

RECASTING MOBILITY AND MOVEMENT IN EASTERN NORTH AMERICA

A fisheries perspective

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In the new millennium, historical archaeology in Eastern North America continues to delve into the places, spaces, people and objects that formed the palimpsest of the past; however, its lines of questioning, theoretical approaches and methodologies have matured. Its practitioners are self-reflexive, cognizant of the ethics associated with our actions and unburdened by the fact that our discipline provides a sometimes contradictory voice among the multitude of voices speaking of life in earlier times. Community engagement in all stages of historical archaeology has increased in leaps and bounds, to our shared benefit. Rapidly evolving technologies in Geographic Information Systems (GIS), non-destructive elemental analyses, and aerial prospection hold promise not only to reinvigorate the discipline but also to engage a new generation of tech-savvy theoretically informed archaeologists who often approach the past from a slightly divergent perspective. To be sure, the twenty-first century is an exciting time to be teaching, learning and working in the field of historical archaeology.

This chapter is not a comprehensive review of archaeological research on sites spanning the entirety of Eastern North America starting in the year 2001. Such an endeavour cannot be achieved within the confines of a chapter. Instead, this work touches upon a theme which the authors deem important to the discipline of historical archaeology in general and to research on Eastern North America in particular. The theme is mobility and movement. Through a combination of micro- and macro-scale case studies our goal is to demonstrate the vibrancy, efficacy and diversity of historical archaeology along the North Atlantic coast as well as to highlight conceptual threads that require further attention.

To succeed in this venture, we will delve into a historical context that has been somewhat overlooked in the archaeological literature published since the first decade of the twenty-first century: the North Atlantic fishing industry. Considering the massive scale of this early enduring activity and its dietary, economic, military, social and imperialistic importance, it is surprising that the topic has received scant attention in past syntheses¹ on historical archaeology (Doroszenko 2009; Hall and Silliman 2006; Hicks and Beaudry 2006;

Orser 2010), in reviews of French colonial archaeology (Moussette and Waselkov 2013; Scott 2017; Waselkov 2009) and even in discussions regarding the Atlantic World (Gijanto 2014). Highlights often include a description of iconic sites associated with Basque whalers at Red Bay, early fishing villages established by prominent individuals such as Lord Baltimore, or fortified fishery-based settlements such as Louisburg or Canso. However, the Portuguese, Spanish, Basque, Breton, Norman and English fishing industries established since the 1500s and prosecuted along the shores of Eastern North America for centuries (Abreu-Ferreira 1998; Balcom 1984; Barkham 2009; Brière 1990, 1997; Gray 1988; Harrington 1994; Innis 1954; Jones 2000; Kowaleski 2000; Kurlansky 1997; Leavenworth 2008; Losier et al. 2018b; Matthews 1968; Pope 2006; Tulloch 1997; Turgeon 2009) appear as little more than an archaeological blip in an otherwise uninterrupted trajectory of European exploration, exploitation and expansion. Peter Pope's (2004) seminal work *Fish into Wine* brought an awareness of, and appreciation for, how this complex industry played an integral role not just in the colonization of Eastern North America but also in the development of the Modern World (cf. de Paoli 2001; Moussette 2008; Turgeon 2009).

We wish to further enhance historical archaeologists' understanding of how fisheries' archaeology helps broaden our disciplinary boundaries and how we can conceive of these sites as loci of various scales of mobility and movement. Central to the theme of mobility and movement is a sweeping reconceptualization of people in Eastern North America from being that of a largely sedentary or motionless historical population to that of a more transient or shifting entity. The pervasive movement of individuals, households and non-kin groups also needs to be contextualized within the patterned and non-patterned movements of Indigenous, European and African populations as a normative practice (Adepoju 1995; Laslett 1977; Reiser 2011; Warren 2014). Economic, social, political, demographic, environmental, religious and even personal influences saw a large segment of early modern and modern populations—in both rural and urban contexts—without a secure holdfast to one particular place for an extended period of time. For fishermen and mariners, tradesmen, artisans and apprentices, indentured servants, soldiers, middlemen, fur traders, free and enslaved labourers, ministers and missionaries, political and religious refugees, paupers, vagabonds and other “undesirables,” children without a secure inheritance, the young and unmarried, and the many thousands of annual immigrants, among others, movement was life and life required mobility.

Even though these movements were largely based on necessity rather than choice, and the outcomes of which could result in success or hardship, is our middle-class Christian ideal of sedentism and spatial fixedness a somewhat misplaced representation of belonging, homogeneity, comfort and personal/professional development in the historic past? Would not the act of moving, living and working in several places predicate increased interactions with individuals/groups of differing experiences and perspectives as well as enhance knowledge acquisition, experiential growth and an adaptive advantage when faced with future change or adversity? Put another way, is there scope for archaeologists to reimagine the frequent movements among historic North American populations beyond negative socio-economic connotations and into the realm of a normative, accepted and in some cases positive adaptive response? We need to reconsider, like our European colleagues, our privileged notions of marginality and the socio-historical stigma of transience and mobility as merely symptoms of landlessness and poverty (Burri 2014; Daugstad et al. 2014; Svensson et al. 2008; Svensson and Gardiner 2009).

If, as van Dommelen (2014: 477) states, “migration as a research topic and matter of interest has rapidly receded into the disciplinary shadows” then a recent reawakening of the

processes and complexities that constitute historic migration and movement holds promise to cast light on the relationships between people, places and things. Much of this optimism is inspired by current scholarship. Beaudry and Parno's *Archaeologies of Mobility and Movement* challenges archaeologists to break away from rigid narratives of mobility and traditional fieldwork-based approaches while also promoting an iteration of the "new mobilities paradigm" to the underdeveloped study of the comings and goings of historical populations (2013: 1, 12).

Although critical of the term "new mobilities paradigm," Cresswell (2010: 22) encourages scholars to approach studies of human mobility from "the fact of movement, the represented meanings of movement, and the experienced practice of movement." Similarly, Lelièvre and Marshall envision a revitalized anthropological theory of mobility whose focus is on the transformative effect movement has on the "practices, perceptions and conceptions" of subjects, and further suggest that we move away from longstanding considerations of mobility as Otherness (2015: 436–438).

Smith's (2014) "Peasant Mobility, Local Migration and Premodern Urbanization" and Owens and Jeffries' (2016) "People and Things on the Move: Domestic Material Culture, Poverty and Mobility in Victorian London" provides further insight as well as impetus to reimagine the historical movements of people not simply as a socio-economic response, but as a necessary, normative and perhaps even advantageous option for some people in some places some of the time. The latter supposition is developed at length in Allard (2016) who aptly demonstrates the role of mobility in the creation of shared experience, community and "groupness" among Euro-Canadian fur traders in Minnesota during the late eighteenth century. Finally, Orser's (2011: 540–541) discussion on the increased academic interest in the archaeology of poverty strikes a chord, not just because of the close associations with mobility but also because he rightly suggests that recent interest may relate to the backgrounds and self-reflections of some scholars. Indeed, the authors each having moved several times between childhood and adulthood, and reflecting upon the diverse experiences, personal growth and concomitant hardships associated with frequent mobility which one often does not acquire from a more "sedentary" lifestyle, we see the relevance of studying these processes and giving oft elided or maligned people an equitable voice in the past.

Scales of mobility

Voluntary or involuntary movements of people are an important, if not crucial, feature of the process of European colonisation (Deetz 1996; Gilchrist 2005; Orser 1996). A mobility approach is therefore an appropriate platform from which to instigate the diverse movement of populations during an era of early modern imperialism. It is likewise well suited to the study of marine resource exploitation in the North Atlantic as a primarily migratory fishing industry. The industry saw thousands of European fishers cross the Atlantic each spring to harvest and process cod, a staple of the European diet yet equally vital for residents of the New World colonies held by various imperialist powers. Indeed, salted cod provided a reliable source of protein which sustained many free, indentured and enslaved individuals. Planters in the West Indies, for example, acquired and distributed cod as part of the rations for enslaved sugar plantation workers starting at the end of the seventeenth century (cf. Brière 1990: 6; Mathieu 1981: 14; Pope 2004: 27). Cod continues to be an important ingredient in the foodways of Caribbean societies today; the famous *acras de morue* (Caribbean fritters) are made with salted cod.

Beside these large-scale movements of people and commodities, other more localized journeys can be observed within the North Atlantic region. Localized, of course, does not imply uniformity: patterned historical movements pertaining to the fishery encompassed everything from non-pastoral transhumance between primary summer residences in exposed outer bays and forested interior cabins during fall and winter months to an opposite pattern which saw fishers moving from permanent urban winter settings to more temporary establishments dispersed along the rocky coastline during the summer. Evidence for the former can be found in Newfoundland and parts of the Maritime Provinces whereas examples of the latter are recorded from Saint-Pierre to New England.² Such variability even within a geographically bounded area and being largely prosecuted by people of European descent have important ramifications for a holistic understanding of an archaeology of the fishery. It also heeds against the creation of a monolithic narrative of the past. With this in mind, we need to imagine the coastal North Atlantic as part of a vast web in which people, ideas and objects moved on a regular basis. As a conceptual entity, this web has its roots firmly in a fishing industry spanning the Atlantic World and beyond.

Notions of scale appeal to the spatial dimension of movement, and are especially appropriate in reference to the fishery (Gilchrist 2005). In Newfoundland and Saint-Pierre et Miquelon fishing was at the heart of the European presence. Not everyone was involved in the large-scale seasonal movement characteristic of the migratory fishery, but mobility was a reality with which fishing societies had to deal. Movements ranged from transatlantic voyages that distributed salted cod to markets throughout much of the world, to the transportation of people and goods to the North Atlantic territories, to the plethora of local movements between shore stations and fishing grounds, and between summer residences and winter residences. The following case studies illustrate the range of mobility in Newfoundland and Saint-Pierre et Miquelon from macro-scale movements to local micro-scale transhumance.

Large-scale mobility: the migratory fishery and the Atlantic commercial web

The transatlantic migratory cod fishery along the North Atlantic coast has been described by Pope as “a dinosaur of economic history: once huge, but now extinct” (Pope 2013). This delightful expression betrays the scope of an industry that saw simultaneous participation by several European nations including the Portuguese, Spanish, Basque, Breton, Norman and English exploiting seemingly limitless cod stocks off the shores of the North American continent. As demonstrated by archaeologists, however, the shore-based facilities associated with the cod fishery are ephemeral and often leave little trace on the present landscape or in the archaeological record (Faulkner 1985; Mills 2008; Pope 2002, 2005, 2012; Pope et al. 2009; Pope and Tapper 2014). This fact, combined with a general perception that regions associated with the fishery were peripheral or marginal, both geographically and socially, compared to those associated with other early modern staples such as tobacco, sugar or furs, helps explain the relative invisibility of this important historical context in archaeological syntheses in the last twenty years.

Nevertheless, Canadian and American archaeologists have examined fishery sites in Newfoundland, Saint-Pierre et Miquelon, the Maritime Provinces, Québec and Maine (Crompton 2012; Ferguson 1980; Gaulton and Tuck 2003; Losier et al. 2018a; Moussette 2008; Nadon 2004; Pelletier 2014; Pope 2004, 2008). Past and present research in this region is vibrant; archaeologists are contributing greatly to our knowledge of the detailed workings of

these migratory fishing establishments and the daily lives of its fisherfolk. Peter Pope's 2004–2013 investigation of the French fishery on the Petit Nord, located on the Great Northern Peninsula of Newfoundland, stands out as a prime example of the complex maritime cultural landscape created by these seasonal residents.

Pope and his students have shed light on the spatial distribution, organization and evolution of fisheries infrastructure, the construction and operation of bread ovens, the erection of crosses and *calvaires*, provisioning and subsistence practices, ceramic provenance and small finds, a relatively brief occupation by British interlopers, and the relationships between French fishers and the British or Irish *gardiens* they employed to care for their fishing stations during the winter months starting in the late eighteenth century (Burns 2008; Godbout 2008; Hatcher 2013; Jones-Doyle 2018; Noël 2010; Pope 2008, 2015; Pope et al. 2009; St. John 2011; Tapper 2014). The cyclical movements, seasonal occupations, embedded taskscapes and cultural interactions spanning from 1504 to 1904 expose a deep mosaic of use, meaning and shared history. Losier has recently initiated a similar yet equally ambitious study of the intricacies surrounding the fishing industry in Saint-Pierre et Miquelon (Losier et al. 2018a). Her research is rooted in a micro-scale analysis to offer nuanced documentation of fishing activities and then branches out to the macro scale to provide a broad understanding of the commercial system associated with the archipelago and its impact on the greater Atlantic World.

Considering that the French fishery was a multifaceted industry in which 10,000 men a year were sent to the North Atlantic to catch, dry and salt approximately 100,000 tonnes of cod (Pope 2008: 39), it is a paradox that such a massive seasonal workforce left but an elusive trace on the landscape of Newfoundland's "French Shore" (Figure 43.1). Indeed, except for the stage (wharf) and the cobble beaches (*grave* or *galet* in French)—where the cod was dried by exposure to the sun and wind after being cured—other onshore features such as cabins and cook rooms were in general built using light materials with impermanence in mind (Pope 2008: 42). Impermanent infrastructure made good economic sense: shore space was claimed each year on a first-come-first-served basis; the Treaty of Utrecht (1713) banned French fishers from over-wintering in Newfoundland; and the structures that were built often fell victim to damage or destruction by English subjects (Pope 2008: 39). Such raids on French fishery-related infrastructure were reported to authorities in Saint-Pierre et Miquelon (ANOM 1791, C12/12/113). The ephemeral nature of these installations makes a fisheries archaeology particularly elusive and, in some respects, frustrating as its archaeological signature does not match its intensity nor importance. Even fishermen's houses standing in the 1970s in Anse à Pierre and Anse à Bertrand in Saint-Pierre are almost invisible today (Losier et al. 2016).

Following earlier colonization attempts by Britain in the first half of the seventeenth century, in 1662 France founded the Newfoundland colony of Plaisance in order to officially claim rights to the North Atlantic fishing grounds (Crompton 2012: 70; Landry 2008; Ribault 1962). The 1713 Treaty of Utrecht saw Britain gain sovereignty over Newfoundland and Saint-Pierre et Miquelon in exchange for maintenance of France's seasonal fishing rights on the Petit Nord. For the next fifty years, French migratory fishing was truly an industry based on mobility, as no administrative centre was present in the region and settlement was legally forbidden. With the signing of the Treaty of Paris (1763) France reclaimed Saint-Pierre et Miquelon while fishing rights on the Petit Nord remained secure. France kept these rights to fish on a seasonal basis until 1904; however, the occupation of Saint-Pierre et Miquelon was much more complex. Between 1763 and 1816, governance of the

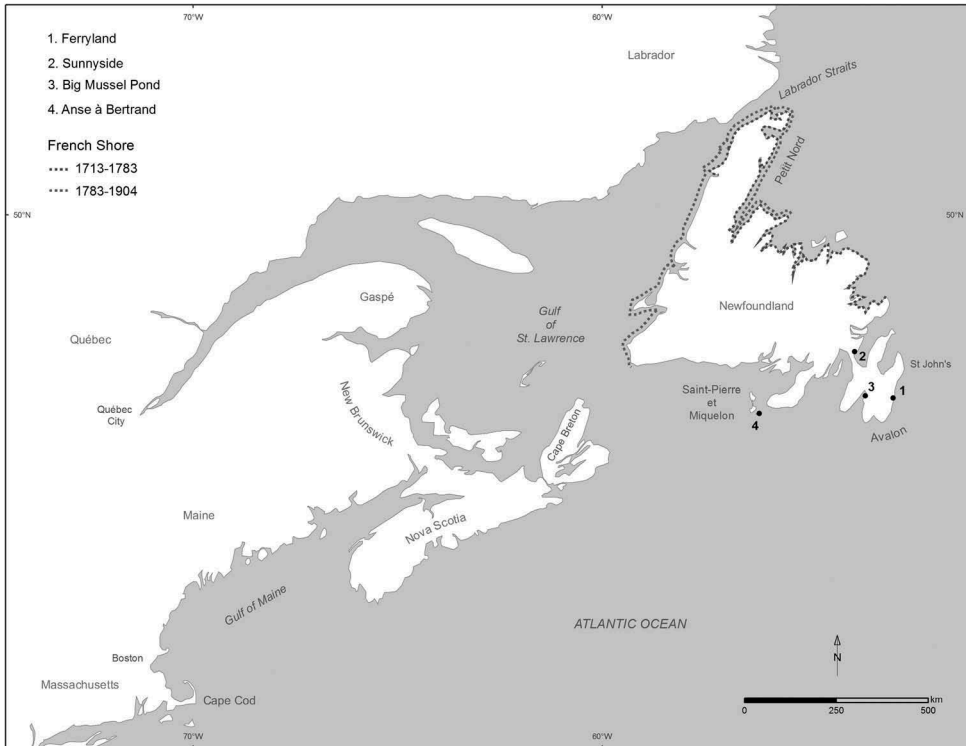


Figure 43.1 Northeastern North America showing sites discussed in the text.
(Map produced by Bryn Tapper, Memorial University, 2017)

archipelago changed eight times, after which France regained permanent sovereignty over the territory (Table 43.1).

The ambition of French authorities to keep an administrative centre close to the French Shore fishing grounds unfortunately led to vast and repeated movements of political refugees each time the archipelago changed hands. Although the context of British occupations in Saint-Pierre et Miquelon and its associated population movements are currently unknown, several historians have researched the fate of French refugees of 1713, 1778, 1793 and 1803 (Artur de Lizarraga et al. 2016: 9–10; Larin 2006; Poirier 1984; Ribault 1962: 7–9). This historical context is intertwined within the larger Acadian diaspora, receiving attention from several archaeologists in the last decade (Fowler and Noël 2017; Pendery 2017). Martinot’s (2009) excavation on the first village of Miquelon, associated with the arrival of Acadian refugees in 1763, demonstrated the future potential of this site. Additional historical and archaeological research in Saint-Pierre et Miquelon will lead to a better understanding of the socio-political contexts in which Francophone and Anglophone colonists were settling, living and were transferred to each time ownership of the archipelago shifted between France and Britain. Such projects hold promise to cast light upon the broad movements associated with the Acadian diaspora and the frequent displacements/replacements of eighteenth- and nineteenth-century refugees and re-settlers in general.

Table 43.1 Governance of Saint-Pierre et Miquelon, 1536 to present

<i>Period</i>	<i>No. years</i>	<i>Governance</i>
1536–1713	177	France
1713–1763	50	Britain
1763–1778	15	France
1778–1783	5	Britain
1783–1793	10	France
1793–1796	3	Britain
1796–1802	6	Unclaimed
1802–1803	1	France
1803–1815	12	Britain
1815–present	200+	France

Entrenched within the comings and goings of participants in the fishery is the movement of its principal product: salted and cured codfish. Destined to travel until its place of consumption was reached, the distribution of salt cod throughout the Atlantic World can be gleaned through the study of archaeological and historical sources. Preserved faunal remains, ceramic vessel forms and cargo inventories can detect the presence of North Atlantic cod in Europe (Casimiro 2013; Hutchinson et al. 2015) or elsewhere in the Atlantic World (Arcangeli 2015; Crompton 2013; Losier 2016). For example, a study of maritime cargos arriving in Cayenne (French Guiana) during the eighteenth century revealed the frequent presence of salt cod (Losier 2016). Cod was especially important for colonies whose economy was based on sugar monoculture as it was part of slave rations. Called *l'ordinaire* in the French Antilles and in Cayenne, these rations consisted of salt beef, salt cod, manioc, peas and/or other cured fish (Arcangeli 2015: 74). The practice of using salted cod in creole cuisine is reflected in the type of cooking pots found in archaeological contexts. *Canari*, locally made or imported (from Vallauris or Cox) cooking pots, are particularly appropriate for the preparation of soup and stews which contained salted cod as an ingredient (Arcangeli 2015: 94). *Ti nain morue*, for instance, is a stew made with a variety of green bananas mixed with cod and spices. Many other French Antilles and French Guiana traditional foods incorporate salted cod, including *acras*, *féroce d'avocat* or *chiquetaille de morue*. This culinary tradition demonstrates the vast distribution of salt cod throughout the Atlantic World and by proxy illustrates the extent of commercial networks rooted in the North Atlantic fisheries from New England to Newfoundland.

The counterpart of cod exchange is the commerce of commodities destined to supply seasonal and settled fishing enterprises. The transatlantic fishery was not solely dependent on crews of fishermen but also a legion of artisans, farmers and husbandmen who supplied “the salt, the canvas and cord, the bread and beans, the butter and salt meat, the wine and cider that they [fishers] took on their voyages every summer” (Pope 2008: 39). Artefacts found within seasonal fishing rooms or permanent settlements therefore allow us to investigate the intercontinental movement of materials, trace supply networks, identify provenance, and document the in-situ lives of fisherfolk. Seventeenth-century sites like Ferryland, for example, contain a plethora of ceramics produced throughout Europe, illuminating the complex international networks that developed and were fostered by members of this influential North Atlantic fishing community (Casimiro 2013; Gaulton and Casimiro 2015).

Large quantities of Normandy stoneware and Brittany coarse earthenware excavated at sites on the Petit Nord and in Saint-Pierre et Miquelon likewise show the privileged links with those regions in France, are a testament to the organized commerce of the fishing industry, and may even reflect the seasonal movements of Breton and Norman fishermen (Losier et al. 2018a; Pope et al. 2008; St. John 2011: 148). Furthermore, recent excavation at Anse à Bertrand in Saint-Pierre et Miquelon allows for an appreciation of the material world of an eighteenth-century fishing establishment. Ceramic analysis showed that most vessels were manufactured in Normandy and associated with on-site food preparation, cooking and storage; almost no artefacts associated with food consumption (plates, bowls, glass, etc.) have been recovered (Losier et al. 2018a), which is different from the assemblage associated with the *petits pêcheurs* (see below). Clay smoking pipes found in great quantity indicate that tobacco consumption was common practice in a fishermen's daily life. These findings are mimicked in material culture assemblages from the Petit Nord (St. John 2011) and demonstrate the modest, work-oriented life associated with migratory fishing societies.

The migratory cod fishery tells a story of the movement of people and objects on a macro scale, and of the networks revolving around the fishing grounds of the Northeastern Atlantic coast. Not only are the economic activities and associated commercial networks oriented east-west but also north-south, as cod was—and continues to be—very important in the foodways of Caribbean and South American societies. This case study of the French migratory fishery addresses the importance of the industry and how mobility and movement was at the very foundation of the exploitation of North Atlantic marine resources and their distribution throughout the Atlantic World.

Regional and local mobility

On a more regional scale, mobility was a fact of life for the majority of early modern European populations. Osborne (1991) credits the work of historian Peter Laslett with opening archaeologists' eyes to the widespread movements of those living in "settled" rural communities during the seventeenth century. Parish records from two rural agrarian villages in the English East Midlands, Cogenhoe and Clayworth, showed upwards of a 5% annual population turnover with the cumulative result that only 46% of the original inhabitants listed in Cogenhoe in 1618 were present ten years later and just 38% in Clayworth twelve years after a 1676 registry (Laslett 1977: 65–67).³ Death accounted for a small percentage of this change. Although mobility was highest among those without fixed property, it is notable that the manor house at Cogenhoe saw three different families resident between the years 1618 and 1628 (Osborne 1991: 232). A similar, even elevated, pattern of mobility in a North American context could readily be drawn anywhere from Newfoundland in the north, west to Minnesota and south to Louisiana, with the exception perhaps of rural parts of Eastern Massachusetts during the seventeenth century.

For example, resident planter families operating fishing establishments on the eastern shore of Newfoundland's Avalon Peninsula were frequently on the move. These were the "middling sort" of fishing society who owned a dwelling and fishery-related infrastructure including stages, storehouses, train vats and boats, kept cattle and hogs, and employed, housed and fed seasonal fishing servants. A 1675 census of the harbours of Ferryland and Caplin Bay lists 9 heads of households employing 122 seasonal fishing servants in the former and 1 household employing 15 servants in the latter (Berry 1675). The following year still records 9 household heads at Ferryland employing 97 servants but 4 of the 9 families are new residents, while 3 of those previously living/working out of Ferryland are listed in the

Caplin Bay census with the lone planter family noted in 1675 along with 2 new resident planters, swelling its numbers to 6 families and 35 fishing servants (Wyborne 1676). The addition of six new planter families in two adjacent fishing harbours in the span of just one year demonstrates the frequency, familiarity and cultural acceptance of movement among this segment of early modern society. Seasonal fishing servants, by comparison, were an even more fluid population. Vickers (1994: 131–133) makes note of the significant movement of the seasonal maritime labour pool from Newfoundland to New England starting in the mid-seventeenth century but continuing well into the eighteenth, and how we should conceptualize the “continual comings and goings of fishermen” as a reflection of their “integration into a maritime culture that spanned the North Atlantic.”

The mobility of affluent residents occupying Cogenhoe’s manor house is mirrored by the various governors, gentlemen and ladies moving into and out of the mansion house at Ferryland. Built sometime in the 1620s by a group of contracted quarrymen, masons, slaters and carpenters from Britain, Ferryland’s “Mansion House” was home to two resident governors before Sir George Calvert and his family moved in in 1628–1629, followed by another governor after Calvert’s departure, Sir David and Lady Sara Kirke starting in 1638, a representative of the interregnum government in the 1650s, Lady Sara Kirke once again following the Restoration, and finally her son(s) prior to the building’s destruction by French and Indigenous forces in 1696. A large retinue of indentured servants also resided within these walls for approximately seventy years. Those who built the mansion house, lived in it and even destroyed it were a transitory presence—all of whom played an important part in the creation of an archaeological record of continuous occupation—as opposed to a record of continuous residency by a single household unit. The distinction is important for archaeological interpretation. This structure was fixed on the landscape but its occupants certainly were not. An assertion of continuity in transient occupations can also be carried forth to pre-colonial and post-colonial contexts and to the nature of residency by various cultural groups, both seasonal and permanent, who frequented Ferryland’s shores for five centuries.

Social and political mobility is sometimes masked within the more overt physical shift of occupants. The last residents of the Ferryland mansion house are believed to have been David Kirke (Jr) and his wife Mary. Mary first arrived at Ferryland as an indentured servant to Lady Sara Kirke and served in the house under the matriarch’s direction prior to her marriage. Following Lady Sara’s death in the early 1680s, the couple and their servants likely resided in the mansion house until the 1696 attack. When David died while incarcerated in a French prison in 1696–1697, Mary Kirke, the last surviving member of the Kirke family in Newfoundland, laid claim to all lands formerly owned and occupied at Ferryland. Thus Mary Kirke, later Mary Benger upon marriage to merchant James Benger, had another house built in Ferryland and became a prominent and influential member of seventeenth-century society.

Even notable historical figures credited with establishing an English foothold in North America such as Captain John Smith of Jamestown and Captain Edward Wynne first governor at Ferryland lived a lifestyle best described as mobile. Both men were born in Britain, spent their younger years engaged in various military campaigns on the European continent before turning their attention to North American colonization and the exploration and familiarization of these lands, and then went back to Britain again to promote to their fellow countrymen the advantages of a westward migration (Gaulton and Miller 2009; Olsen-Smith 2008). For those who heeded the call to immigrate to North America, Horne’s (1994: 39) research estimates that upward of 60% of aspiring merchants, planters

and servants who arrived in the Chesapeake first moved from rural England to reside in centres like London or Bristol before eventually securing passage across the Atlantic.

Urban centres formed yet another nexus for mobility, particularly during the ebb and flow of immigrant populations or when a city's fortunes waxed and waned. Boston, Massachusetts, for example, had a 53% rate of residential persistence between 1687 and 1695, whereas 56% of residents listed in 1780 were still remaining in 1790 (Jones 1975: 30). Urban–rural and rural–urban movements were a frequent occurrence as was intra-urban mobility within larger centres. In reference to mid-eighteenth-century mobility, Jones (1975: 29) states that “the overt residential stability found in some Massachusetts towns a century earlier had disappeared; taxpayers and their families began to move at a faster pace.” In sum, the perception of permanence and spatial fixedness among early modern and modern populations in Eastern North America requires a more nuanced interrogation; as does any preconceived notion that the hardships and struggles associated with mobility always outweigh the potential for a beneficial or positive outcome, therefore tempering our archaeological interpretations.

Few archaeologists would argue that local, cyclical and employment-related movements are unworthy of investigation; however, Smith (2014: 518) laments that local migrations/movements, in particular, have been given little attention “in part because of the difficulty in identifying the process with archaeological data.” Any analysis of local migrations should consider the in-situ developments of parallel and divergent forms of mobility that may have evolved across ethnic lines, space and time as a way to highlight the diversity, complexity and agency of movement within local or regional milieus. The following case study brings this idea into sharp focus, not just as an archaeologically identifiable, albeit ephemeral, process but also because it does not give primacy to archaeological data over geospatial datasets produced through archival records, oral histories and toponymy.

Micro-scale mobility within fishing societies

A novel way to explore mobility in Eastern North America is through the centuries-long practice of “winter housing,” a form of non-pastoral transhumance adopted by the majority of English, French and later Irish settlers in Newfoundland and Labrador, and to a lesser extent within Canada's Atlantic Provinces, starting in the seventeenth century and continuing into the early decades of the twentieth century. It was a largely rural phenomenon divided along socio-economic lines, yet predicated on the resources required for success in the cod fishery and strongly influenced by climate and geography. It was also a practice that needs to be contextualized within the larger cyclical movements of European migratory fishers and their engrained familiarity with the utilization and exploitation of different resources in different locales as part of a seasonal round (Pope 2004: 248–254).

At the end of each fishing season, most resident fishers moved from exposed coastlines to more sheltered harbours, bays and interior locations to hunt, trap and cut wood during the fall and winter months. Sometimes the move was a few short miles from an outer headland to an inner bay; whereas in other cases, the move involved much greater distances or required an overland trek with carts or sleds to a predetermined location. In many cases, entire communities dispersed into the woods behind the summer fishing stations/settlements oftentimes spending over half the year in their “winter quarters” (Smith 1987, 1995). Come spring these families/communities moved back to the shores of the cold North Atlantic to harvest the inshore cod stocks, replenished with logs, planks, boards and staves for the

fishery, furs for trade with migratory fishing ships or resident merchants, and cured meat, salmon and fowl for sustenance.

After the resources surrounding winter residences were depleted, often in as little as a year or two, these “forager-fishers” (Nemec 2006) simply chose another location in which to build their seasonal dwelling or tilt. Therefore, this seasonal movement was more than a dual residency between a fixed summer and winter house but rather a punctuated expansion into, and exploitation of, peripheral regions. The archaeological implications of this realization are significant: hundreds of small historic fishing villages in Newfoundland and parts of Canada’s Atlantic Provinces likely contain nearby traces of thousands of ephemeral winter residences! Toponymic research further suggests that some of the sheltered inner harbours and bays once used as winter residences later became settled fishing communities; in turn, families would further expand into new wintering locations (Smith 2005).

Not everyone practised this seasonal round. Many residents of larger, economically diverse, urban centres in Newfoundland such as St. John’s, Plaisance (Placentia), Trinity and Bonavista lived in a single dwelling, venturing into the woods only for short periods of time. Well-established planters and rural merchants (another transient transatlantic subset of the population) maintained substantial households, often depending on servants to harvest timber for fuel and for fishery-related infrastructure and to hunt for caribou and birds. These same merchants relied on the salt cod produced by their transhumant rural neighbours, exchanging this commodity for provisions and supplies. Although some merchants likely discouraged fishers from wintering away from summer settlements as it lessened fishers’ need for purchased goods (at elevated prices), others undoubtedly saw the advantage of having these mobile residents become more efficient at their trade by producing planks and staves to build boats, oars and casks and by harvesting valuable furs for merchants to purchase (at low prices). Clergy, on the other hand, disparaged this “primitive” or uncivilized practice not just because it spread their parishioners into the hinterland for upwards of six months at a time but for its perceived proclivity toward base instincts and ungodliness. Since almost all written references to this cyclical movement survive in the form of letters and journals penned by unsympathetic visitors/explorers, clergy and disapproving government officials, its historical portrayal is utterly bleak (see Wix 1836 for a particularly dismal description).

Archaeologist Phillip Smith (1995, 2017) moved beyond economic justifications to explain the genesis and endurance of this practice, also deeming it as cognitively and socially advantageous. Journeys into the inner bays and forested interiors brought valuable knowledge about the resources associated with surrounding seascapes and landscapes, as well as their potential dangers. Winter residency provided a social and mental reprieve from the frenetic summer months working in the cod fishery with its cacophony of sounds and smells, replete with more leisurely, even stimulating, employments in a sheltered, quiet and aromatic woodland setting. The dispersion and partial isolation of settler communities for months at a time allowed for bonding, family time and the transmission of skills/knowledge from parent to offspring. Not all winter houses contained familial units however; even by the third quarter of the eighteenth century women and children accounted for only 10% and 25% of the population, respectively (Head 1976: 232). The demographic balance in Newfoundland was so uneven that one seventeenth-century commentator stated “so long as there comes no women they are not fixed” (Wheler 1684, in Handcock 1989: 32).

Despite Smith’s seminal work on winter housing and his call for archaeologists to examine this longstanding tradition as a way to better understand the origins, evolution and in-

situ development of these widespread semi-migratory movements, it took twenty years before research began in earnest. This gap is perhaps as much a commentary on the disparate theoretical interests and past research agendas of Canadian archaeologists as it is a statement on the existing technological capacity to initiate such an ambitious task. Since 2009, archaeologists at Memorial University have made important inroads toward better understanding the movements between summer and winter residences, the “necessities” which over-winterers brought with them, the structures they built and the activities in which they partook.

To date, four winter house sites have been investigated: one from the origins of the practice back in the seventeenth century and the other three from early to mid-nineteenth-century contexts (Gaulton and Mills 2009, 2011, 2014; Venovcevs 2015, 2017). The former is located in a sheltered cove at Sunnyside, Trinity Bay, while the latter are nestled in the woods beside a saltwater pond in O’Donnells, St. Mary’s Bay. Despite the significant temporal difference, all share certain topographical commonalities and patterns in artefact assemblages yet diverge with respect to architectural expressions and landscape modification endeavours. Architecture and material culture are of particular note to this discussion, as is the variability in the broader spatial patterning of the wintering tradition revealed through GIS.

Excavations at Sunnyside exposed a massive seventeenth-century chimney collapse and underlying stone fireplace, hundreds of nails/spikes and fragments of window glass from the associated dwelling, as well as the remains of an adjacent root cellar built of wood and mounded earth. The approximately 12–14 ft by 16–20 ft dwelling and its adjoining ground-floor cellar are discordant with nineteenth-century accounts describing winter houses as being tiny and flimsily built of upright logs chinked with clay, roofed in boughs and heated by a wood and clay chimney. A meaningful way to reconcile the vast discrepancy between historical accounts and archaeological data would be to view these seventeenth-century remains as a window into the early development and evolution of an over-wintering tradition whereby Europeans built a familiar structure within an unfamiliar setting, not yet acquainted with the resource potential of the interior and the speed with which nearby resources would become exhausted. Its builders’ intention may well have been repeated occupation over many winter seasons, a recurrent but episodic use described by Seymour (2009: 265) as “punctuated persistence.” Over time, and with experience and familiarity, French, English and Irish over-winterers were able to better negotiate the requirements of a winter occupation and its concomitant expenditures of time and energy, realizing that frequent movements and frequent rebuilding were required for success (Venovcevs and Gaulton 2018). Hypothetically then, one may expect increased ephemerality of archaeological traces of these winter habitations over time.

Such was the case for the architectural remains associated with the three nineteenth-century sites at Big Mussel Pond in O’Donnells. The first two contained rock mounds which originally served as a stone backing for a wooden chimney while the third was only visible on the landscape in the form of a small clearing in the woods, with traces of a fireplace revealed after test pitting. In fact, archaeologists were only made aware of these sites after being contacted by a local metal detectorist. One of the things that make the Big Mussel Pond sites so valuable to our understanding of the winter house tradition is that they are all roughly contemporaneous and spaced approximately 750 m apart; therefore possibly representing three separate winter occupations/movements by members of the same family of Irish ancestry listed as living in O’Donnells in the early nineteenth century (Venovcevs

2017: 172). Recall Smith's (2014) earlier lament about the difficulty in identifying local migrations/movements due to a lack of archaeological data.

The material culture from Big Mussel Pond and Sunnyside illustrates some informative although not entirely surprising continuities in this centuries-long tradition. Activities related to timber harvesting and wood working are evident in the form of axe, pit saw, adze and auger fragments whereas fishing implements are practically non-existent by comparison with assemblages from summer occupations. Ceramic cooking, serving and consumption vessels are poorly represented and those that are present sometimes show evidence for curation or repurposing in the form of mend holes or being shaped into gaming pieces. Brass cooking pot fragments also indicate extensive repair in the form of riveted patches. Significant numbers of clay smoking pipes suggest that tobacco was an important necessity during the winter months, with some broken but still usable pipes modified to take a new stem attachment.

Musket balls, shot, sprue, lead waste and lead stock (in the form of net weights), along with many pieces of flint debitage and crudely made gunflints, demonstrate that over-winterers brought the raw materials necessary to hunt mammals and birds but prepared these materials on-site. Calcined and highly fragmented food bones represent the remains of caribou, beaver, hare, duck, cormorant and even domesticated pig—the latter brought to these sites “on the hoof” or in the form of barrelled salted pork (Elliott 2015a, 2015b, 2015c, 2015d). Quantities of mammal, bird and fish species at winter occupations are in stark contrast to those recovered at summer residences. Sunnyside's small sample size (n=498) contained 95% mammal, 2% bird and 1% fish; a comparatively large (n=1900) collection of faunal remains from the bottom of the builder's trench associated with the Ferryland mansion house, and deposited by the transient tradesmen who built it, contained 82% (cod) fish, 16% mammal, 2% bivalve and almost no bird (Elliott 2015a; Harris 2014). The latter assemblage demonstrates the prevalence and availability of fresh fish during the summer months as well as a supply of live domesticates and/or salt meat.

The creation of a multifaceted, temporally broad GIS dataset reveals the scope and variability of this seasonal mobility as no single source can, making it quite obvious that the cyclical summer–winter movements bear no diagnostic spatial patterning. Distance of travel between summer outports and wintering areas could span from as little as several kilometres to as much as 17 kilometres by foot and from 25 to upwards of 100 kilometres by boat, making it extremely difficult to develop a predictive model or identify a “winter house pattern” (Venovcevs 2015: Figure 43.2a). Instead, this patterned seasonal mobility is best understood as a complex web of movements (Venovcevs and Gaulton 2018: 52). Oral interviews and primary documents from the west coast of Newfoundland further complicate the matter as the moderately better agricultural capacity in that region promoted the construction of more substantial, multi-year winter residences which frequently included shelter for livestock (Venovcevs 2017). The above points substantiate an in-situ development of not just parallel but also divergent forms of winter transhumance.

The placement of all known winter house locations and their associated summer fishing stations on a GIS-generated model revealed a visually stunning representation of the extent to which European and Euro–Newfoundland residents had not only populated the shores of the island but also probed deep into the interior (Figure 43.2b).⁴ Informed by these kinds of GIS modelling strategies, archaeologists can now provide sound data on the potential heritage value of near shore and interior locations. These last, and perhaps most important, revelations were the brainchild of Anatolijs Venovcevs (2015, 2017) who also recognized that the study of this seasonal New World mobility has an important role to play in informing

a burgeoning archaeology of the Old World transhumant tradition. Awareness of and insights gleaned from these kinds of transatlantic connections has been a focus of archaeological scholarship, particularly in the twenty-first century (Egan and Michael 1999; Hicks and Beaudry 2006; Pope and Lewis-Simpson 2013).

What does this tell us about the many thousands of men, women and children who practised these local, cyclical movements for centuries? If we look beyond the largely negative conceptions of winter housing inherited by nineteenth-century chroniclers, a careful reading of the evidence reveals a semi-sedentary population who practised a range of dynamic movements in which “peripheral” spaces were defined and redefined over space and time (Venovevs and Gaulton 2018). Life on the periphery does not necessarily equate to a marginal lifestyle. Winter travel and dual residency was a necessary activity for individuals and families of limited economic means but also an integral part of the success of the early modern resident planter fishery, whereby a greater variety of the island’s resources were utilized as an economic strategy within the context of a larger capitalist network.

Isolated from a ready supply of goods and services for approximately half the year, these individuals brought only the tools, implements and supplies needed to live off the land as well as a few “little luxuries” from which they ate their food, drank their beverages and smoked their tobacco. Flint knapping to produce gunflints, manufacturing lead shot, repairing kettles, mending ceramics, refashioning pipes and even shaping broken ceramic sherds into circular gaming pieces should not be categorized simply as an expression of poverty, but of adaptability and localized development of a do-it-yourself attitude borne of necessity. There is no denying that this lifestyle brought difficulties and hardships, and was required for survival, economic sustainability and reproductive success; however, we could also perceive the development and refinement of winter-related tasks, intimate knowledge of the land, a connection to place and the modicum of freedom, relative peace and quiet afforded to these residents as being socially, cognitively and psychologically advantageous.

Contrary to what was happening in Newfoundland with the winter housing tradition, residents of Saint-Pierre sheltered in the town during the winter months and moved to smaller fishing villages during the summer. This practice expanded during the nineteenth century, coinciding with the diversification of the local economy and the establishment of large fishing consortia on the archipelago. Because these companies occupied shore spaces in and around Saint-Pierre harbour, the *petits pêcheurs* (independent fishermen) and their families began to move from Saint-Pierre to seasonal fishing cabins so as to position themselves in an advantageous location in relation to the fishing grounds. At Anse à Bertrand, located less than 2 kilometres outside Saint-Pierre, several of these nineteenth-century houses were present before their expropriation in the 1970s for expansion of the airport. Today, only two houses—the Girardin and Briand houses—are still standing; they represent a living memory of this seasonal movement.

Anse à Bertrand and similar locations were not occupied year-round because of difficult environmental conditions including exposure to strong Atlantic winds. Activities at these seasonal fishing communities began in spring when families moved from their houses in Saint-Pierre (Artur de Lizarraga et al. 2016: 31). The first task was to set a garden that would provide root vegetables for later consumption in Saint-Pierre during the fall and winter months, followed by wood gathering for fuel, and bait for fishing. A diverse collection of refined earthenware including plates, teaware and doll fragments excavated from the nineteenth-century layers at Anse à Bertrand demonstrate the presence of family units and the “settled” nature of this otherwise seasonal occupation. In addition to the seasonal movements from town to fishing village, the above-noted fuel and bait necessitated a range of

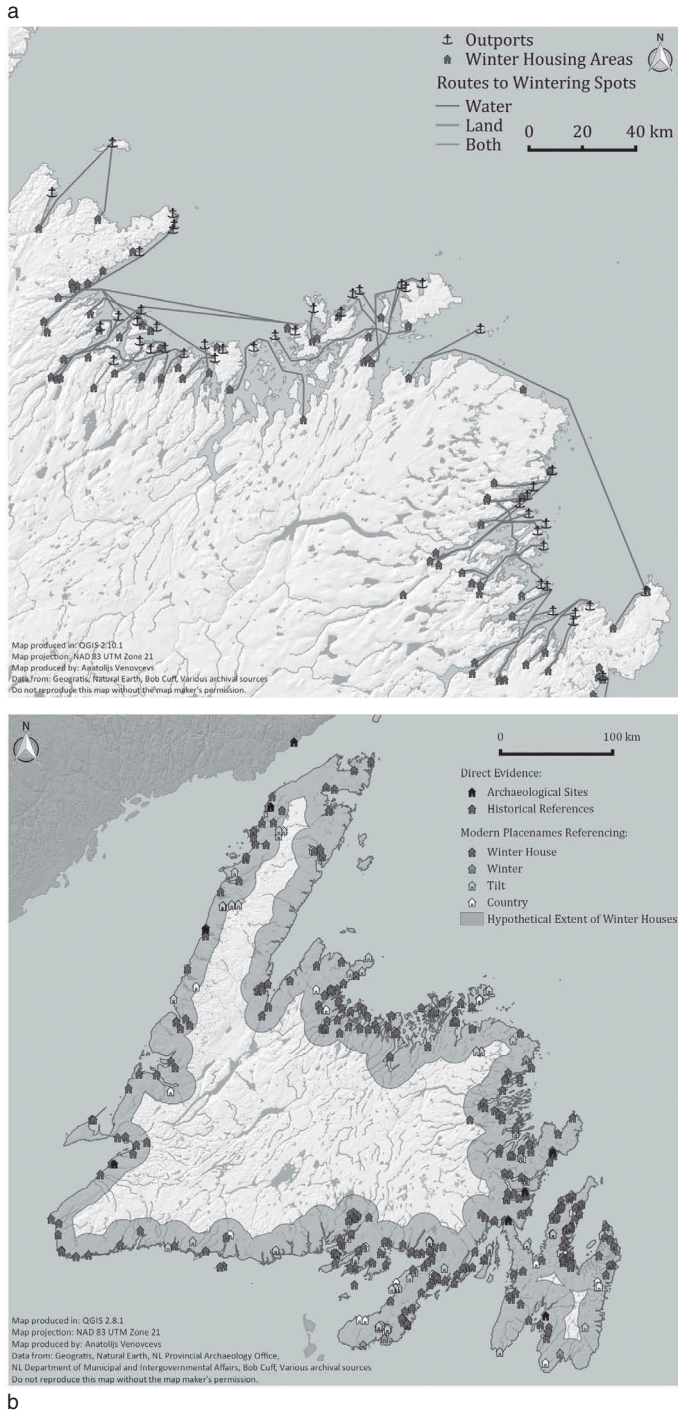


Figure 43.2 Winter migrations in Notre Dame and Bonavista Bays (top); known references to the winter housing tradition along with the hypothetical distance wintering Europeans could travel into the interior of Newfoundland (bottom).

(Maps produced by Anatolij Venovcevs, Memorial University, 2015, 2017)

smaller regional movements at the beginning of each fishing season, involving trips to Miquelon, Langlade and even to Newfoundland—despite the fact that the British government was trying to suppress trade with the archipelago. For residents of Saint-Pierre et Miquelon, regional mobility was and still is a reality as this small territory cannot provide all the resources necessary for its inhabitants' well-being.

Conclusion

The above discussion highlights the dynamic yet complex nature of movement during the early modern and modern eras as well as the frequency, acceptance and even adaptive advantage or innovation forged through mobility. By the same token, it elucidates the value of a multi-cultural, multi-scalar, trans-temporal approach to the study of mobility and movement in historical archaeology. The case studies presented in this chapter demonstrate that most movements were a response to external economic, social, political and environmental forces, initiated by individuals and household units of limited means, and often beyond the control of, but vital to, the people who experienced it. Within the seeming paradox of dynamism/adaptation and marginality/poverty, we have to negotiate a way forth that recognizes the inherent inequality and/or racism cast upon historically derided mobile groups while also bringing awareness to their role in the creation of the social and economic fabric of past societies (Gadsby 2011; Orser 2010; Owens and Jeffries 2016). The discipline of historical archaeology is ideally suited for such a task as it balances textual, material, oral and geographical evidence into a comprehensive, albeit incomplete, narrative.

Recent scholarship has called for a greater reckoning of mobility, often employing new methodologies to answer research questions. In addition to Allard (2016) and Venovcevs (2017) noted above, Walder (2015) analysed chemical compositions of beads using laser ablation-inductively coupled plasma-mass spectrometry to explore the movement of trade goods as well as the mobile Indigenous groups who transported them throughout the Upper Great Lakes region during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Advances in remote sensing with particular reference to data generated from aerial photography using LiDAR or computer-aided photogrammetry (Hamilton and Stephenson 2016, 2017; Millard et al. 2009) likewise holds promise to produce fresh insight on the scope and scale of historic movements. Researchers are creating knowledge regarding historical movements, either explicitly or implicitly, within a mobility paradigm, anthropology of mobility or other analogous frameworks. The simple fact is that people in the past as in the present were frequently on the move, and that these movements had a transformative effect on natural and cultural landscapes.

Fishing stations, farms, plantations, fur trading outposts, military installations, rural villages and urban centres—though spatially fixed and ever evolving—are infused with movements of various scales across time. To borrow a phrase from Reiser (2011: 43), movement should be seen “as a sustaining, as opposed to restraining, feature of community life.” Archaeologists and historians should refocus their views of long-term occupation, substantial architectural remains and other forms of “permanence” within a mobility lens so as to tease out important contributions by transient agents within the context of prominent places and frequented spaces. Permanency and mobility go hand in hand; in other words, “mobilities need moorings” (Creswell 2010: 29). Regardless of ethnic, cultural or economic differences, many of those living and working in these spatiotemporal contexts were a mobile or shifting presence. Therefore, we need to adjust our interpretations to recognize that archaeological evidences are not always a testimony to residential continuity.

By placing an emphasis on mobility, historical archaeologists unveil connections between places and people which are at the foundation of the colonial world (Falk 1991; Gijanto 2014; Hall and Silliman 2006; Orser 2008, 2009, 2010). Interconnectedness, which stimulates interdependency between European and colonial territories, needs to be considered as an important component of research based on a mobility framework. The cod fishery is an excellent example of this interdependency as it was an economic engine that further fuelled imperial expansion, it trained a “nursery of seamen” for merchant and naval fleets, created an extensive web of commerce spanning much of the Atlantic, formed the principal livelihood both directly and indirectly for tens of thousands of people, and its lightly salted product became a fundamental element of foodways in both the Old and New Worlds. Local, small-scale movements were likewise cardinal to the pursuit of economic activities at the foundation of the European imperialistic project. In the case of the winter house tradition in Newfoundland, the cyclical moves to sheltered harbours and interior locations provided the resident European population with access to resources needed for both survival and success in the proceeding fishing season. Subsequently, the fruits of their labour were purchased and distributed vastly within the Atlantic World and beyond.

Finally, archaeological investigations of localized movements in the past can connect us with modern communities and modern realities. The activities, encounters and difficulties associated with the mobile lifestyle of the historic fishing industry resonates with the people of Newfoundland and Labrador and Saint Pierre et Miquelon, who see themselves as resilient, independent, resourceful and empowered by a long history of rising above the challenges brought about by the cod economy and their rugged island homes. In Newfoundland and Labrador, seasonal movements live on in relict form through an active cabin culture where residents commute from their homes by car, boat or ATV to a backwoods cabin to hunt, fish and cut wood (Venovcevs 2017: 13, 70). With the devastation wrought by the 1992 cod moratorium, the loss of tens of thousands of jobs and the rise in oil production in Western Canada, many in this province have embarked upon a new phase of cyclical movement between their homes in Newfoundland and their livelihoods on mainland Canada. In Saint-Pierre et Miquelon, the link with the metropole is still very strong and thus many youth travel to France on an annual basis to pursue their studies. As in many other small territories or regions, this reality brings the culture of Saint-Pierre et Miquelon abroad; however, young people do not bring their knowledge back to the archipelago, choosing instead to exercise their profession elsewhere. Historical archaeology helps us to understand our mobile past, provides insight into the transitions underway in our mobile present and may even frame our mobile future.

Notes

- 1 The *Oxford Handbook of Historical Archaeology*, currently in development, will contain articles by Pope and Lucas that delve into historical archaeology of the North Atlantic, the fisheries, and perceptions of marginality and failure. The authors have not read these contributions but refer future readers to the upcoming volume.
- 2 New Englanders established a substantial but seasonal fishing settlement in Canso, Nova Scotia from 1713 until 1744. See Tulloch 1997.
- 3 For an earlier publication pertaining to a North American context, see Jones 1975.
- 4 For perspective, it is worth noting that the island of Newfoundland is roughly equivalent to the size of the state of Virginia.

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