965 in
		C.B.
1976	1,620	540

(Source: Census Canada)

Appendix F: Gaelic Survey

Part 1-- Gaelic Questionnaire

Name: _____ Age _____

1. Which language did you learn first as a child? _____
2. If you can remember, how old were you when you learned to speak:
Gaelic _____
English _____
3. What was it caused you to learn: English _____ Gaelic _____
4. Can you speak Gaelic?
 - a. Very little: I can say simple greetings like "How are you" or "Good morning"
 - b. I can speak slowly, with difficulty.
 - c. I can speak Gaelic fairly well but there are lots of words I forget.
 - d. I can speak Gaelic fluently.
 - e. I can not speak Gaelic at all.
5. Can you understand Gaelic?
 - a. Very little: I can understand simple greetings in Gaelic.
 - b. I can pick up a fair number of phrases when people speak Gaelic.
 - c. I can follow most of a normal conversation in Gaelic.
 - d. I can not understand Gaelic at all.
6. Can you read Gaelic? _____ How did you learn _____
7. Can you write Gaelic? _____ How did you learn _____
8. Do or did your parents speak Gaelic?
 - a. Only my mother
 - b. Only my father.
 - c. Both parents.
 - d. Neither parent
9. Do or did your grandparents speak Gaelic?
 - a. Only my grandmother.
 - b. Only my grandfather
 - c. Both grandparents.
 - d. Neither grandparent.
10. When you were a child who did you speak Gaelic to?
 - a. Parents
 - b. Grandparents
 - c. Older sister and brothers
 - d. Younger sisters and brothers
 - e. Classmates at school

- f. Family pets
- g. People at church

11. When you were a child do you remember if you:

- a. Dreamt in Gaelic
- b. Said your prayers in Gaelic
- c. Thought in Gaelic
- d. Cursed in Gaelic

12. As an adult did you speak Gaelic to:

- a. Parents
- b. Grandparents
- c. Older sisters or brothers
- d. Younger sisters or brothers
- e. To your husband/wife:girlfriends/boyfriends
- f. To any of your friends
- g. To your children
- h. To household pets

13. As an adult do you speak Gaelic to:

- a. Parents
- b. Grandparents
- c. Older sisters or brothers
- d. Younger sister or brothers
- e. To your husband/wife:girlfriends/boyfriends
- f. To any of your friends
- g. To your children
- h. To household pets

14. When do you use the Gaelic language , if you do?_____

15. As an adult do you:

- a. Dream in Gaelic
- b. Say prayers in Gaelic
- c. Think in Gaelic
- d. Curse in Gaelic

16. Do you listen to the Gaelic radio shows?_____

17. Who was the last person that you know in the community that spoke only Gaelic?_____

18. When did people in the community generally stop using Gaelic in their homes?

- a. Before 1920
- b. 1920
- c. 1930
- d. 1940

- e. 1950
- f. After 1950.

19. What are your feelings at the loss of Gaelic in the community? _____

20. Since people have lost the Gaelic do you think they are:

- a. Happier
- b. Less happy
- c. No different

21. Since people have lost the Gaelic do you think they are:

- a. Smarter
- b. Dumber
- c. No different

22. Since people have lost the Gaelic do you think that there has been:

- a. Less cooperation between them
- b. More cooperation between them
- c. No difference

23. How do you think that people have changed the ways that they act to each other since they stopped speaking Gaelic? _____

24. Do you think that people in the community are treated better since they stopped speaking Gaelic? _____

25. Do you think that people feel better or worse about themselves since they stopped speaking Gaelic? _____

26. Did you ever get punished in school for speaking Gaelic? _____

27. Did anyone ever make fun of you for speaking Gaelic? _____

28. Did you ever hear anyone else making fun of Gaelic speakers? (Like calling Huey Hector's 'The Gaelic College') _____

29. Would you like your children to speak Gaelic? _____

30. If you speak Gaelic are you glad that you speak it? _____

31. Why are you glad?

- a. It's the language of the people before me.
- b. It's good to have more than one language.

- c. You can say things in Gaelic that you can't in English.
 - d. It makes me feel more a part of my community
 - e. No one can understand Cape Breton without Gaelic?
 - f. It's useful to have a secret language.
 - g. I'm keeping a tradition alive
 - h. Gaelic is a beautiful language.
 - i. Any other reasons not listed _____
- _____
- _____

32. If you don't speak Gaelic would you like to? _____

33. If you would like to learn Gaelic which of these reasons would apply?

- a. It's the language of the people before me.
 - b. It's good to have more than one language.
 - c. You can say things in Gaelic that you can't in English.
 - d. It makes me feel more a part of my community
 - e. No one can understand Cape Breton without Gaelic?
 - f. It's useful to have a secret language.
 - g. I'm keeping a tradition alive
 - h. Gaelic is a beautiful language.
 - i. Any other reasons not listed _____
- _____
- _____

For the next group of questions please answer with the letters A, U, or D :

- A.....Agree
- U.....Uncertain
- D.....Disagree

- 34. I like to hear Gaelic spoken. _____
- 35. We should work hard to save the Gaelic language. _____
- 36. Canadians speak English, it's a waste of time to keep up Gaelic. _____
- 37. Gaelic is a difficult language to learn. _____
- 38. There are far more useful things than to spend time on than Gaelic _____
- 39. Gaelic is a language worth learning. _____
- 40. Gaelic has no value in the modern world. _____
- 41. I should like to be able to read Gaelic books. _____
- 42. Anyone who learns Gaelic will have plenty of chances to use it. _____
- 43. There is no need to keep up Gaelic for the sake of tradition. _____
- 44. Gaelic is old fashioned. _____
- 45. I want to keep Gaelic up in order to help Cape Breton develop. _____
- 46. Speaking Gaelic won't help you get a job. _____
- 47. Only poor people speak Gaelic. (use to speak Gaelic) _____
- 48. You can't be a real Cape Bretoner without Gaelic. _____
- 49. You can't be a real Black Pointer without Gaelic. _____
- 50. Learning Gaelic or not should be a person's choice. _____
- 51. We owe it to our ancestors to keep Gaelic alive. _____

52. I would like to understand Gaelic songs and stories. _____
53. Schoolltime should be used for more practical subjects than Gaelic. _____
54. Gaelic has a beauty all its own. _____
55. It's looking backward not forward to try to keep Gaelic alive. _____
56. More radio and T.V. time should be given to Gaelic. _____
57. Gaelic should be taught in the schools. _____
58. English should be taught in all countries. _____
59. You are considered to belong to a higher class if you speak English. _____
60. English is a beautiful language. _____
61. English is better for studying scientific subjects than Gaelic. _____
62. People who learned Gaelic as their first language could never really learn English properly. _____
63. Speaking Gaelic or having a Gaelic accent is (was) a disadvantage when you try to get a job. _____
64. Gaelic offers no practical advantages in life. _____
65. Trying to preserve Gaelic is an unrealistic idea. _____

For the next group of questions answer yes or no.

66. When you were a child would you speak Gaelic:
67. When you were an adult would you speak Gaelic:

A. In school to:

- a. schoolteacher in school
- b. schoolteacher outside of school
- c. classmates in the school
- d. in the classroom
- e. home and school meetings

B. At work:

- a. on the boat
- b. at the wharf where the boats were docked
- c. at the wharf where the fish were sold
- d. at work 'away' (lumber woods, gypsum quarry etc.)
- e. at own work
- g. at lobster factories

C. At community events:

- a. at milling frolics
- b. at dances
- c. playing cards
- d. ceildehs
- e. at concerts
- f. at other community gatherings

D. At the stores:

- a. in Capstick to the storekeeper
- b. in Capstick to friends while shopping
- c. at the Coop to the storekeeper

d. at the Coop to friends while shopping.

E. At Church:

- a. with the minister or the priest
- b. at confession
- c. in the language of the sermons
- d. in the churchyard to friends
- e. at prayer

F. At home:

- a. around the stove
- b. telling stories
- c. in the kitchen
- d. when you spoke to a girlfriend or boyfriend
- e. at home church services
- f. with relatives (list) _____
- g. to neighbors when they visited or you visited.

G. To officials:

- a. doctor
- b. to the RCMP
- c. to the census taker
- d. to the tax collector
- e. the health nurse

H. Outside your community:

List various communities locally, Sydney, Halifax etc _____

I. Media:

- a. radio
- b. printed materials-bible, newspaper etc. _____

Appendix F (continued)

Part 2-- Language Aquisition Patterns

The pre-relocation population in the community was 165 people. My sample was 33. All of these people were lived in Black Point and they were interviewed in the late 1980's.

Pre-Relocation Population- 165

N= 33

- 51% Native Gaelic Speakers/Fully Bilingual**
- 21% Bilngual as young children/ Passive Speakers ***
- 28% Native English Speakers/ Low levels of Gaelic**

*** They comprehend the language but don't speak fluently**

Native Speakers-(Born before 1910)

- 29% Learned English at Work as Teenagers ***
- 71% Learned English at School**

N= 17

Language of Parents and Grandparents of Sample

N= 33

- 100% Grandparents were Native Gaelic Speakers**
- 96% Parents were Native Gaelic speakers**
- 4% Parents Passive Speakers**

Appendix F (continued)

Part 3--Language Attitudes

Born 1900-1910

N=5

I talked to five members of the MacKinnon-Fraser kin group who were born between 1900-1910.²

These people were all monolingual in Gaelic. There was no regular English language schooling when they were children. They learned English when they were in their teens.

These people spoke in Gaelic, dreamt in Gaelic, thought in Gaelic and cursed in Gaelic.

They spoke Gaelic as children and adults to everyone in their family and community.

None of them could read or write Gaelic although they remember adults in the community reading the Bible when they were growing up. They learned their prayers in Gaelic and continued saying them in Gaelic as adults.

They spoke the language to their relatives until they died.

S.S. MacKinnon believed that people who spoke English were considered to be a higher class, that Gaelic would not help a person get a job and that speaking Gaelic or even having a Gaelic accent was a disadvantage when a person tried to get a job. He believed that it was only the poor people that spoke Gaelic and that practically in the larger world Gaelic offers no advantages. He believed that Gaelic was useful in the family and community, that it had a beauty of its own and that it was worth learning even though it is not valued in the modern world. He thought that English was also a beautiful language too and should be taught in all countries. He believed that English was better for studying science and other scientific subjects.

² S.S. MacKinnon (B. 1906), Uncle Dave MacKinnon (B.1909), Danny MacKinnon (lived at Jimmy Duncun's) Eddie Oshan Fraser.(B. 1903) M.A. MacKinnon (B.1908)

Born 1910-1920**N=3**

I talked to three people in the kin group who were born between 1910 and 1920.³

Two of these people, MacKinnons, who lived in the Black Point area were native Gaelic speakers and spoke Gaelic until they went to school in the 1920's. One man, S.P Fraser, lived in Pleasant Bay. His older siblings all spoke Gaelic but by the time he went to the English language school in Pleasant Bay in the 1920's English was replacing Gaelic in his home. The other A. D. MacKinnon lived in Black Point

Note: In the early 1920's, the Gaels in Pleasant Bay began to speak English in their homes and communities. Regular English language schooling came to the area earlier and a Free Church had been established in that community very early on. The people in Pleasant Bay also worked in Cheticamp, an Acadian community, where Gaelic was ridiculed in the workplace.

The Gaels in Black Point continued much longer than those in Pleasant Bay to maintain their language. In the 1920's the community was becoming bi-lingual. Regular schooling meant that all of the children were learning English and they were learning it earlier. These people report that they used Gaelic as children in every social domain within their family and community except in the classroom where they spoke English. Even there they sometimes spoke it to the teacher and other pupils when there was something that they didn't understand. They used Gaelic in the schoolyard during recess and lunch. They used Gaelic on the boat and on the wharf but when the men worked outside of the community they spoke English. When they were adults they continued to use Gaelic with thier older brothers and sisters and mates and friends. They sometimes spoke it in Sydney Mines when they went to visit relatives there. By the late 1930's and 1940's, though, when these people were raising their families they didn't teach their children the language.

These people believed a person was considered to belong to a higher class if they spoke English. They beleived speaking Gaelic wouldn't help you get a job and that a Gaelic accent seemed to be a disadvantage when trying to get a job. They believed Gaelic offered no practical advantages in life but felt that it was a beautiful language--that it had value in the modern world. They believed most people didn't value it. They thought it should be taught in the schools. They thought English was beautiful and should be taught all over the world and that it was better for studying science and scientific subjects.

³ Alec Dan (B. 1913), Simon P. Fraser (B. !914) Sandy (John Alec) MacKinnon (B. 1920)

Born 1920-1930**N=10**

I talked to ten people born between 1920 and 1930, from the different branches of the family.⁴ The first language of all of these people was Gaelic. They spoke Gaelic in their homes until they went to school. They began to use English in their families as children. By the time some of them were teenagers they were speaking English and not Gaelic to their younger brothers and sisters.

These people continued as adults to think and curse and dream in Gaelic. They continue to use the language when they talk to their mates or their relatives who are Gaelic speakers. Based on interviews with their children women in this generation sang Gaelic songs to their offspring and often communicated simple commands in the language to the children. They didn't, however, speak enough Gaelic to them so that they would learn the language. In fact, the adults of this generation began used the language when they didn't want the children to understand what they were talking about.

Born 1930-1940**N=7**

I talked to 7 people born between 1930 and 1940.⁵ Not all of these people speak Gaelic fluently. They speak with understand the language, however. J.J.A. MacKinnon who was before 1935 was still an active speaker but the ones born in the later 30's speak slowly and with difficulty if they speak at all. The people in this decade who are married to Gaelic speakers can follow most of a normal conversation in Gaelic but those that aren't can still pick up a fair number of phrases especially those who have taken care of older Gaelic speaking relatives.

Born 1940-1950**N=3****Born 1950-1960****N=5**

I talked to 3 people who were born between 1940 and 1950 and 5 who were born between 1950 and the early 1960's.⁶ Only one of these people, born in 1942, spoke Gaelic as a child. By the 1950's, English had replaced Gaelic as the language of interaction in most of the homes in the community. Effective transmission of the language to the next generation had ceased. These people

⁴ S. L. MacKinnon (B. 1924), F. MacKinnon (B.1928), M. MacKinnon (B. 1927), A. B. MacKinnon (B. 1925), W. Bonnar (B. 1925), A. D. MacKinnon(B.1928) , D. MacKinnon (B.1926), P. MacKinnon (B. 1922), J. D. MacKinnon (B.1925), Marcella MacKinnon (B.1928)

⁵ J.J.A. MacKinnon (B. 1932), C. MacKinnon (B. 1938), S.D. MacKinnon (B.1939), F. MacKinnon (B. 1938) P. MacKinnon (B. 1939), P. MacKinnon, (1940), B. MacKinnon(B.1939)

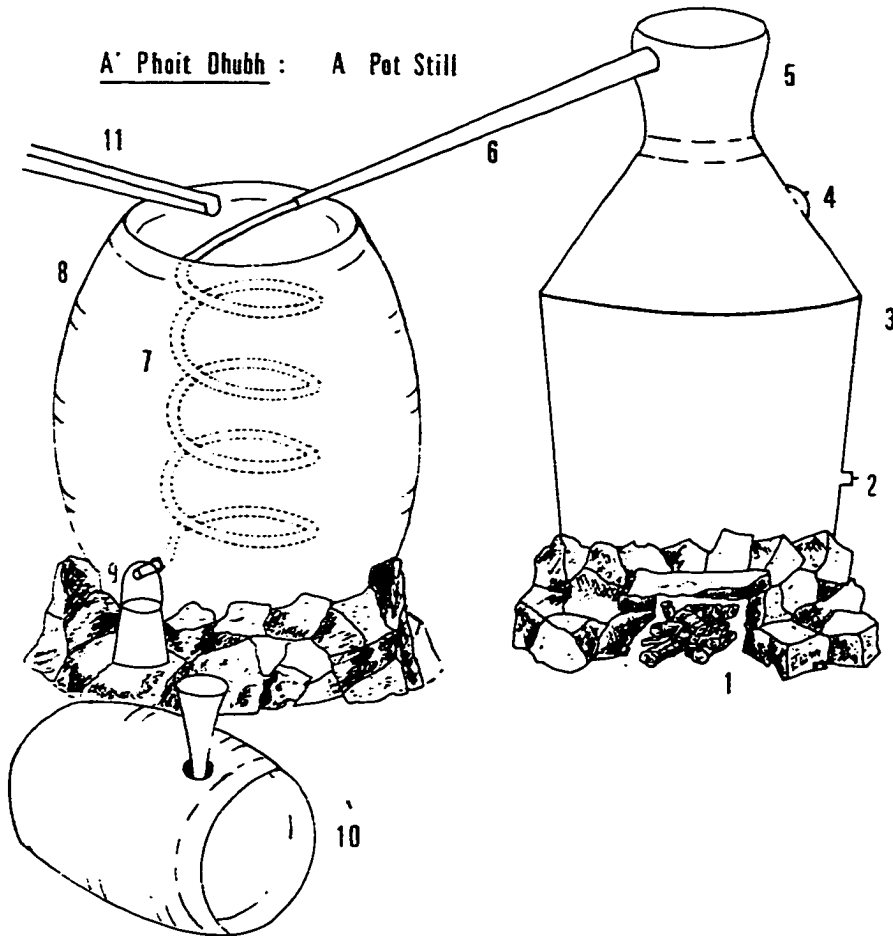
⁶ 1940- 1950- S. Mackinnon (B. 1942), E. MacKinnon (B. 1948), M. Boucher MacKinnon (B. 1944); 1950- early 1960's- L. Bonnar, M. Bonnar, M. MacKinnon, W. MacKinnon, A. Bonnar. M. Mackinnon.

only speak and understand a little Gaelic, that is, simple phrases and greetings and commands. They learned these from the older people in their family and in the community. Their English is spoken, though, with a very distinct Gaelic accent and rhythm and they use Gaelic expressions and constructions.

The people who were born in 1950's and early 1960's were the children of fluent Gaelic speakers. Their parents sang to them in Gaelic and used a simple words and phrases but never they really used it for most communication. They neither speak nor understand the language. They only have a bit of an accent.

Appendix G: Pot Still

A' Phoit Dhubh : A Pot Still



- | | | | | |
|--|------------|--------------|------------|--------------------|
| 1 Fireplace | 3 Shoulder | 5 Still-head | 7 Worm | 9 Spout |
| 2 Discharge cock | 4 Charger | 6 Arm | 8 Worm tub | 10 Spirit receiver |
| 11 Chute for supplying the worm tub with cold water. | | | | |

Appendix H

Age-Sex Composition-Black Point Relocation Population-1969⁷

18 Families	Children left school still at home.	Children school age and under	Total Children	Adults	Total Population Column 3&4
Males	6	52	58	21	79
Females	8	46	54	20	74
Totals	14	98	112	41	153

Note There was an extremely high proportion of children in the population. 73% of the total population were children.

Note On the average there were more than 8 people in each family.

⁷ Data From Dep't of Public Welfare (Study by Helen Ralston). *Black Point-Meat Cove Relocation Project- Evaluation Study* Manuscript published by Dep't of Public Welfare: Halifax, 1970. p.19.

Appendix I

Occupations and Ages of 'Household Heads' in Black Point (1968) ⁸

<u>NUMBER</u>	<u>OCCUPATIONS</u>	<u>AGES</u>
11	Fishermen with lobster licence	55,46,43,40,39,36,30, 29,29,27,26
5	Fishermen without lobster license	53,42,37,36,31
1	Old- Age Pensioner	69
1	Disability-Pensioner	49

Note: This data came from the Department of Welfare. The unit of analysis was the individual rather than the family or the community. Individuals were defined in terms of their relation to their job rather than in terms of their family relationships. The categories the researcher used, had little to do with the organization of the families. Traditionally the Black Point families were organized as groups. People within the family and community had different roles which were all necessary for the whole group to survive. Categorizing the work of the family as an 'occupation' and only considering the activity of the male 'heads of households' was not adequate to describe the work in the community or the roles and contributions of the women, the elders, the young adults and the children.

⁸ Information from Dep't of Public Welfare (Study by Helen Ralston). *Black Point-Meat Cove Relocation Project- Evaluation Study* Manuscript published by Dep't of Public Welfare: Halifax, 1970. p.43.

Appendix J: Photographs

PEPIN'S PHOTOS AND DESCRIPTIONS

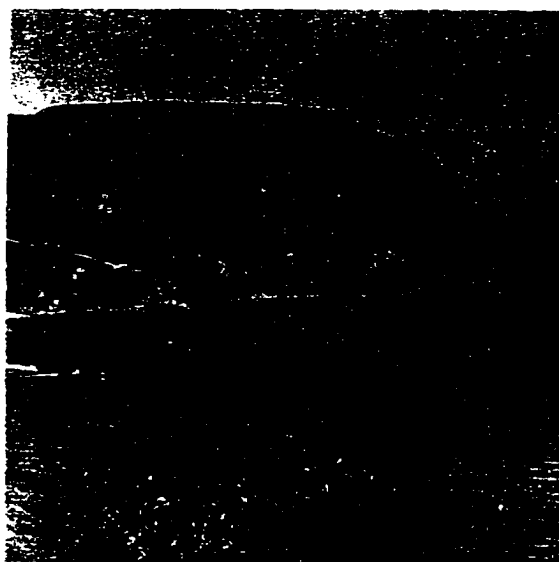


Figure 25. Shanties of Meat Cove cling to the mountain along St. Lawrence Bay near Cape St. Lawrence at the tip of Cape Breton Island.



Figure 26. Children of Capstick, Scottish or Irish descent, come home from picking raspberries; sunshine and happy faces mask living conditions.

THE HOUSES WERE HOMES
AND NOT SHANTIES TO
THE PEOPLE WHO LIVED
IN THEM.

CHILDREN FROM
BLACK POINT.
PEPIN GOT HIS
COMMUNITIES
WRONG.



CABOT TRAIL (1934)

(NATIONAL ARCHIVES)



THE ROAD TO CAPSTICK AND
BLACK POINT (1934)

(NATIONAL ARCHIVES)



CAPE ST. LAWRENCE NEAR
LOWLAND COVE WHERE
ALEXANDER MACKINNON
LIVED.

(NATIONAL ARCHIVES)



One of the Houses in Black Point
(National Archives)



One of the Houses in Black Point
(National Archives)



One of the New Houses in the Bay
(National Archives)

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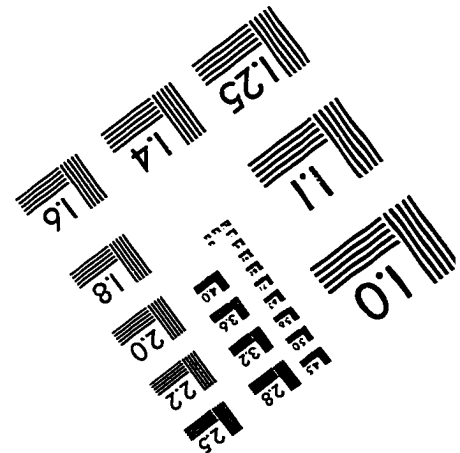
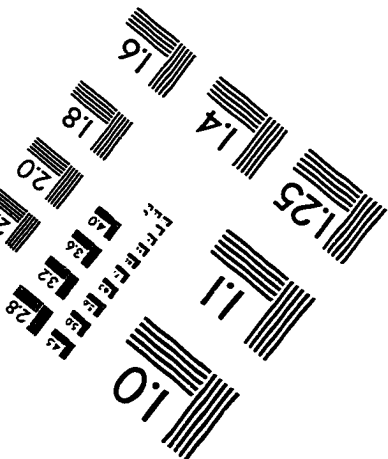
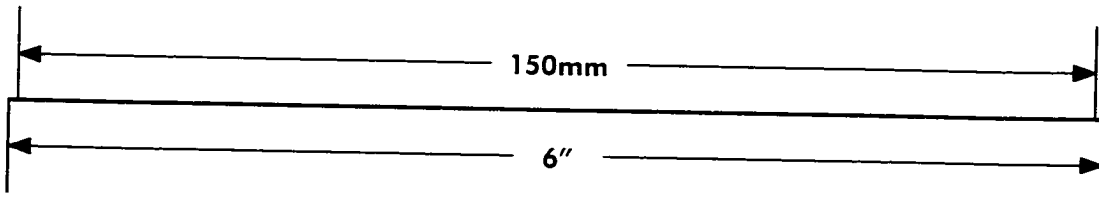
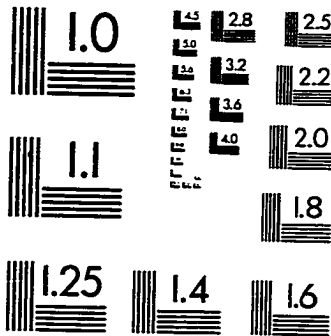
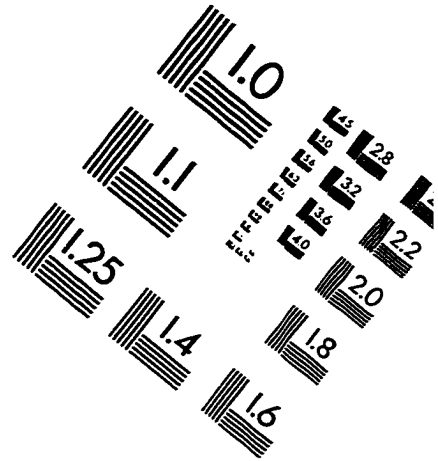
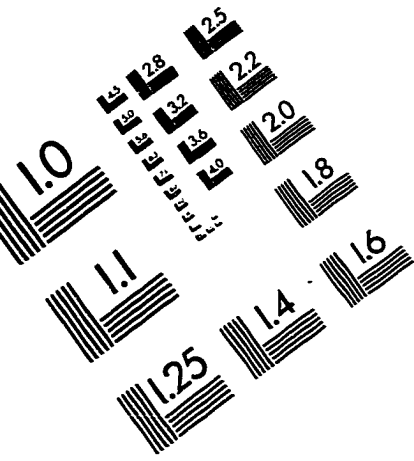
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