

“Knitting Ourselves into a Bigger World”: Local/Global Dynamics in the
“New Newfoundland Aesthetic” on Fogo Island

by

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Abstract

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Like many rural areas that now leverage heritage for tourism purposes, Fogo Island — off Newfoundland’s Northeast coast — is the site of an ambitious arts-centred revitalization project led by native-daughter and wealthy philanthropist Zita Cobb and the Shorefast Foundation. At the centre of this project is the Fogo Island Inn, a luxury hotel furnished with designs created for the Inn by professional designers (largely European) and produced by local craftspeople. Cobb has cited a desire to create a “new Newfoundland aesthetic” and images of the Inn and its interiors have circulated through the international design press. Looking specifically at the quilts produced for the Inn by local quilters under the guidance of the Foundation’s designers, this thesis considers the history of textile crafts on this island and how the traditions now alluded to came to be invented, and how “the local” is being produced by Fogo Island textile craft.

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Chapter 1: Introduction

Fogo Island is 25 km long and 14 km wide, and juts into the Atlantic Ocean off the northern coast of Newfoundland. Recently brought to the attention of the global tourism and design press, the island's descriptions invariably highlight its remoteness, its singularity and frequently a sense that it is a vestige of a different era. Conflating Fogo Island with Newfoundland itself, *The New York Times Magazine* hailed it as "a place so singular and remote that it has its own peculiar time zone, 1.5 hours ahead of Eastern Standard Time — though in truth it feels like it's hundreds of years behind: when it's 10 p.m. in New York, it's 1825 on Fogo Island" (Lewis 2012). *Newsweek's* feature on the Fogo Island Inn also emphasizes its remoteness and history: "Not that anyone since the Norsemen or Captain James Cook has ever "happened upon" Fogo Island" (Walters 2014). *Newsweek* and *The New York Times* (amongst many others) have been paying attention to this little island recently because of the Shorefast Foundation's hotel project that seeks to combine contemporary art and luxury geotourism in a large-scale rural economic regeneration project.

In 2013, I lived on Fogo Island for about 6 weeks through February and March. I was an intern with Fogo Island Arts and had been hired on in order to provide assistance for the opening of the gallery in the Fogo Island Inn and the opening of Kate Newby's exhibition. Neither of those events would happen in time for me to participate in them, however, as the entire Inn project was running behind schedule. Instead, I spent most of

my time taking artists in residence to the Foodland in Shoal Bay, talking about the Inn and the delays, going to movie nights in Long Studio, and to dances in community halls and pubs that were suddenly frequented by student architects, designers and legions of foreign carpenters. Everything about the project was interesting to me. I grew up on an East Coast Island (Prince Edward Island), and although my island learned about the intoxicating benefits of a tourism industry a long time ago, I had never seen one built from scratch before. Living in a small, under-serviced region comes with real political and social challenges. Compounding these, in a tourism market the results of underdevelopment become commodified as markers of authenticity and evidence of a lost, premodern, place. Finally, these constructions come to be seen as natural and real categories. The tensions, between what is marketed about where I lived (and by extension *me*) and what my experiences of place were, became formative for me.

The fraught, vital and thoroughly contemporary conditions of rural places are more important than ever to consider in nuanced and thoughtful ways. Increasingly, since the election of Donald Trump as President of the United States this past November, “rural” has become a stand in for regressive, dangerously nostalgic values. These simplistic and overly deterministic depictions of place have served to create cultural stand-ins for diverse, dynamic, and globally enmeshed regions. Meanwhile, ideas about “creative placemaking” and the “creative city” have become valued currency within contemporary rural development initiatives that are under renewed pressure to solve the problems of

historically unequal distribution and a changing economy through appeals to cultural tourism.

In this regard, the Fogo Island project is particularly fascinating because it did not simply paint heritage houses bright colours, or create a small museum to a disappearing industry: Zita Cobb has been vocal and clear about her desire to bring the contemporary and vernacular into a dialogue on the island, and the scope of the project is massive.

However, the relationship between the past and the future, and the local and the global, are not easily resolved dialectical pairings. On Fogo Island, these dichotomous pairings do not always cohere as simply or as easily as the media coverage that focuses on the island would imply. Through attention paid to the aesthetics of Fogo Island craft and design — in particular the quilts — I suggest in this thesis that Fogo Island has been historically enmeshed in global flows of capital and culture and that this continues to be the case. I suggest that the Fogo Island project initiated by Shorefast often essentializes and romanticizes the island which is then “woven” into the larger world. I am concerned that creating a static category of Fogo Island that then becomes a place where the global elite come to “find themselves” will ultimately have a deleterious effect on this place. In many ways this project, with all of its fine intentions, parallels other self-help programs centred around craft and perceptions of innocence in the early 20th century and documented in Ian McKay’s *Quest of the Folk* where he wrote:

The construction of the rural “Other” in the interests of the tourist gaze is antithetical to seeing both rural and urban citizens as equals in a common project of citizenship. Both critiques can be combined, in fact, in an argument that full and free citizenship in a society of equals

requires an open dialogue with the past, and such an open dialogue becomes increasingly unlikely if canons of significance, criteria of identity, and the very concept of community all come to be structured according to commercial criteria. (1994, p. 14)

The structuring of Fogo Island's past and its meaning for the benefits of a tourism industry, then put into 'dialogue' with the global through a design program led by primarily European designers, is creating a static category of Fogo Island whilst the appearances of a cosmopolitan discourse is a sign of a new field of distinction characterized by omnivorousness and fetishizing authenticity and the local.

A Brief history of Fogo Island and the Spectre of Resettlement

Fogo Island, like most of Newfoundland, has a long history of European settlement based on the abundant fish and whale species in the waters surrounding it. The province of Newfoundland was the last to enter Confederation in 1949, a move that was widely opposed and barely won a second referendum on the subject. The chief architect of Newfoundland's union with Canada, Joseph "Joey" Smallwood, would become the new province's first premier. With an agenda of rapid modernization, Smallwood sought to centralize fish processing and the delivery of services by instituting a program of resettlement for the small "outport" communities throughout the province. At first small grants of \$150 were made available to families who would consider moving, but by 1960 government officials began to argue that economic growth as a whole in the province was hindered by the roughly 1200 small outport communities (Hoggart 1979). By 1965 the

Federal Government was a co-sponsor of the resettlement programs and residents of isolated communities were encouraged to relocate to “growth centres” through larger grants and the deterioration of public services. These policies became increasingly unpopular through the late 1960s, opposed as socially disruptive and using insufficient financial incentives to coerce people to leave their homes. However, between 1965 and 1970, 148 communities were abandoned and 20,000 people were resettled (Maritime History Archive 2017). The history of resettlement has had significant cultural resonance throughout Newfoundland. Within the context of resettlement, the NFB and MUN Extension Services chose Fogo Island as the site for the Challenge for Change program in 1967. The program sought to give media training and access to documentary tools to people in remote and underdeveloped communities in order to facilitate communication between peripheral communities and distant decision-makers, governments, and financial institutions. This model came to be known as the “Fogo Process” due to its genesis on the island, and was subsequently used in other development contexts. Using this method of investigation, the community embarked on a process of community consultations and meetings that led to the establishment of the Fogo Island Co-Operative Society, an organization that established alternatives to for-profit fish processing on the island. This history, of the people on Fogo Island banding together to resist the external forces that would see the island depopulated, bears resonances with the current attempts to enact a different kind of community project via the Shorefast Foundation and the Fogo Island Inn.

The Shorefast Foundation was established by Zita Cobb, a native of Fogo Island. Cobb and her family left the island in 1975 and she went on to pursue a business degree at Carleton University. Over the course of her career in business, Cobb would rise to become a senior vice-president and C.F.O of JDS Uniphase and the third highest paid female executive in America by 2000 (Lewis 2012). Cobb retired from business two years later in order to sail around the world and pursue philanthropic work. So frequently repeated in media interviews, this story is now the stuff of legend in terms of how the Shorefast Foundation was founded. After establishing scholarships for Fogo Island students, a local mother accused Cobb of creating reasons for young people to leave rather than reasons to stay (Lewis 2012; Mohamed 2012). This led to the establishment of the Shorefast Foundation in 2003. The Foundation describes itself as a “social enterprise” which they define as “using business minded ways to achieve social ends” (Shorefast Foundation 2017). Shorefast claims three main areas of focus: Fogo Island Arts, a contemporary arts residency and affiliated programming; the Fogo Island Inn and the establishment of a geotourism destination; and a microlending program that seeks to support entrepreneurs on the island. In interviews in the media, Cobb has laid out some of the logics that underpin her foundation. As cited in curator Melanie O’Brian’s review of the inaugural edition of the Fogo Island Dialogues, Cobb has said that, “business focusing solely on economic capital is part of a larger dissolution of society. Noting that business got us into this mess — meaning the mess of economic and cultural decline — Cobb asserts that business could help get us out” (O’Brian 2013).

The Shorefast Foundation has not only created the venue for its affluent visitors to experience Fogo Island, but has also created a tourism lure beyond the traditional offerings of a Newfoundland outpost. This is facilitated through the work of the Foundation's daughter organization, Fogo Island Arts (FIA). The contemporary art gallery installed within the hotel offers visitors the opportunity to see exhibitions created by international contemporary artists who have done residencies in FIA's four studios. The Inn's design program — objects based on outpost furniture and distributed via the luxury design showroom Klaus — as well as its cuisine, are areas in which new forms of commodification of contemporary desires are emerging.

Chapter Two: Literature Review

This chapter considers the literature regarding Fogo Island specifically — its history, social production and current studies concerned with the large-scale cultural development project currently being enacted there — but also more generally considers recent scholarship about “cold-water islands”; the creation of tourism myths in Newfoundland and Canada’s Atlantic Coast; authenticity debates within tourism scholarship; the employment of art and craft within economic projects, in particular in eastern Canada; scholarship regarding textile crafts in the maritimes and Newfoundland as well as their role in tourism more broadly; and the emergence of critical regionalism as an aesthetic theory that attempts to fuse the topographic and vernacular forms of the local with global modernism.

Tourism and Outport Newfoundland

Tourism in the context of small islands has frequently placed emphasis on ‘sun, sand and surf’ — attributes lacking in the North Atlantic. Generally situated as a more recent development, cultural tourism has become a notable driver for tourism on small islands as an alternative to mass tourism, particularly in cold-water islands. Gillis proposes that islands have a near mythical geography, historically associated with the supernatural (2007, p. 278), and often imagined as smaller than they actually are: miniaturized reproductions of the world. This, combined with a perceived remoteness has given islands an advantage in the authenticity stakes of modern tourism, to the extent of tourism’s

near universality as an economic driver on small islands (Lockhart, 2007). The study of tourism on cold water islands has recently emerged, and along with it a categorization of the distinct challenges, opportunities and issues for tourism (Baldacchino 2006; Dann 2006; Jóhannesson, Huijbens, and Sharpley 2010), as well as the cold-water island in the literary imagination (Riquet 2016). In these cases, the imagined remoteness of an island is further amplified by its proximity to the poles, and the frequent logistical difficulties that limit travel to cold-water islands. Tourism scholar Graham Dann suggests that these islands evoke an ‘anti-tourism’ appeal that is bound up in their location on the “physical, environmental, climatic and political periphery... which implies a quest for the genuine and pre-modern before they are changed for the worse” (Dann 2006, pg. 18).

Within the context of Newfoundland tourism, uneven regional development has encouraged the use of tourism as an economic driver, whilst the effects of that underdevelopment are frequently marketed as attributes worthy of tourist attention (Overton 1980). For Overton, the idealized and romanticized rural areas are then commodified through the selective process of elevating certain ideological images of Newfoundland that correspond to ideas of the primitive, but also a retreat from modern capitalist urbanism in search of an innocence accessed through romantic ideas of nature. Overton argues that these images and associations promoted by the tourism industry serve to justify and naturalize the geographically delineated extremes of wealth and poverty and regional underdevelopment. The question of a perceived innocence is central to Ian McKay’s *Quest of the Folk* (1994) which considers the question in relation to Nova Scotia in the early

20th century. McKay writes that the construction of the antimodernist myth of the salt-of-the-earth maritimer was culturally produced through the products of early 20th century Nova Scotians in response to the international market for books and handicrafts and the economic recession in the region. Analogous — and even more extreme — constructions of Newfoundland can also be seen. Depressions in the fishing industry have resulted in historical attempts to discursively reposition the region as vital, as seen in the 1993 tourism campaign, “Imagine That!”. Beyond attracting tourism, these discursive constructions become interpretive practices that give shape to the region (Whalen 1998). Discursive constructions and practices of giving shape to the region of Newfoundland have also been considered through the cultural output related to the province: particularly literature and film. María Jesús Hernández Lerena’s article about Newfoundland art and literature and its attempts to write as a corrective against tourism, suggests that the current popularity in the circulation of images of Newfoundland comes from “global practices which favour the circulation of local images, that is, images of non-globalism” (2014, p. 24). These images, she suggests, cash in on the idea that in Newfoundland one can find “a stable core of identity, both individual and collective,” all part of the idea that uniqueness and one’s own essential self can be found only outside of the urban and industrialized (p. 27).

McKay argues that in the early 20th century, the Nova Scotia government emphasized a contrived and commodified aesthetic of “the folk” as an alternative to industrialized capitalism and as a driver for tourism. Today, a decline in industrialization is also

resulting in greater emphasis on tourism on Canada's east coast. This is resultant from the collapse of the ground fishery in Newfoundland in the 1990s, and the ensuing "neoliberal assault" (Overton 2007, p. 61) on welfare and social programs. The 1990s saw a resurgence in calls for geographically isolated communities in Newfoundland to be relocated and social support for these communities be cut off. These calls echo the Smallwood government's resettlement policies of the 1950s and 60s. The 1992 economic plan for Newfoundland outlined tourism as an underdeveloped area for economic growth in the province. The ways that this renewed tourism industry and its goals are articulated have been the subject of several studies. Notable among these is Mark Stoddart and Stephanie Sodero's analysis of thematic discourses related to Newfoundland in the international and national press which finds groupings amongst terms related to fisheries decline, outports, outmigration and a disappearing way of life along with an increase in terms related to the area's natural beauty through the 2000s (2015, p. 452). The authors find that the global press advances a narrative of tourism as a replacement for the fishery, rather than a part of a diversified economy, and infrequently mentions the role of off-shore oil extraction as a new pillar of the Newfoundland economy.

The question of authenticity within tourism studies has also been much debated and discussed. The topic, as relates to the study of tourism, emerged through the work of Dean MacCannell (1973) with the concept of *staged authenticity*. For MacCannell the tourist is always on a quest for some type of unmediated experience, an intrusion that becomes intolerable for the local, leading to the development of constructed and contrived

localities that perform for the tourist. However, although the images that circulate within tourism spectacles may be targeted at the visitor, there is not necessarily any clear dividing line between what the tourist deems to be locally authentic and those that residents deem to be locally significant (Dicks 2003). For John Urry and Jonas Larsen, the tourist gaze is how the tourist organizes their relationship to what is ‘other’ in their travels (2011). They acknowledge a ‘performative turn’ within tourism studies which “conceptualises the corporeality of tourist bodies and the embodied actions of, and interactions between, tourist workers, tourists and locals” (p. 11), and suggest a performative and material version of the gaze where the visual is still centred and privileged in the tourist’s reading of signs.

Situated within the context of cultural heritage tourism in rural areas, rural development researchers Jennifer Rockett and Doug Ramsey have written one of the few studies focused on the Shorefast Foundation’s effect on Fogo and Change Islands. Their study showed general support for the Shorefast Foundation’s approach to tourism planning, though support was concentrated in the community of Tilting, and some residents expressed trepidation about the Foundation’s motives and many suggested there is a need for long-term planning (Rockett and Ramsey 2016). The authors claim that Fogo Island currently sits between stages one and two of the creative destruction model of tourism. The creative destruction model has been developed by the geographer Clare Mitchell (1998) to chart the changes to place-identity and landscape in rural areas based on the “evolving relationship between entrepreneurial investment; consumption; and destruction

of the rural idyll” (Mitchell, Atkinson and Clark 2001, p. 248). In this model the first phase marks early investment in the production of heritage-related goods and experiences, and the second marks increased commodification, and collaborative efforts to sell the area as a complete experience. Laurie Brinklow considers the Shorefast Foundation briefly in “Stepping Stones to the Edge,” a comparative study of “islandness” on a variety of small islands (2013, p. 48).

Fogo Island

The historical context of Fogo Island is particularly notable for its involvement in the National Film Board (NFB) and Memorial University of Newfoundland (MUN) Extension Services collaborative documentary work through the Challenge for Change program. This participatory documentary program is widely credited with creating a community solidarity that spawned the Fogo Island Cooperative as a bulwark against resettlement and “top down modernization” (Crocker 2008). Some scholars also see the films made on Fogo Island as a pivotal moment in a broader “Newfoundland Renaissance” (Newhook 2010). Robert Mellin’s *Tilting*, which provides the most comprehensive history of the Island through a concentration on its vernacular architecture, describes the region in terms that are familiar to most descriptions of Fogo Island, concentrating on its remoteness, the hardiness of its people and ruggedness of the landscape (Mellin 2003).

The creation of a collectivity or region called "Fogo Island" is charted in Daniel Banoub's "Fogo Island Arriving," which shows that in the 19th century the region was referred to differently: as "Fogo" or "Fogo and Twilingate." Banoub argues that different names given to the place engender different articulations of the identity and social life associated with the island, particularly in the wake of the Challenge for Change program. In reference to the Shorefast Foundation, Banoub remarks that the term "Fogo Island" is now an increasingly valuable commodity, but calls into question its naturalness and argues that the place has been produced by human, non-human and non-living actors.

The more recent history of Fogo Island and the continued challenges of the Fogo Island Cooperative, one of the few remaining fishing cooperatives in Atlantic Canada, are taken up in anthropologist Bonnie McCay's chapter, "Women's Rights, Community Survival and the Fisheries Cooperative of Fogo Island" in *Retrenchment and Regeneration in Rural Newfoundland*. This chapter considers the crisis within the Fogo Island Cooperative in 1999 when thirty-three women lost their jobs at the co-op's snow crab processing plant when co-op policy changed to privilege employment for the family members of fishers who sold exclusively to the co-op instead of off-island buyers. The women took their case to the Newfoundland Human Rights Commission who found that they had been discriminated against based on marital status because their husbands had not signed agreements to sell exclusively to the co-op.

Craft in Economic Development and Regeneration

The use of art as an economic driver within disadvantaged communities appears to be having another renaissance, although the enlistment of art, and particularly craft, into economic development has a long history. Recently — and especially in the wake of the Guggenheim Bilbao project — the use of flagship cultural projects in regeneration projects in small and economically stagnant and rural communities has been studied (Miles 2005; Smith 2007; Ray 2001; Donald and Hall 2014). However, the use of arts within economic development strategies has a history that emerges in the 19th century (Ashley 2015).

The particular role of craft within economic development projects is most notable within the context of the Global South where the cottage industries of ‘handicrafts’ must not only adhere to visions of ‘authenticity’ in order to succeed in the global market, but must be working in an area in which tourism and regional self-perception is congruent with indigenous handicrafts production (Wherry 2006). Historically in Britain and North America, the handicrafts movement promoted handicrafts as an alternative model of production and form of organizing rural labour. Notable examples of this include the Montreal based Canadian Handicrafts Guild, which sold the wares of Irish-Canadian women in London. Craft historian Elaine Paterson has written about how this government sponsored dissemination of craft emphasized ideas of Canadianness and the ethnic origins of makers was subsumed into a material expression of a singular identity (Paterson 2013).

Other studies have considered the role of design in tourism more broadly with aesthetic pleasure defined as a commodity that signals to different market segments (Weaver 2009). Adamson (2007) has offered a thorough analysis of the discursive baggage of craft in the 20th century, and Luckman (2013) and Krugh (2014) have considered craft and its relationships to labour in the digital 21st century.

The role of craft in tourism and its concomitant roles within economic development and the articulation of a defined region or nation has also been discussed by the design historian Andrea Peach in relation to Scotland, where a romantic version of ‘Highlandism’ has exerted pressure on craftspeople to work within this (invented) tradition for the tourist market (Peach 2007). She argues that the development of a modern Scottish craft was impeded by the inextricable linking of tourism with heritage which emphasized the mythic value, rather than the contemporary, within Scottish craft.

The question of the traditions of textile work in Eastern Canada has been considered in several texts. Key among them is Ian McKay’s text *Quest of the Folk* which considers the case of Mary Black, an occupational therapist and weaver who was put in charge of administering a “handicrafts revival” in the postwar period by the Nova Scotia government. Much of the work created through her initiatives strove to introduce Scandinavian and other European design influences to the craft being produced in Nova Scotia which was largely deemed unacceptable. In sum, the postwar Nova Scotia craft revival was a state-directed occupational strategy that coincided nicely with an emergent tourism industry (McKay 1994). Furthermore, the Nova Scotian craft revival under Black was

understood through envisioning craft as a therapy and a social remedy for idleness through its distinct cultural benefits (Morton 2014). The role of occupational therapists and middle-class reformers in promoting craft amongst the rural people of Atlantic Canada is also studied in the Newfoundland context (Szala-Meneok and McIntosh 1996; Cullum 2014). When the rural development movement started in the 1960s and 70s, two crafts-oriented organizations were established: The Newfoundland and Labrador Crafts Development Association (NLCDA) in 1972, and the Labrador Craft Producers Association (LCPA) in 1975. The LCPA closed in 1995 and, prior to its closure, was criticized for not being proactive enough in organizing and promoting crafts producers.

Critical Regionalism and Local/Global Dynamics

Many of the above authors are writing about regionalized pre-modern conceptions in underdeveloped regions of Canada's east coast. Canadian regionalisms often position this geographic portion of the country as innocent. In regards to an American cognate, Folklorist Mary Hufford writes about Appalachia and draws upon architectural theorists Alexander Tzonis and Liane Lefaivre's typology of world historical regionalisms with anthropologist Richard Bauman's definition of folklore in order to suggest two regionalisms prevalent in Appalachia, and applicable also to Newfoundland and eastern Canada. She described two strains of monologic regionalisms that have become historically naturalized. The embeddedness of these constructions of place require more than bringing the

two regionalisms into dialogue, but rather a complete rethinking of their categories (Hufford 2003). Hufford's regionalisms will be considered in greater detail in Chapter Three.

Hufford frames her discussion of these regionalisms within the context of critical regionalism a term that emerged from the architectural theories of Tzonis and Lefaivre, and was notably taken up by Kenneth Frampton who suggested a path toward architecture “[removing] itself from both the optimization of advanced technology and the ever-present tendency to regress into nostalgic historicism or the glibly decorative” (Frampton 1982). Literary theorist Douglas Reichert Powell in particular has expanded Frampton's dialectical theory, toward a dialogic theory for the uses of cultural studies. Powell summarizes the emerging dimensions of critical regionalism as “a shifting of emphasis away from the products of regional culture, the definitions of regions themselves and all their representative artifacts, to the processes by which ideas about regions come into being and become influential... this new regional scholarship asks whose interests are served by a given version of a region” (2012, pg. 7). Crucially, Powell summarizes his argument that “regionalism is not just parochialism” (7).

The term, particularly its use within the field of architecture, has been critiqued by architectural historian Keith L. Eggner, who has written that “identifying an architecture that purportedly reflects and serves its locality, buttressed by a framework of liberative, empowering rhetoric, critical regionalism is itself a construct most often imposed from outside, from positions of authority” (2002, p. 228). The relationship between the local and the global lies at the heart of this interaction between a ‘folk culture’ and the forces of

global tourism. In an era of unprecedented globalization the local has come to be lobbied for as an alternative to the inequalities borne of global market liberalism (Hines 2000), but also understood as an inevitable corollary to globalization (Urry 1995, p. 153). These ideas will be further explored throughout this thesis.

Chapter Three: Consuming Folk Resiliency on Fogo Island

“It's not a place that you come if you want to be indulging yourself in material things. I think it's a place you will come if you want to actually strip away some of the material things to get to some of the essential things that are hard to get to in everyday life.”

-Zita Cobb¹

“We are more ourselves when we have figured out how to be in a relationship with the other. Business can help us do that. Business has helped us do that.”

-Zita Cobb²

The closure of the ground fishery in Newfoundland in 1992 was a cataclysmic event for many of the small coastal fishing villages in the province. Lack of a thorough policy response from provincial and federal levels of government, and the ensuing deindustrialization of these regions, led to an increase in community self-help programs that sought alternative economic bases for the survival of these small towns. Tourism — as in many towns and cities in similar circumstances — was deemed to fit the bill. In this chapter, I will consider the broader creation of the “New Newfoundland Aesthetic” within a tourism context and the packaging of Fogo Island. This chapter focuses on the commodification of Fogo Island as a space of ‘authentic luxury’, marketing the results of pre-

¹ qtd. in “Escape from the numbing uniformity of modern times,” a video hosted on the Fogo Island Inn website.

² qtd. in Squire 2016

sumed dialogue between the local/global and folk/contemporary. I argue that the particular history of underdevelopment in Newfoundland outports is activated as a form of romantic authenticity and that the effects of that underdevelopment are being repackaged as luxury commodities for a wealthy market. Furthermore, that the static category of “Fogo Island” that is put into dialogue with global aesthetic and hospitality trends obscures the very real historic production of Fogo Island by global and capitalist forces.

Underdevelopment and Tourism as Development in Newfoundland Outports

It is not the aim of this relatively short thesis paper to deliver a thorough accounting of the political economy of outport Newfoundland. However, a brief analysis of the particular history and place of the outport within capitalist development in Newfoundland is necessary going forward in order to make the case that a) outport Newfoundland has been impacted by historic flows of capital and culture; b) the effects of the underdevelopment of these communities is being repackaged as luxuries within the tourism market.

The defining characteristics of 19th century economic structuring in Newfoundland were the merchant credit system, and a colonial relationship to England (Antler 1979; Overton 1978; Summers 2000). The merchant credit system saw credit extended at the beginning of the fishing season for equipment and food. At the end of the season the catch, dried and cured, was levied against the account, with the price of fish set by the merchant. In good seasons this catch would enable the acquisition of food and goods for the entirety of the winter season, and in years with poor catches more credit would be ad-

vanced (Antler 1979). This system was further entrenched by the colonial relationship Newfoundland had with Britain. The monopoly established by the merchant credit system ensured that little to no bargaining power was held by the fishers. This system began to disappear in the 1940s.

These forms of economic structuring produced an economy that was overdependent on a single resource, and simultaneously unable to compete within global markets due to monopolies on trade at both the local and global level (Summers, 2000). Furthermore, the way that the economy was structured during this formative period in the region's growth saw that surpluses generated in Newfoundland were sent overseas and little reinvestment occurred, leading to underdevelopment. Attempts to diversify the economy of the territory at the turn of the 20th century led to direct foreign corporate investment and increased dependence on foreign markets. This increased the shock the colony felt during the Depression (Summers 2000). After Newfoundland's entry into Confederation, successive governments occupied themselves with the problem of poverty reduction in Canada's poorest province. These included several top-down schemes such as resettlement (as mentioned in the Introduction) in the 50s and 60s, through to the privatization of service delivery in the 1980s (Hudson and Close 2011). After the moratorium on the ground fishery in 1992, rural Newfoundland suffered greatly the cumulative effects of historical underdevelopment. Unemployment levels rose to 29%, double the national average, and some outport communities saw the poverty level rise to 70% (Hudson and Close 2011).

James Overton has developed a thorough accounting for what he calls the “neoliberal assault” on Newfoundland throughout the 1990s. Governmental economic recovery programs largely followed a program of privatization and deregulation (2007). At the same time, the Canadian press followed the right-wing Fraser Institute’s line of thinking, publishing a string of op-eds about Newfoundland’s “culture of dependency” — articulated as a social issue, rather than structural — and renewing calls for resettlement programs (Overton 2007). The collapse of this industry and the resultant crisis was articulated in terms of individual responsibility rather than structural characteristics. Neoliberal emphasis on the supreme logic of the market saw the withdrawal of the state from the responsibility to create jobs in these regions while communities became responsible for governing their own survival. As in other regions that have seen the collapse of mono-industries, tourism was thrust into the spotlight as an industry capable of promoting entrepreneurial activity and marketing the long history of uneven development in the province as romantic authenticity.

In the absence of industry and governmental support, community economic development (CED) programs and initiatives have sought to leverage the social capital of small towns and villages as marketable entities. A Newfoundland tourism strategy was outlined in 1994 titled *A Vision for Tourism in Newfoundland and Labrador in the 21st Century*. This document argued that investment in tourism was justified at the expense of social programs due to the industry’s unparalleled ability to generate economic benefits and developed a framework for preserving and creating tourism product (Overton 2007).

This asset development is crucial within the tourism market, and many communities in Newfoundland have developed attractions based on culture and heritage. The Fogo Island project is, however, rare in its scope and ambition. Furthermore, Shorefast and the Fogo Island Inn are producing assets that are more complicated than those produced elsewhere in Newfoundland.

As Urry and Larsen (2012) write, the tourist gaze is structured around systems of signs that perform within the context of tourism. Often these signs function metaphorically — they cite the example of the pretty English village that functions as a metaphor for the continuity of English traditions from the middle ages, or the post-industrial site turned into a museum as a metonym for economic transition. Fogo Island functions as a sign of folk resiliency, its meaning structured for sophisticated tourists by the philanthropic heart of the endeavour. The Fogo Island Inn activates both the romantic regionalisms that we see in many sites that are some combination of remote, rural, and/or post-industrial. However, it is also creating versions of these common narratives of authenticity that circulate within distinctive systems of signification in the global design press and as a luxury brand.

Critical Regionalism

Due to the centrality of the architecture to the Fogo Island project, and the use of the term within studies of regionalisms, I will briefly consider theorizations around Criti-

cal Regionalism and the ways in which the Fogo Island project is engaged in creating dialogic regionalisms.

As discussed in Chapter Two, Critical Regionalism was developed as a theory of architecture by Alexander Tzonis and Liane Lefaivre, and given further articulation by Kenneth Frampton as a contemporary architecture that was locally sourced and embedded. This attempted synthesis of modernist universalism with the particularities of local cultures and geographies has since been adopted within other areas of study concerned with global/local dynamics within aesthetics and cultural geography including literature (Acharya 2014), food culture (Highmore 2013), media policy (Ali 2016), and discourse analysis (Powell 2007).

The Folklorist Mary Hufford has drawn upon this work in order to suggest two regionalisms prevalent in Appalachia, and applicable also to Newfoundland and eastern Canada. The regionalisms she describes are articulated through their orientation toward progress and modernization: the romantic and the rational. Within this typology, romantic Appalachia is filled with attributes which are deemed lacking in modernity: wholeness, community, uncommodified art and nature; the rational considers Appalachia in dire need of modernity's offerings: jobs, education, economic development. Hufford considers these regionalisms monologic and, given their naturalization along a timeline of progress, suggests their disruption requires more than bringing the two into dialogue, but rather a rethinking of their categories (Hufford 2003). As previously discussed, Eggener's critique

of critical regionalism suggests that it is a construct frequently imposed upon a locality from a position of authority.

Central to Frampton's description of critical regionalism is Paul Ricoeur's question: "How to be modern and return to sources; how to revive an old, dormant civilization and take part in universal civilization?" (Ricoeur 1965, p. 277). This anxiety about placelessness and homogenization, and the attempts to work productively against it without retreating fully into antimodernism and nostalgia are questions that are posed by the Fogo Island project. Cobb has frequently cited her desire to articulate a vision for Fogo Island that is not parochial: "Anything that is frozen is dead. We are not a dead culture" (Cobb qtd. in Knight 2015). This is certainly true, however the Fogo Island project is frequently presented as two separate categories — old/traditional/rural/local and contemporary/urban/global — imagining each other rather than a questioning of the categories or a real acknowledgment of the many ways in which Fogo Island is already a dynamic and globally embedded place.

Contemporary Architecture, and the "New Newfoundland Aesthetic"

The Fogo Island Inn was designed by architect Todd Saunders who has been central to the development of the "New Newfoundland Aesthetic" and is frequently referred to as working within the tradition of critical regionalism (Carroll 2010). The Fogo Island Inn is a 29-room hotel located in the community of Joe Batt's Arm designed by the Newfoundland-born, Norway-based Saunders. Saunders also designed the four studios that are

currently peppered around the island. Aside from the 29 guest rooms, the inn also features a large dining room, a contemporary white cube gallery, a black box cinema, and a sauna and hot tub complex on the roof of the building. Located on a small promontory, the Inn is surrounded by water on three sides and built so that every guest room's floor-to-ceiling windows look out at the ocean. Shaped like an X, part of the building's second floor juts out away from the rest of the structure, supported by a phalanx of skewed Corten steel columns, their surfaces rusted to a deep and even red. These stilts nod to the island's vernacular traditions, in particular the fish flakes historically used to salt and dry fish. Images of the Inn circulate through major design and travel blogs and magazines³. The most frequent photographic angle looks up at the inn from the water at dusk. With the deep blue, and often reflective, water in the foreground the rocks that rise up out of the water occupy most of the frame and the Inn — its interior illuminated — stands starkly white and glowing against the deepening sky. It looks stalwart and permanent, yet, with nothing surrounding it except for grey rocks and the dark blues of sky and water, it also appears vulnerable, the thin columns appearing haphazard and exposed. Another vantage point looks from the community of Joe Batt's Arm, across grassy boulders toward the Inn and

³ The Fogo Island Inn has been featured in *BloombergPursuits* (May 3, 2016); *The Washington Times* (January 13, 2017); *Domus* (April 2013); *Newsweek* (Sept 18, 2014); *New York Times Magazine* (March 16, 2012); *ForbesLife* (April 2014); *National Geographic* (August 28, 2014); *The Wall Street Journal* (Jan 12, 2017); *Wallpaper* (Nov 21, 2014); *Monocle* (May, 2013); *Azure* (October, 2013); and *O Magazine* (2013 Wow! List), amongst others. It has also been awarded with *Condé Nast Traveler: Gold List 2016*; *PURE Life Experiences Awards: Community Engagement, 2015*; *The T&C Travel 100: Best Remote Hotels, 2015*; *Andrew Harper Readers' Choice 2015: Top 20 International Hideaways*; *Condé Nast Traveler Hot List, 2014*; *Travel + Leisure It List, 2014*; *AFAR The Experimental Travel Awards, 2014*; *LE Miami Greatest Innovation/Disruption, 2014*; *Travel + Leisure Global Vision Award—Culture, 2013*; *Fodor's 100 Best Hotels, 2014*.

the water. Neither of these vantage points include the nearby community. The rare image that shows the Inn in the context of its social surroundings reveals a giant structure looming over the small settlement at its feet. In these photographs the Inn does not look vulnerable or remote, but overpowering and imposing. The Fogo Island Inn is the most commonly photographed and disseminated image of Shorefast's project, however before there was the Inn there were the studios that began to stir global imaginations.

Currently, there are four artist studios on Fogo Island: Tower Studio in Shoal Bay; Bridge Studio in Deep Bay; Squish Studio in Tilting; and Long Studio in Joe Batt's Arm. All of the studios lie a short walk from the village and cannot be accessed by car. Tower Studio is visible from the main highway across a large rocky field, it is commonly photographed with its two-plank-wide boardwalk zigzagging through the field. Squish Studio's white angularity is most commonly captured with the ocean, and often the icebergs it resembles, in the background. Its photographs well against ice and sea spray, and photographs are perhaps best taken from the vantage point of the small old Tilting cemetery. The Long Studio was the first of the artist studios completed in 2010, and its image was most often attached to the contemporary architectural project on Fogo Island before the Inn. It is a long blackened wood box telescoping out away from the rocks. Its trapezoidal ends each frame a view toward the sea — one through an interior porch, the other through the giant windows of the studio. Finally, the Bridge Studio is the least photographed of the Fogo Island studios. Tiny, and the only inland studio (it faces a pond rather than the ocean), the photographs of this studio still manage to find the ocean by

framing the studio from across the pond, looking beyond it at the ocean and more distant hills in the background.

I have described these studios and the way they are photographed in order to begin to fully consider the landscape in which the symbolic and cultural imagination of Fogo Island is operating. The mutability of scale within architectural photography means that the intentions of the photographer always determine whether we view a given building as small or large and these decisions have rhetorical or narrative functions. Most photographs of the architecture of Fogo Island show geometric and starkly shaded structures against an enormous landscape of rock, water, and sky. None of the photographs that are circulated through the design media offer any glimpses of the built environment that surrounds the Inn in particular, but that is also just out of sight in many photographs of the studios as well. These architectural photographs reinforce the idea that Fogo Island is a barren and alien landscape.

The circulation of these architectural images throughout the international press signalled the arrival of Fogo Island as a site on which to project touristic longing and anticipation. Urry and Larsen (2012) write about the tourist as semiotician, projecting a gaze that seeks to organize places through the signs of itself. The recent establishment of Fogo Island as a global brand, and its geographical boundedness as an island, gives the Shorefast Foundation vast control over the creation of these signs of Fogo Island. These are related to the more general signs of Newfoundland: whales, icebergs, rocky shoreline, cod, Irishness, but also seek to create more complicated signs that belong only to Fogo

Island and function similarly to the modes of value creation through aestheticization that have seen the ‘renewal’ of many post-industrial cities. Crucially, the buildings are also a key feature of the New Newfoundland Aesthetic, offering a dialogic approach to design.

A thorough accounting of the functions of Fogo Island Arts — the daughter organization of the Shorefast Foundation — is not the central aim of this thesis. However, the centrality of the artist residency and contemporary art exhibitions and publishing programs to the branding of the luxury inn, the place, and its textile crafts initiatives cannot be overlooked. It is also true that the cultural capital that the artists impart on the Shorefast project are central to the value proposition that is advanced by the tourism operator. Social geographer David Ley (2003), after the sociologist Graeme Gilloch's study of Walter Benjamin and the city, refers to the artist's “redemptive practice” in the urban environment. In a process similar to the decontextualization of the found object, the artist offers a “revaluing” of space, transforming junk into value (Ley 2003). Ley argues that this process of aesthetic revaluing has been central to gentrification processes in urban environments.

Folk Distinction: Local Authenticity as Luxury

There is no question *who* the Fogo Island Inn, as hotel and tourism site, is *for*. At over \$1,800 for a single night's stay this hotel is a super-luxury and available only to the richest travellers. However, the rooms of the Fogo Island Inn are not lavish or ornate. Most feature a bed with a quilt (see Chapter Four), a shaker rail with hanging pegs, a

sturdily built wooden chair and a small wood stove. They all also feature floor-to-ceiling windows facing the ocean. The interior design, though, is very simple for a luxury hotel room. Rather, the Fogo Island Inn markets itself to consumers with extensive economic capital through appeals to cultural capital via authenticity and distinction that is built upon a romantic simplicity. The heavy circulation of images of Fogo Island before the Inn had opened, and the specifics of these images — black or white contemporary structures nearly dwarfed by the sublime landscape surrounding them — created a distinctive Fogo Island brand. This brand has been augmented by the related activities of the Inn and Foundation: a contemporary art residency and curatorial program overseen by Kunsthalle Vienna's Nikolaus Schaffhausen; a design program distributed by Toronto's contemporary design boutique Klaus (the subject of Chapter Four of this thesis); a hyper-local cuisine that attributes its ingredients to the island's "seven seasons" (a clear alignment with the principles of New Nordic cuisine); and a range of experiential day trips available for guests.

The success of the Fogo Island brand is attributed to its ability to deliver an 'authentic' product. As the designer Carolina Soderholm told the *National Post*:

Creating a luxury space on a very remote island seemed like a crazy idea, but they made it a success through authenticity and adhering to the traditions of the community... It would fall apart if it weren't authentic. When you think about luxury, you don't think about authenticity, but we wanted to redefine what luxury was. If the inn couldn't find something on the island, then it shouldn't exist at the inn. (Soderholm qtd. in Maddeaux 2016)

The attempt to deliver an ‘authentic’ experience as a tourism operator is hardly new, though what is interesting here is that for Soderholm the experience is a bridge between luxury and local sourcing. The elevation of “the local” as a site of authentic experience, particularly one that is exterior to, or resistant to, a homogenizing corporate globalization has had increased currency in the last decades. Steven High has argued that resistance to deindustrialization has led to a tendency for reformers to structure arguments as capital against community (High 2005). He goes on to argue that locating resistance to capital within local community may reify romantic notions of place. This emphasis on the local as a site of resistance to global capital can also serve to obscure the near universality of deindustrialization. This can weaken trans-local identifications and therefore the development of broader solutions to common problems. Overton picks up on High’s analysis and adds that: “Resistance and survival rests on the local community’s ability to mobilize its resources and use its social networks rather than, for example, the actions of the national community” (2007, p. 63).

The classed nature of the exchange that is occurring on Fogo Island is evidence of what Jessica Paddock calls the “reinvention of distinction” (2014). Predicated on the work of Pierre Bourdieu (1984) and subsequent critiques, Paddock follows Josée Johnston and Shyon Baumann (all writing about ‘foodie’ culture) in describing a re-embedding of distinction in classed tastes that makes recourse to discourses of authenticity and cosmopolitanism (Paddock 2014; Johnston and Baumann 2009). Paddock writes: “Within the frame of authenticism, appeals are made to geographic specificity, simplicity, person-

al connection and historicism, achieved by reference to the origins of certain foodstuffs brandishing the most local of olive oil, while simultaneously, the simplicity of certain dishes are valorised by drawing on examples of small scale production” (2016, pg. 25). Under the guise of democratization, subtler appeals to distinction are made within food culture. In the case of Fogo Island, the initiative creates its appeals to its well-heeled consumers via a similar distinctive cultural omnivorousness: the supposed integration of high and low cultures, the meeting of the global contemporary art world with the simple and authentic place.

The Fogo Island Inn, despite its very contemporary structure makes many blatant appeals to authenticity and a calcified cultural distinctiveness in its marketing. One video produced about the island is notably called “Escape from the numbing uniformity of modern times” — a clear invocation of the antimodernist constructions historically applied to rural places. The video description reads:

Fogo Island Inn is a refuge, on an island, off an island, on one of the four corners of the Earth. It is a sensory and cultural oasis, steeped in the terrible beauty of its natural environment and social ecosystem. Visitors to the Inn reconnect with themselves and their humanity, with what is real and important in life, and reawaken the emotional and intellectual soul, buried deep inside them. (Fogo Island Inn, 2017)

This romantic regionalism is echoed in other areas as well. Fogo Island is described as having stood “on the brink of extinction,” that it is situated “at the edge of the earth,” that it is home to a “pure hospitality,” amongst many other romantic invocations of a distinctive and separate place (Fogo Island Inn 2017).

The emergence, in the 21st century, of the cold-water island as a tourist site has been documented beyond Newfoundland. In the North Atlantic in particular not only Iceland, but the Faroes, Shetlands, the Hebrides, as well as Newfoundland are emerging as notable tourism destinations. The appeal of these islands includes their remoteness and therefore the expense and difficulty required to access them. Tourism scholar Graham Dann suggests that these islands evoke an ‘anti-tourism’ appeal that is bound up in their location on the “physical, environmental, climatic and political periphery... which implies a quest for the genuine and pre-modern before they are changed for the worse” (2006, p. 18). The sense of a vanishing enclave of endangered authenticity, coupled with the relative expense of travelling to these remote locations have seen cold-water islands gain increased distinction amongst consumers.

The authenticity of Fogo Island is structured differently than many other tourism sites. The desire of all tourists, as Dean MacCannell (1976) has written, is to “go beyond the other 'mere' tourists to a more profound appreciation of society and culture.” The entire Fogo Island project is predicated on creating this “behind the curtain” version of authenticity while still creating a total branding for the entire island (MacCannell 1976). The Fogo Island Inn created experiential packages in order for visitors to experience the island alongside “community hosts.” These activities include capelin scooping, learning about root cellars, foraging for mushrooms, berry picking, boat building courses, jam making and jigging for cod. The scope of these activities are evidence of new appetites for authentic relationships to food cultures as well as place. Meanwhile, the simulacrum

of tourists paying for the experience of jigging cod is similarly seen in the activation of post-industrial sites for new economies based on tourism in Britain (Urry and Larsen 2011) and Norway (Guttormsen and Fageraas 2011).

In 1980, James Overton wrote about tourism in Newfoundland, arguing that the idealized and romanticized rural areas were being commodified through the selective process of elevating certain ideological images of Newfoundland that correspond to ideas of the primitive, through a retreat from modern capitalist urbanism in search of an innocence accessed through romantic ideas of nature. Overton argued that these images and associations promoted by the tourism industry serve to justify and naturalize the geographically delineated extremes of wealth and poverty and regional underdevelopment. Today, the Shorefast Foundation represents a continuation of that model. Although it puts Fogo Island into aesthetic dialogue with the category of the global, the romantic notion still becomes naturalized and the long history of poverty due to uneven development in Newfoundland becomes fodder for constructions of an unspoiled place. In the current context, these invocations of the authentic bear an increased value as luxury good. In the following chapter, through the example of the quilts produced for the Fogo Island Inn, I will show how this tradition came to be produced through paternalistic self-help movements that targeted outport communities in the early 20th century.

Chapter Four: Inventing Quilting Traditions

“Fogo Island is woven back into the fabric of the world. We want to create a new kind of globalization, so that everyone is connected in a meaningful way.”

-Zita Cobb⁴

“It became obvious early on that this was part of knitting ourselves into the bigger world.”

-Zita Cobb⁵

“...but this generation when we’re gone, [the history] is gone. Our past will become inaccessible. So how do we reach back into it and pick up the threads that are in danger of being lost and weave them into something new?”

-Zita Cobb⁶

Shorefast founder Zita Cobb employs metaphors of textile crafts in many of her interviews about the Fogo Island project to describe the integration of the local and global, and the traditional with the contemporary. Cobb places the textile crafts of the women of Fogo Island (and neighbouring Change Islands) at the symbolic heart of the Fogo Island project. However, this is far from the first time that so-called handicrafts have been activated within a wider social and economic development scheme for remote outpost communities in Newfoundland, or on Canada’s East Coast more generally.⁷ Throughout

⁴ qtd. in Griffin 2014

⁵ qtd. in Strange and Familiar 2015

⁶ qtd. in Caira 2015

⁷ I use the terms handicrafts and craft in this chapter. By handicrafts I refer to the early 20th century nomenclature in order to distinguish between that era and our own.

the 20th century several initiatives and reformers activated craft for a variety of reasons: to reproduce middle-class gendered roles within poor communities; to promote self-help and self-reliance both through the moral and economic benefits that were perceived to come of craft; and to create cottage industries and second incomes for women in a time of poverty, underdevelopment, and inadequate social programs. Cobb's metaphors imagine a renewed dialogic relationship between the categories of global and local (as well as the past and the contemporary), however as this chapter lays out, the textiles of Fogo Island have always been deeply embedded within global flows of information, capital, and philanthropy. Through a central study of the aesthetic properties of the quilts produced by the Fogo Island Wind and Waves Artisans Guild for consumption within the context of the luxury hotel and those produced outside of that context (either for personal use, gift, or sale via other means) this chapter explores the history of the activation of craft for economic ends in outport Newfoundland, the changing form of the quilt as commodity in the 21st century, and the role of folk aesthetics within the Fogo Island project with particular regard to the textiles produced for the Inn.

Outport Aesthetics

The Fogo Island Inn is, among other things, notable for its furnishings designed by a number of international design professionals and produced by craftspeople local to the island. The furniture that has been produced for the Inn include two chairs by Dutch designer Ineke Hans; the Punt chair, inspired by wooden boat building techniques, de-

signed by Quebec's Elaine Fortin; and the dining room chairs designed by UK firm Glass Hill. The Toronto design boutique Klaus retails the craft and design work that is found in the Fogo Island Inn to its clientele as part of the Shorefast design language termed the "New Newfoundland Aesthetic." Creating a new design language based on the aesthetics of outport Newfoundland, but articulated through the expertise of international design professionals, requires us to consider the output of this design program critically. Particularly in a location such as outport Newfoundland, the cultural meanings of these underdeveloped locations have come to signify in ways that often carry profound political importance, as myths of innocence projected onto underdeveloped locales inhibit democratic equality. Although this "New Newfoundland Aesthetic" encompasses the architecture of Todd Saunders, the work that is being marketed by Klaus are the furnishings of the Inn. Shorefast, in conjunction with Berlin's Sternberg Press, released a book in 2014 titled *Furniture of the Fogo Island Inn* which established the furnishings produced for the Inn as having significance to the international design field. Included in this volume were also several of the textiles produced for the Inn, which are attributed to the Wind and Waves Artisans Guild. The Guild served as the centre of production for the Inn's quilts. Although each quilt bears the quilter's name on the reverse side, their names are not individually acknowledged on the Fogo Island Shop website or attributed to the images of the quilts used in the shop. The quilters involved in the project are listed in the Fogo Island Inn's promotional video *Old Hands*: Mavis Barnes, Jessica Baggs, Mildred Brett, Alvie Brown, Brenda Brown, Jean Brown, Joy Brown, Mary Brown, Mona Brown, Sarah Brown, Alma

Budden, Doris Budden, Jacqueline Coish, Violet Combden, Phyllis Combden, Millicent Dwyer, Lillian Dwyer, Sadie Edwards, Ann Decker, Margaret Ford, Margaret Freake, Carolyn Harnett, Beatie Hart, Joyce Hart, Wavey Heath, Ellen Keats, Eileen McGrathe, AnnMarie Newman, Iris Newman, Jean Oake, Margaret Oake, Linda Osmond, Dale Payne, Mildred Payne, Sheila Payne, Rita Penton, Donna Rowe, Fanny Shears, Judy Snow, Lisa Snow, Sue Warrick, Vera Wells and Heather White. In the following chapter I refer to the quilts as the product of the Wind and Waves Artisans Guild as a whole as my analysis is based on the quilts currently available through the Fogo Island Shop, and no individual attribution is given with these images.

Although these quilters had some latitude over the designs, the quilts are also the result of a design process that sought to emphasize certain aesthetic qualities. The Guild, established in 2008, was tasked with the project of making 174 quilts for the Inn. These quilts were produced under the leadership of Scottish artist Yvonne Mullock who first went to the island in 2009 for the 17-day residency and workshop “Exploring the Aesthetics of Outport Interiors.”⁸ In an interview with the Lewisporte Pilot in 2010, Mullock described her impressions of the island’s quilting traditions:

The limited resources dictated how the quilts were made. You get tiny little pieces alongside bigger pieces that are not cut up because there was no good reason to cut it up. Plus all the women, everyone seems to have this skill, they have this really unafraid approach with colour and I absolutely love it. The women can put patterns and colours and fabrics together that I would never think of coming up with. So the quilts have this playful use of colour, which I think is very particular to this part of the world. (Mullock qtd. in Burns 2010)

⁸ The outport interiors design workshops were closely documented by Fogo Island theatre artist Greg King at <http://outportinteriors.blogspot.ca/>. Accessed February 20, 2017.

The quilters commissioned to make the quilts for the Inn produced their own designs within a set of parameters and patterns laid out for them, and with the fabrics supplied through the Inn's fabric purchases which were available to the quilters involved with the project. There are six different basic quilt patterns available for sale within the Inn's online store, as well as visible in the Inn's officially staged photographs. These designs are the strip quilt, the crazy quilt, "Rob Peter to Pay Paul," "Tea Leaves," "Nosegay-Compass Points," and the "Four-Pointed Star."⁹ The latter four designs are marketed as "Heritage Quilts" that pay homage to the quilting traditions of Fogo Island. Their descriptive paragraph reads: "These quilts have been faithfully re-made to honour the generations of quilters who contributed so much to this cherished and much practiced craft form on the island" (Fogo Island Inn 2017). The heritage quilts are approximate reproductions of quilts that Mullock documented in her research on family heirloom quilts.

The most common pattern used for the Inn's quilts (and those sold in the shop) is the strip quilt, a simple pattern whereby thin strips of material are sewn together. Strip quilts may be vertical lines or the strips may be sewn on the diagonal or in a zigzag pattern. This quilt pattern was, according to folklorist Gerald Pocius's study of textile tradition in Eastern Newfoundland, the most common design historically produced in the re-

⁹ There is a seventh quilt available through the FI shop, Mark Clintberg's "Passion over Reason" a series of quilts designed by Clintberg as artist-in-residence which inverts the phrase used in Joyce Wieland's "quilts". Clintberg's quilt is beyond the scope of this study.

gion (1979). The strip quilts produced for the Inn differ from those studied by Pocius, the strips are thinner and the fabric used in these quilts is a combination of vintage fabrics from the 50s and 60s as well as new fabrics (Mullock 2012). In Pocius's study, the primary fabrics used in most quilts were flour bags that were bleached and dyed, and most quilts used large swathes of fabric rather than the complicated and labour-intensive patchworking of the Inn's quilts. As quilt historian Barbara Brackman reminds us, "the patchwork quilt demands a certain minimum level of affluence and material goods, rather than poverty or scarcity, since patchwork requires a diversity of fabric" (2009, p. 16). The utilitarian quilts were layered to provide warmth overnight in houses that relied on stove heat, although evidence suggests that more attention was given to the top layer. According to Pocius's study this layer was distinguished by its use of more intricate patterns — he cites the "Double Irish Chain" as the most common — or the use of bought material.

Pocius states that the "Double Irish Chain" pattern was most commonly made from flour bags bleached white and dyed red, for a red on white colour scheme. This colour scheme was among the most popular in American quilts during the latter half of the 19th century up until the mid-1920s due to the reliability of the dye Turkey Red (Brackman 2009, p. 157). The "Double Irish Chain," much like the designs "Rob Peter to Pay Paul" and "Tea Leaves," was published in the Ladies Art Company catalogues in the 1890s. The Ladies Art Company, based in St. Louis, Missouri, was responsible for naming, documenting, and selling quilting patterns and distributing these patterns widely. They first published "Rob Peter to Pay Paul" under the name "Pin Cushion" in 1897. The

block was reprinted in the Kansas City Star's quilting column under the new name in 1928 (Field Guide to Quilts, 2017).

Crazy quilts, meanwhile, were an incredibly popular Victorian fad that lasted through to the 1920s. They feature many irregularly shaped fabric patches that are most commonly pieced or appliquéd to a fabric backing, and include embroidered borders and edging. The origins of this style are multifaceted, if unclear. The quilt historian Camille Cognac (1994) cites the Harlequin costumes of Venetian carnivals as a possible influence. Similar patchwork styles were used in the 16th century kimonos of the Japanese aristocracy (Brick 2011). Although early quilting historians have suggested that the American crazy quilt was borne purely of thrift and the necessity of using every scrap of fabric available during the early colonial period, more recent scholarship has generally debunked these claims. These historians argue that except in wealthier households where quilts and fabrics were imported from England, most colonial Americans have been shown to have used heavy wool blankets, rather than quilts. Furthermore, the crazy style, by virtue of requiring a large piece of backing fabric as the foundation would have required access to significant amounts of fabric and the frequent use of silks, velvet, and satin in their construction further undermines the theory that these quilts were borne of thrift (Cox Crews 2010). Scholars have cited English handwork and Japanese decorative arts as inspiration for the crazy quilt. In particular, the presence of English Royal School of Art Needlework and the Japanese government at the 1876 World's Fair in Philadelphia may have been some of the original inspiration for the trend (Hanson 2008). The use of

crazing techniques in Japanese porcelain glazes is cited as a probable inspiration for the design of the quilt. The crazy quilt is often considered as representative of “fancywork,” 19th century women’s needlework embedded within antimodernist social trends as well as marketed as the embodiment of middle-class leisure (Hanson 2008). In the mid-1920s the prevailing style of quilting began to shift from dark calicos to bright colours, busy prints, and pastels set off against white cotton backgrounds (Brackman 2009). The quilts that are compiled within Mullock’s research on antique quilts show a number of styles, though most — dated by Mullock to the 1940s and 50s — display a mix of pastel and bright colours. Meanwhile those produced for the Inn are also frequently a riotous combination of bright colours with many small-scale florals and geometric prints.

In formulating a “poetics of quilting,” Mara Witzling articulates some of the common thematics that create a language of quilting: their formal qualities; their use of fabric; and their social context. For Witzling it is “graphic wit” that distinguishes quilts that are operating within and against patterns that have become conventionalized, but are adapted and altered by their individual makers (2009, p. 620). Of course, while the historic Fogo Island quilts bear the clear influence of British and American women’s magazines and the work of handicrafts reformers, they also bear the individual and collective choices and wit of the women who made them. Furthermore, although made in the style of these original quilts, and with a pre-determined palette, the quilts made for the Inn also contain the decisions and subversions of their makers. That said, there is a clear distillation of certain aesthetic qualities and particular quilting designs and patterns used in the



Fig. 1: “Rob Peter to Pay Paul” quilt from the Fogo Island Shop. Accessed March 2, 2017. <https://fogo-islandshop.ca/products/rob-peter-to-pay-paul-heritage-quilt>



Fig. 2: “Rob Peter to Pay Paul” quilt documented by Yvonne Mullock (<http://quiltyquilts.blogspot.ca/>)

Inn quilts that conform to contemporary design trends. They simulate the appearance of quilts made from scraps through the multitudes of fabrics used in their construction, feature a limited number of patterns all of which are simple geometric styles that are frequently offset by whites.

The members of the Wind and Waves Artisans Guild produce quilts outside of the work that is made for the Inn, and those quilts are documented on the web. These quilts exhibit a variety of contrasts with those produced for use or sale within the Inn. While the Inn quilts are produced using vintage prints

from the 50s and 60s alongside vibrant solids, many of the quilts made independent of the

Inn feature popular contemporary styles and patterns such as large centre panels, and patterns that represent physical objects. They often have limited colour palettes in comparison to the explosively colourful iterations made for the Inn. In one example a large centre



Fig. 3: Quilt by Lisa Snow. Wind and Waves Artisans Guild.

panel shows a yellow CATerpillar dump truck with a backhoe behind it, this panel has five distinct borders: a textured grey, solid blue, a medium scale all-over print of other CATerpillar brand machinery, a solid yellow, and finally a small-scale print of more yellow backhoes, trucks and bulldozers against a grey, gravel-like background. As many scholars of quilting would remind us, quilting styles are always deeply reflective of the period in which they develop (Hanson 2008). This ode to heavy machinery in quilt form speaks very liter-

ally to the concerns and interests of its maker. Content-wise, the depiction of heavy machinery used in industrial labour certainly suggests a contemporary working-class story. Furthermore, in light of the relationship between outport Newfoundland and the oil sands of Fort McMurray, the quilt is also easily read in terms of the Fogo Island's relationship with interprovincial migration to Alberta for high-paying jobs in the oil and gas industries. In terms of pattern, this quilt follows a more contemporary and increasingly common style wherein large, digitally printed fabrics displaying a cohesive scene, form the

centre and majority of the quilt. These fabrics are widely available through online retailers such as eQuilter, Etsy and eBay. Panel quilts themselves are, of course, a less time consuming endeavour than the patchwork quilt and therefore particularly suited to new and/or busy quilters.

Many other quilts made by Guild members outside of those produced for the Inn are pieced quilts, displaying more complex geometrical assemblages and patterns. Colour schemes are frequently limited to a palette of three or four shades. Those made for the Inn feature riotous blends that simulate quilts made of scraps, rather than the carefully planned palettes that would require specific fabric sourcing in order to execute a carefully premeditated design.

The History of Handicrafts Development Work in Outport Newfoundland

Although the origins of the patterns used in many 20th century quilts were circulated widely through women's magazines and catalogues, much of the emphasis on pattern and quality in outport textiles was introduced via the widespread handicrafts movement. Historically textile crafts in Newfoundland and Labrador were primarily based around utility, as argued by Pocius, but by the turn of the 20th century the hand work produced by women in outport communities was beginning to garner attention for its potential social and economic benefits. In the first decade of the 20th century the International Grenfell Association (IGA) was established under the oversight of Dr. Wilfred T. Grenfell, an English doctor working on the Labradorian coast. One of the IGA's man-

dates was to promote “the home industries” in order to subsidize slumps in the fishery. Under the leadership of American occupational therapist Jessie Luther, the IGA established a craft economy that sent Western Newfoundland and Labradorian crafts (primarily hooked mats) to buyers in the United States and England with many of the designs provided by Luther and Grenfell himself. The IGA decentralized their crafts organization in the 1930s, which gave craftspeople greater autonomy over their designs but placed upon them a greater burden for marketing, distribution and materials sourcing (Szala-Meneok and McIntosh 1996).

The role of craft as a vehicle for economic and social improvement, through the commodity form, was now in place however, and other organizations would take up the cause. Notable among these are NONIA (Newfoundland Outport Nurses Industrial Association) and the Jubilee Guilds. The former was founded in 1924 by Lady Allardyce, the wife of the Governor William Allardyce, with the aim of providing healthcare and crafts education in outport communities in order for them to produce "marketable garments of excellent quality" and "increase the earning power of each of the NONIA communities" (House 1990, p. 8, 28). NONIA sent wool and cotton to women in outports, along with detailed patterns and paid for the objects produced according to a quality rubric. Before 1934, these earnings were then used to pay for nurses and midwives to visit the communities (Purser 1949), and as James Overton writes in his study of the self-help and individual responsibility philanthropy of the time: “NONIA, then, was another attempt by Newfoundland’s ruling elite to deal with the country’s severe social problems

without substantially expanding the role of the state” (Overton 1994, p. 111). NONIA continues to function as a textile craft guild and maintains a shop on the heavily touristed Water Street in St. John’s.

The Jubilee Guilds were formed in 1935 – the year of King George V’s silver jubilee – by prominent St. John’s women with the objective to improve the domestic and community labour of women in outport communities. One hundred and seven Guilds were formed throughout Newfoundland between 1935-1945. Originally, the Jubilee Guilds operated to teach outport women textile crafts methods for their own use in order to improve perceived deficiencies in housekeeping identified by the Guilds’ middle-class leadership in St. John’s.¹⁰ A program was established, where field workers travelled to remote outport communities in order to offer training in weaving, sewing, home nursing and other skills deemed crucial to women’s work. The Guilds originally faced opposition from outport merchants who were the beneficiaries of a system of indebtedness that ensured that fish and berries would be sold to them exclusively and ensure their ongoing monopoly, which allowed them to set prices for these commodities. The Jubilee Guild, however, had no interest in upsetting this economic arrangement. As Linda Cullum writes in her study of the movement: “In the eyes of the Guild leadership, outport women were

¹⁰ The stated objective of both NONIA and the Jubilee Guilds was to work with women, as women were imagined to be most amenable to change and with idle time to spare. This, as Cullum (2014) writes, represented a profound misunderstanding of the gendered division of labour within outport communities where women’s work was not solely confined to the house but included other activities, most notably the drying and preparation of salt fish. There are also records of men’s participation in the weaving programs of the Jubilee Guilds, particularly disabled men (Richard, 1987).

not to be economic subjects in their own right, producing much-needed cash income for their families. Rather, women's role was to bring a refining and civilizing beauty to family life within the walls of an outpost home, and to provide good food for their families, thus reinforcing traditional gender norms" (Cullum 2014, p. 188). The Guilds would transition away from this model under Director Anna Templeton, who responded to the desires of Guild members in the outposts to sell the crafts they were producing.

Most of the Jubilee Guilds that spread across Newfoundland (including on Fogo Island and Change Islands) found space for a Guild Hall in disused buildings, or in more informal space offered to the guild for use. An annual report from 1943 cites the branch at Burnt Islands: "We have now a cozy Guild room for our use, in which we have a carding machine, a loom, cupboards, a table, an accordion, copies of 'The Women's Weekly', lots of pamphlets, patterns and so on" (qtd. in Richard 1987, p. 47). This passage also gives a sense of the provenance of many of the patterns that may have been disbursed through the communities by the Jubilee Guild field workers. The transnational circulation of quilting patterns throughout the early 20th century via women's magazines and self-help charities shows that the heritage quilts produced in Fogo Island have their roots within global capitalist flows of information and commodities.

The activation of handicrafts as a moralistic occupational strategy, and the marketing of its products as traditional, has been studied within contexts similar to Newfoundland, most notably in Ian McKay's germinal text *Quest of the Folk* which considers the case of Mary Black an occupational therapist and weaver who was put in charge of

administering a “handicrafts revival” in the postwar period by the Nova Scotia government. Much of the work created through her initiatives strove to introduce Scandinavian and other European design influences to the craft being produced in Nova Scotia, which was largely deemed unacceptable. In sum, the postwar Nova Scotia craft revival was a state directed occupational strategy that coincided nicely with an emergent tourism industry (McKay 1994). Furthermore, the Nova Scotian craft revival under Black envisioned craft as a therapy and a social remedy for idleness with distinct cultural benefits (Morton 2014). The concept of craft having a moral benefit for the poor is expressed in the work of NONIA, the Jubilee Guilds, and much of the work of Black and other handicrafts reformers in Nova Scotia. This movement, of course, has a distinct American corollary in Appalachia where the so-called “Fireside Industries” were promoted as a cure for “drunkenness, idleness, and otherwise immoral and unproductive behavior” (Becker 1998, p. 42).

Craft Commodities in the 21st Century

These histories of how certain textile crafts came to be practiced in underdeveloped regions, and subsequently celebrated as the traditional works and innocent expression of a simpler folk is crucial to understanding the history and provenance of today’s craft practices on Fogo Island. However, the role of craft and quilting in 21st-century late capitalism also requires discussion in order to better understand the Shorefast Foundation’s aesthetic project. Craft’s role in the post-industrial era has assigned this type of

production with attributes such as resistance, skill, authenticity, benevolence, morality and self-determination (Morris 2016). Indeed, as Sandra Alfoldy writes in her introduction to *NeoCraft: Modernity and the Crafts*, the “overarching theme that connects contemporary writing on the crafts... is a continuing engagement with issues of modernity” (2007, p. xiv). Glenn Adamson charts many of the antimodern values associated with craft. In particular, he ties craft to the pastoral and suggests that craft embodies both the positive and negative aspects of this mode in which craft is valued “as a symbolic gesture about the value of lifestyle, integrity, and so forth — but also its sentimental escapism” (2007, p. 104). Adamson relates his theories of craft to Raymond Williams’ *The Country and the City* (1973), where he poses the question of whether pastoral modes (in literature, or by extension in craft) suggest rural life to be static and harmonious rather than dynamic and conflicted. These forms, in other words, are not inherently regressive, but rather are deeply susceptible to binary logics that associate both craft and the rural with authenticity and antimodernism.

The Arts & Crafts movement, in particular, has been a site of historical struggle in determining a relationship between craft and modernism and has variably been described as anti-modern, rooted in a Romantic critique of industrial society and a fixation on the idea of the medieval guild. Alongside the pastoral and nostalgic attributes associated with craft, it must also always be considered in relationship to labour — particularly in the wake of the Arts & Crafts movement which sought to combat workers’ alienation in modern industrial society, and ultimately to paternalistically solve the social ailments of

the working class. However, several scholars have contended that the ultimate impact of Arts & Crafts may be the transformation of craft into a leisure activity and its association with unalienated labour” (Krugh 2014). Crucially, as Susan Luckman writes: “The Arts and Crafts movement created middle-class desire for artisanal working-class and rural skills as a response to the later stages of Industrial Revolution” (2013, p. 264).

The repercussions of this movement and the links between craft and leisure, unalienated labour, nostalgia, middle-class desire, and the pastoral continued to reverberate throughout the 20th century as craft simultaneously embodied radical utopian collectivist possibility and regressive nostalgic antimodernism. Through the 1960s and 70s craft became widely seen as a way of living apart from the dominant capitalist culture, textile crafts in particular were reevaluated by feminist scholars, and the 1980s and 90s saw both the emergence of increased markets for high-end studio craft as well as the emergence of DIY and textile craft as a political ethos through Riot Grrl and later craftivism.

Finally, craft in the 21st century bears many of these same concerns of the 20th century, but with the added technology of the internet which has facilitated an explosion in shared craft discourse through websites such as Ravelry and, particularly, Etsy which has re-invigorated discussions about the role of craft as consumer product, and the particular gendering of labour within this economic sector. The attributes associated with craft throughout the 20th century are now broadly popular ideas: resistance to a homogenizing capitalism, self-determination and autonomy, and a rejection of mass-manufacturing.

This latest resurgence in craft's prominence is concomitant with a noted change in patterns of consumption and an increase in anti-consumerist sentiment (Binkley 2008). The rise in "ethical consumption" is expressed in increased desire for partially de-fetishized commodities: fair-trade coffee; the "authentic" local foods espoused by the Slow Food Movement; and, of course, the crafted goods sold via the online platform Etsy. Binkley compares the propensity for the partially de-fetishized commodities consumed through the practices of ethical consumption to Zygmunt Bauman's "liquid modernity" and arrives at the neologism "liquid consumption." This term describes the contemporary double nature of many anti-consumerist commodities which satisfy the anxieties of the consumer through a simultaneous freedom — produced through the relative immateriality and ephemerality of new consumable products — and a re-embeddedness within sociality — through the appeals to authenticity, the local, and aura within these new consumer practices. This results in the fetishization of the defetishized commodity (Binkley 2008). These appeals to collective belonging, without participation in a collective, is a clear part of the Fogo Island project which centres its tourism activities around ideas of a collective, including the activation of "community hosts" who show off the community, and take guests fishing, hiking, or berry-picking, simulating an authentic encounter with the community.

The sense of belonging and community constructed for visitors is produced via the complementary system of values attributed to craft and the rural. Although contemporary craft and the theoretical work done around it has challenged the pastoral and anti-

modern virtues ascribed to it, these ideas about craft continue to have very real potency in the 21st century. Craft in the contemporary context, and the growing demand for what Susan Luckman calls “the aura of the analogue,” is pulled both by a desire for a “return” to something that predates our current socioeconomic context, as well as a growing awareness of the results of mass manufacturing and consumption. For Luckman, the current resurgence in craft bears many of the concerns of the 20th century, but with the added desire for a return to materiality resultant from digital culture, and simultaneously the ability to market and distribute crafted products worldwide via the internet (2013). The notable rise in ‘crafted’ or ‘artisanal’ products produced in the last decade is evidence of this renewed phenomenon. Craft is once again posed as a site of resistance to a changing economy while simultaneously representing the commodity form of this resistance. This resistance, like so many others, is easily swept up into a neoliberal discourse that envisions the individual decisions of consumers as the primary vehicle for social change or betterment, rather than state policy or structural change.

Middle-class desire for ‘the folk’

Throughout any rural tourist region that relies on its visitors projecting expectations of a simpler life you will probably find roadside craft shops selling quilts. Hand-pieced quilts are labour intensive works that are not priced cheaply in any circumstances. Few, however, are sold within the branding structure of a hotel that charges \$1,675 per night for its simplest room. The history of the sale of handicrafts from fishing communi-

ties on Canada's East Coast is a history of these wares being tailored for, and then shipped to, regional or global urban centres from St. John's and Halifax to London and New York.¹¹ The historic desire for the presumed authentic goods of remote fishing villages by the middle and upper classes seems to continue through to today's Shorefast project and its partnership with Klaus.

We might partially attribute the popularity of these goods to the aforementioned desire to consume the partially de-fetishized object and the social embeddedness that those objects imply. The Fogo Island Inn has also built extensive social and cultural capital through its alliances with the European contemporary art world (Kunsthalle Wien, Sternberg Press) and design and travel media (Monocle, Wallpaper*) and architecture. The association of the quilts with these galleries, publishers and magazines is evidence of a particular mode of transference of distinction. The marketing of Fogo Island as both authentically local and cosmopolitan offers a particularly attractive commodity form at this historical juncture. The manufacturing of a locally articulated 'traditional' commodity — be it material like the quilts, or experiential like the Inn — is perfectly poised to stimulate the desires of today's bourgeois consumers.

¹¹ Grenfell crafts were sold in shops on Oxford Street in London and Madison Avenue in New York as well as in Vermont and Connecticut. Displays were also set up during intermission at the operas in New York (Szala-Meneok and McIntosh, 1996)

Chapter Five: Conclusion

In March of 2017, as this thesis was nearing completion, the Fogo Island Inn began advertising experiential packages. These two-night minimum stays were augmented with experiences such as cod jigging or the “Crazy Quilting Experience.” For a two-night minimum stay at \$1,825 per night guests were invited to take part in a “number of quilting experiences” that centred the Crazy Quilt which the Inn’s marketing called “a design borne of ingenuity and thrift” (Fogo Island Inn 2017). The dissonance between the invention of a tradition of thrift (which, as we have seen, is widely contested), and luxury experiential tourism is glaring.

There is, embedded within the discursive construction of Fogo Island by the Shorefast Foundation, a sense that only now is Fogo Island beginning to have a relationship with the outside world — a world that is the opposite of everything Fogo Island. Zita Cobb’s attempts to “weave” Fogo Island back into the contemporary broader world inadvertently calcifies an interpretation of Fogo Island and runs the risk of presuming that a dialogic relationship between this island and the contemporary world is a new, and manageable, phenomenon. While this may be a clever strategy for a tourism business, insofar as the Shorefast project seeks to advance the economic and political interests of a community that has been historically underdeveloped, the rhetorical strategy of innocence employed by the Shorefast Foundation in its tourism activities is a limited one that essen-

tializes the meaning of the island even as it attempts to problematize it through the activities of Fogo Island Arts.

The heritage quilts of Fogo Island, like all of the design inspirations of the “New Newfoundland Aesthetic” are embedded in larger regional, national and global flows of aesthetics. The marketing program of the Shorefast project however requires a cordoning off of certain practices as authentically local. The quilts are made to confirm narratives about what Fogo Island is, and about the people who live there. The suggestion that the Shorefast project contains a place that must be “knit” into a larger world obscures the fact that this place has already been very much woven into the global capitalist economy, and its particular underdevelopment is evidence of that fact. Although the consumers that Fogo Island seeks out are, in theory, more sophisticated than the middle-class consumers of “folk” handicrafts in the 1940s, the dialogic approach that the Shorefast Foundation takes toward craft and design still relies on a fairly stable category of the traditional and produces an innocence around Fogo Island that masks a history of capitalist exploitation and paternalism.

The Shorefast Foundation and the Fogo Island Inn are still relatively new developments on Fogo Island and the effectiveness of this project has yet to be measured. The “economic engine” of the Fogo Island Inn has supported sixteen entrepreneurial ventures on Fogo Island to date (Shorefast Foundation). It is clear that this project, despite and in fact *because of*, its philanthropic role is an example of the phenomenon of social tourism moving away from redistributive to business-focused ends. The embrace of a discourse of

entrepreneurial self-help is, of course, the expected result of an impoverished welfare state on top of a history of capitalist underdevelopment and monopolistic resource management. My intention with this thesis is not to lay blame at Zita Cobb's feet, she inhabits the same contradictory and complex situation as the rest of us and has passionately argued a case for the relevance of small places in a changing world. However, by commodifying place, the idea of the "local," and community relationships through a luxury business, her Shorefast Foundation becomes emblematic of the late stage capitalist encroachment of the market into previously uncommodified areas of life. This process necessarily closes meaning and introduces a constructed innocence to an otherwise well-intentioned project.

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