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## Introduction

Barry Gaulton

*Memorial University of Newfoundland*, [bgaulton@mun.ca](mailto:bgaulton@mun.ca)

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# Introduction

Barry C. Gaulton

*Perceptions of marginality and periphery are as old as the people archaeologists study. And Canada's easternmost province of Newfoundland and Labrador is among those places often perceived as such. Those who live and work in Newfoundland and Labrador, past and present, are no strangers to adverse conditions; the harsh climate, precarious resource base, and limited access into or out of the province are a daily reality. In the same setting, however, reality informs research. In this compilation of thematic articles, scholars from Memorial University's Department of Archaeology present a broad array of research projects centered in the North Atlantic—the findings of which contain interpretative insights for all practitioners. Contributors were invited, but not obligated, to explore aspects of academic, geographic, cultural, economic, or spatial marginality/periphery as these pertain to their research. "Peripheral Spaces in Historical Places: Insights from Archaeology in the North Atlantic" highlights the engagement between academics and community members, the opportunity to reimagine notions of marginality/periphery, the significance of archaeological remains to contemporary populations, and the shared spaces where past and present intersect.*

*Les perceptions de la marginalité et de la périphérie sont aussi anciennes que les peuples étudiés par les archéologues. Terre-Neuve-et-Labrador, la province la plus à l'est du Canada, fait partie de ces endroits souvent perçus comme tels. Ceux qui vivent et travaillent à Terre-Neuve-et-Labrador, ou qui y ont vécu et travaillé dans le passé, ne sont pas étrangers aux conditions difficiles; le climat rigoureux, les ressources de base précaires et les difficultés d'accéder ou de sortir de la province sont une réalité quotidienne. Dans le même contexte, cependant, la réalité nourrit la recherche. Dans cette compilation d'articles thématiques, des chercheurs du département d'archéologie de Memorial University présentent un large éventail de projets de recherche centrés sur l'Atlantique Nord, dont les conclusions contiennent des interprétations utiles pour tous les chercheurs. Les contributeurs ont été invités, mais non obligés, à explorer les aspects de la marginalité/périphérie, dans la mesure où ils se rapportent à leur recherche : académique, géographique, culturelle, économique ou spatiale. « Espaces périphériques dans les lieux historiques : aperçus de l'archéologie dans l'Atlantique Nord » met en évidence l'engagement entre les universitaires et les membres de la communauté, l'opportunité de réimaginer les notions de marginalité/périphérie, l'importance des vestiges archéologiques pour les populations contemporaines et les espaces partagés où passé et présent se croisent.*

"Peripheral Spaces in Historical Places: Insights from Archaeology in the North Atlantic" is a compilation of thematic articles by faculty and graduate students from Memorial University's Department of Archaeology. Spawned from the 2018 Council for Northeast Historical Archaeology conference session of the same name, the geographic scope of this volume spans three Canadian provinces: Ontario, Nova Scotia, and Newfoundland and Labrador, as well as the French territories of Saint-Pierre et Miquelon and Martinique.

The content of *Northeast Historical Archaeology* 50 encompasses a remarkable breadth of topics, including land-use patterns, slate quarrying, fishing rooms, winter burials, historical graffiti, self-marginalization, commercial networks, semi-attached kitchens, and maritime cultural landscapes. Many of these

topics are explored, to varying degrees, through a peripheral or marginal lens, citing iterations of geographic, cultural, economic, spatial, and academic peripheries. It is important to note, however, that the aspiration for this thematic issue was not to delve into theories of marginality or center vs. periphery (Koot 2012; MacMillan 2011; Wallerstein 2004), but rather to discover the many avenues whereby a peripheral/marginal trope could be invoked, engaged, or perhaps even challenged through the study of the people, places, buildings, and landscapes of northeastern North America; for related works, see Blau (2004), Dwyer (2009), Feur (2016), Kaplan and Woollett (2016), Quinn et al. (2019), and Schmidt and Walz (2007). The end product is a testament to the vibrancy and diversity of research being conducted by archaeologists at Memorial University.

An apt primer to the volume is Elliott's article, "Inuit Land-Use Patterns in the Hopedale Region," in which she counters notions of life on the Labrador coast in general, and Inuit histories in particular, as being economically, socially, or culturally peripheral. Elliott perceives Inuit sites in Hopedale, Labrador, as forming a cultural and economic nexus where local Inuit made a living while also interacting with Moravian missionaries, European fishers, and other Inuit traveling/trading north or south. These Inuit-driven "webs of interaction"—centered on the trade in whale and seal products—are visible in the form of tent rings, caches, and sod houses dotted across the landscape. Furthermore, historical and archaeological evidence for winter residences such as Agvituk and intensive summer occupations on the outer islands around Hopedale speak to Inuit community fluidity as part of a centuries-long seasonal transhumance, helping to dispel colonial conceptions of "permanent" land use.

In a similar fashion, Gaulton, Tapper, Teasdale and Williams' article, "The Avalon Historic Petroglyphs Project: Investigating Historical Graffiti and Petroglyphs on Newfoundland's Eastern Avalon Peninsula," postulates that historical graffiti and petroglyphs adjacent to remnant footpaths on the outskirts of communities once served as foci for self-expression, place making, and remembrance. The inscribed names, initials, dates, and symbols carved onto rock surfaces also highlight the interpretative potential of localized travel routes for understanding past people's movements and the meanings placed upon natural features along these routes. The connotations associated with these combined natural and anthropogenic features evolved over time as additional inscriptions were created while others became obscured. Nearby modern graffiti likewise suggests that historical inscriptions act as a catalyst for continued self-expression and thus bear a contemporary legacy.

With a focus on resource extraction, Spiwak and Cole's essay, "Transatlantic Traditions: The History of Welsh Quarrying and Its Connections to Newfoundland Slate," delves into the economic, social, and political factors in 19th-century Wales that led to the

emigration of quarrymen and the subsequent, yet brief, transmission of Welsh techniques, technology, and culture across the Atlantic. Abandoned quarry sites, remnant living quarters, and extant slate roofs on 19th- and 20th-century buildings on Random Island form the primary data sets used to explore the physical and cultural landscapes created by the quarrymen. The remote or peripheral nature of the quarry sites, in particular, has helped ensure their preservation and emphasizes the potential for future investigation into these all-but-forgotten attempts at 19th-century slate quarrying on the island of Newfoundland.

The living conditions and consumption patterns of frontier settlers working in the cod fishery and occupying contested lands are discussed in Morrison's "A Material History of the Early Eighteenth-Century Cod Fishery in Canso, Nova Scotia." Architectural remains unearthed at a fishing station on Clarke Island—established by Captain Andrew Robinson of Massachusetts in the 1720s and referred to in documents as "Robinson's Room"—suggest that domestic comforts were sacrificed in favor of expediency and practicality. However, other forms of material culture pertaining to food, alcohol and tobacco consumption, as well as personal items, underscore the social importance of the limited leisure opportunities afforded to these fishermen. Morrison marries these combined lines of evidence to paint a picture of "comfort and community ... within this remote, liminal and socially-fluid outpost."

Complementary essays likewise delve into various aspects of the European cod fishery, with particular reference to the maritime cultural landscape, lifeways, trade routes, and provisioning of French fishers occupying Anse à Bertrand in Saint-Pierre et Miquelon. Livingston and Losier's "'From the Sea, Work': Investigating Historical French Landscapes and Lifeways at Anse à Bertrand, Saint-Pierre et Miquelon" uses archaeological evidence from several field seasons to demonstrate fishers' fluctuating roles within the context of the salt-cod fishery and, concurrently, reveals continuities in French culture throughout the 18th century, when the territory frequently changed hands between French and British empires. Two distinct contexts, one from the

late 17th to 18th centuries and the other from the late 19th to 20th centuries, highlight significant developments in local fishing practices, as the seasonal male-dominated fishery at Anse à Bertrand gave way to a family-based system. Evidence from the ceramic assemblages is particularly informative in this regard.

The corresponding article, Champagne and Losier's "Cod Fish and Cooking Pots: Research on Trade Routes of the French North Atlantic," compares some of the same ceramics excavated at Anse à Bertrand with contemporaneous materials from Habitation Crève Coeur in Martinique to reconstruct the provisioning networks and transatlantic trade routes that connected France's colonial territories in the North and South Atlantic. The results show that the majority of ceramics from Saint-Pierre et Miquelon originate from the Atlantic coast of France, while those from Martinique arrived from the Mediterranean basin. That two distinct east-west commercial networks are visible is not entirely surprising. However, the authors also combine the ceramic evidence with archival records and culinary practices to explore the enduring intercolonial linkages between Saint-Pierre et Miquelon and the Caribbean, as well as theorize on identity formation in the face of long-term marginalization and neglect.

"An Inconvenient Corpse: Settler Adaptation to Winter Death and Burial through Structural and Oral History" by Lacy illustrates the logistical challenges associated with burying the dead during the harsh winter months in northeastern North America and the various means by which European settlers adapted to these environmental constraints. The solution for many was the storage of bodies until spring. In some cases this involved the construction of "dead houses," purpose-built structures situated nearby the church or its burial grounds. Other historical methods, revealed through online Facebook discussion groups, included the repeated burning, thawing, and chopping of the ground, taking upwards of several days to dig a suitable grave—the archaeological signature of which is to be investigated in future research. Lacy concludes by positioning dead houses as both functionally and academically peripheral spaces: a liminal context whereby

the dead existed for a time between death and burial, yet often overlooked by scholars investigating burial landscapes.

The daily operation of architecturally peripheral spaces, such as detached kitchens, is the focus of Archer's "The First Foundation of a Good House: Examining Ferryland's Mansion House Kitchen." While the physical placement of these kitchen spaces—often behind the main house or in a basement—can be conceptualized as spatial outliers, Archer argues for the centrality of its associated activities as essential elements in the efficient management of the early modern English household. What's more, the transfer of this familiar culinary culture to many corners of English-occupied North America bolstered the viability and vitality of colonial settlements. These and other assertions are based on a combination of primary and secondary sources on early modern kitchens, as well as the archaeological remains of a ca. 1620s kitchen room set behind the main living quarters of George Calvert's "Mansion House" at Ferryland, Newfoundland.

The final contribution to this volume is set aside for Rankin and Ramsden's thought-provoking essay on intentional self-marginalization, titled "Forgotten Places in Political Spaces." Utilizing examples from Labrador, the Canadian Arctic, and southern Ontario, the authors weave a convincing argument for groups of people deliberately avoiding or denying elements of their past, in essence, reconceptualizing their former lives, or the lives of their ancestors, as being marginal or peripheral. The justifications for such drastic actions varied from perceived threats emanating from a dangerous or "poisonous" past to instances of political or economic assimilation or ambition, or even for the purposeful reshaping of group identity. Marginal spaces were born from these disparate situations to ensure group continuity, to construct a new identity through the erasure of the past, or as a subtle form of resistance in the present. I hope you enjoy reading this thematic volume, and I trust that the contents within contributes to the ongoing conversation on the ways archaeologists conceptualize the places and spaces they study.

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## Author Information

Barry Gaulton  
Memorial University of Newfoundland  
bgaulton@mun.ca